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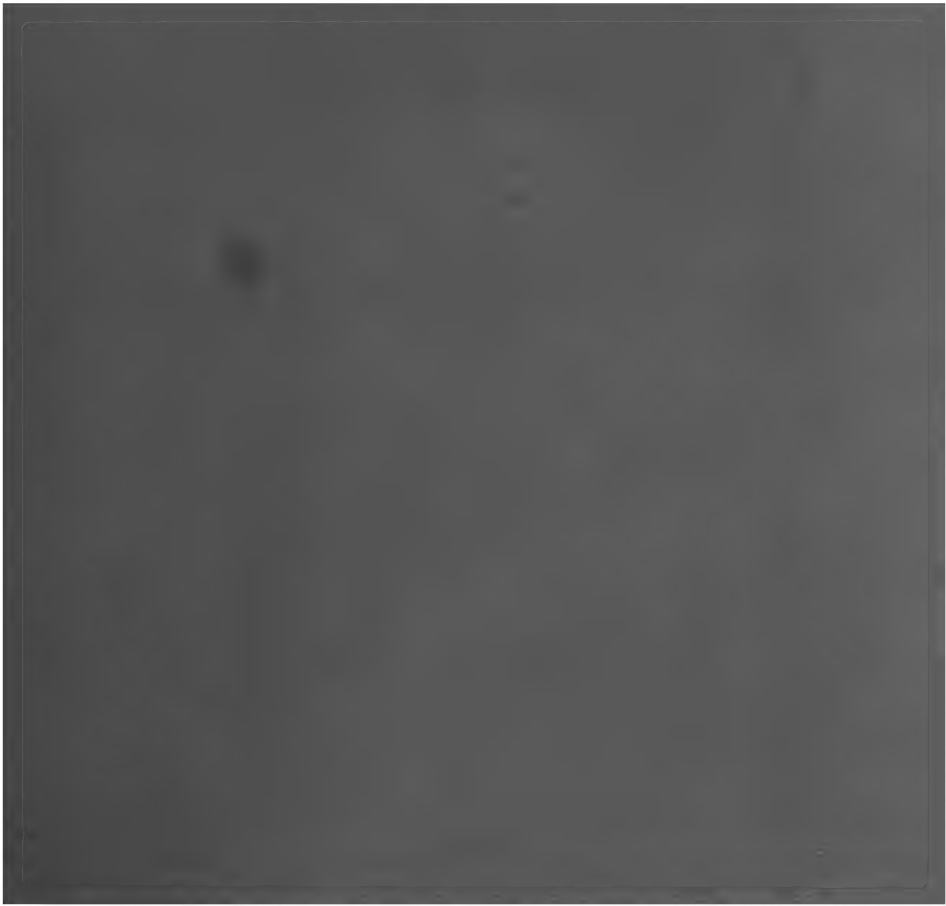
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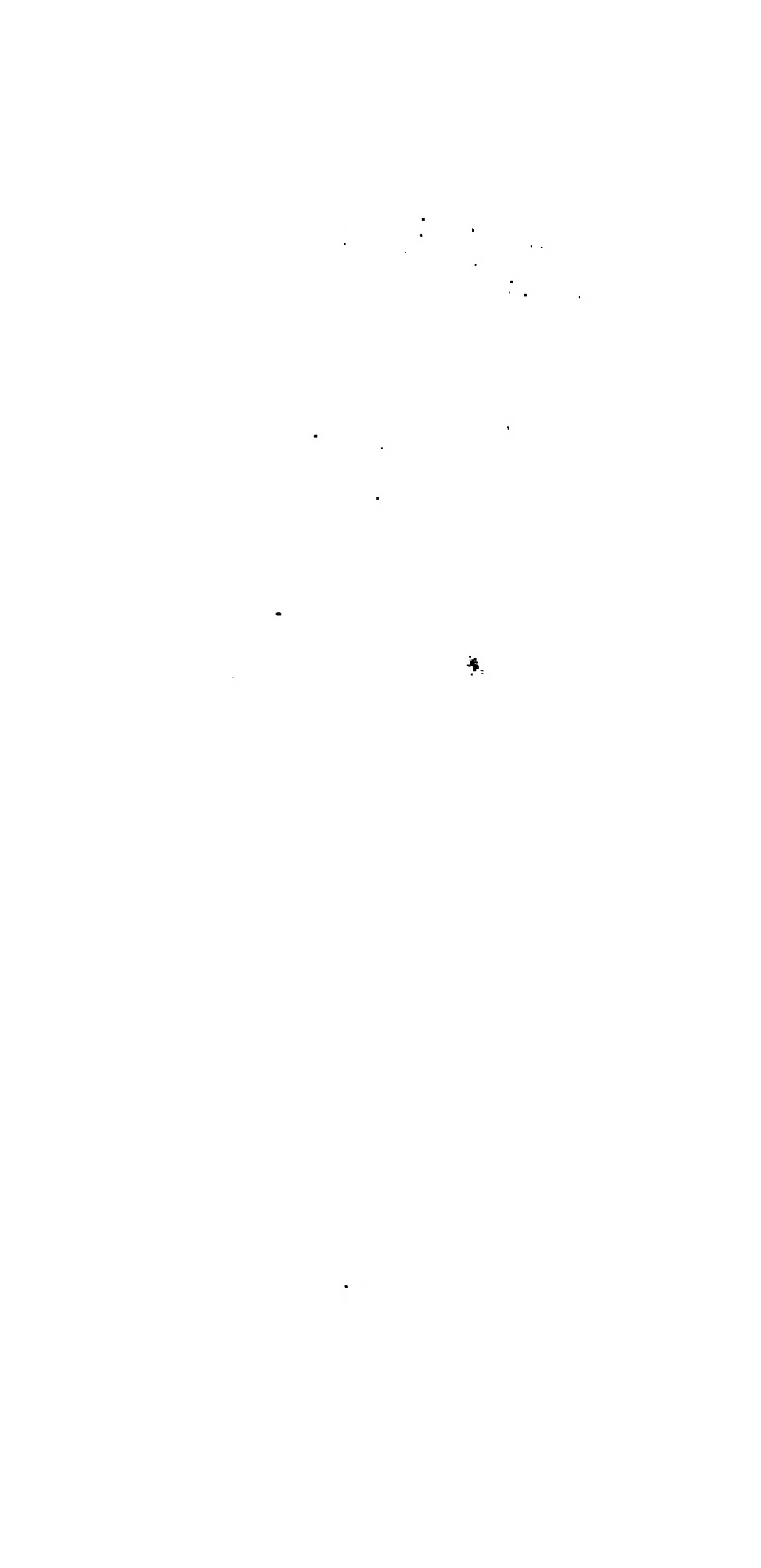


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THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN
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OR,
EUROPEAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL.

"In primisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio atque investigatio."

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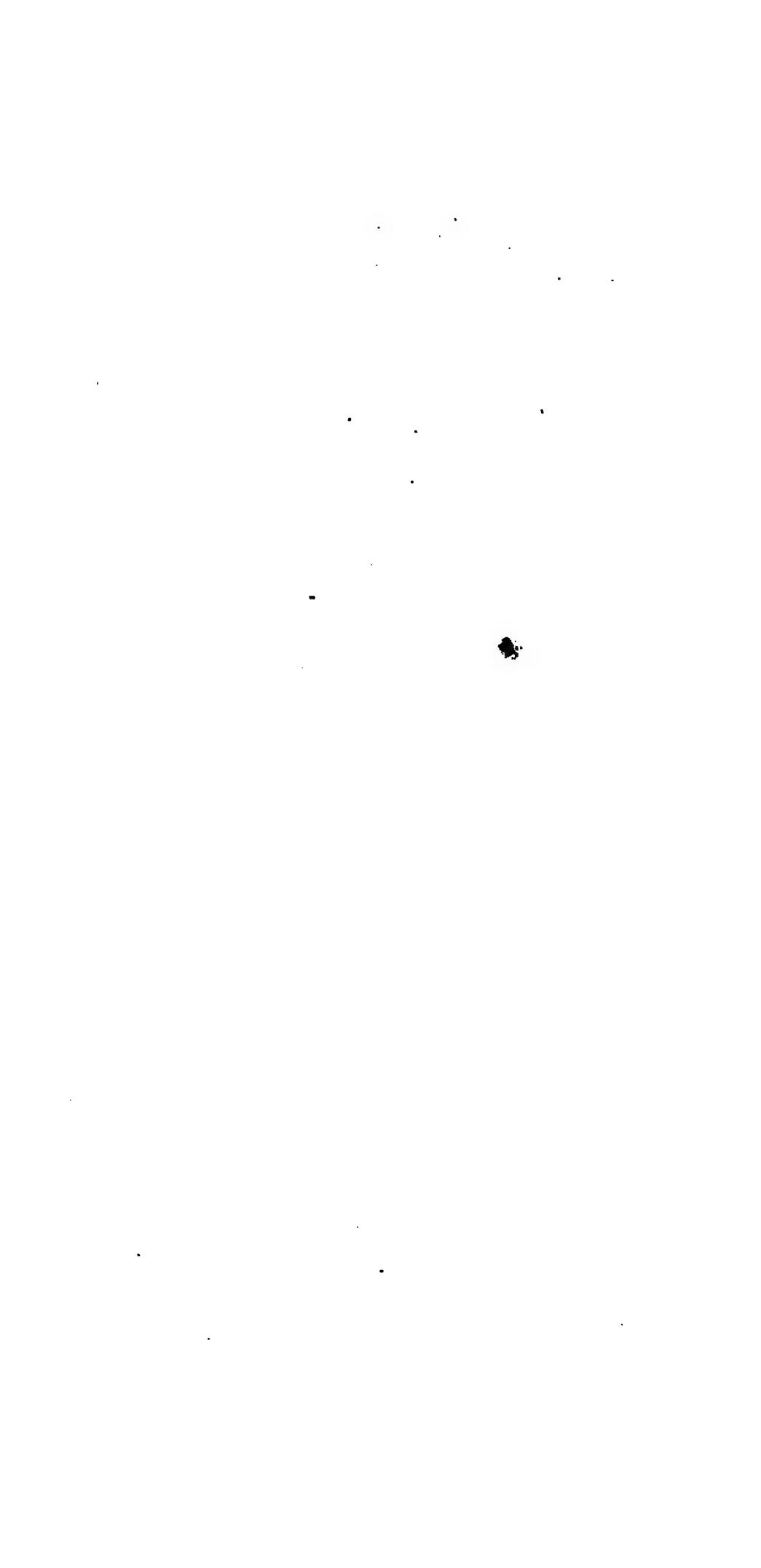
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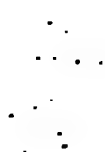
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THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN
REVIEW.

ARTICLE I.

Chartism. By THOMAS CARLYLE. London: Fraser, 1840.

RECENT events have given a fearful interest to the social condition of England. Thinking men for some time past have felt and expressed great anxiety concerning it; but they have been for the most part laughed at as alarmists. Lately, however, we came to a pass when even the most sanguine and careless could hardly feel at ease. Towns set fire to, civil war and slaughter in the streets, houses plundered, pikes and swords, were a few months back spreading terror over large districts, and making every one fear that the national prosperity, and even the safety of life and property, were seriously endangered by the spirit which manifested itself in such outrages. The habit of believing that things will right themselves of their own accord, if they are but left alone, is we know a very inveterate one, but it is hardly a match for such rude assaults as these. Not only was the anxiety general at the times of the riots, but during the few months which have elapsed since that time the feeling has been rapidly growing up, that the evil is deeply seated, and that to discover the remedy will be a task requiring much thought and care. The conviction is becoming universal, that England will not be able to guarantee that security of life and property, which is the first object of society, without bringing some wiser and more powerful institutions than she

now possesses, to act upon the lower orders of her population. For the present indeed the immediate danger is gone by, violence has been repressed and punished, and the accustomed order of society restored. But the root of the evil has not been extirpated; and the present calm offers a very favorable opportunity for dispassionately considering the causes and the remedies of this evil.

On such a subject then, so all-important to every Englishman, it was with no common interest that we took up Mr. Carlyle's work on Chartism. We were eager to learn what the discerning eye which had seen so clearly the state of things which issued in the French Revolution, had been able to perceive in the living world about it. We hoped to see much by the help of the keen insight which had distinguished the historian. We are not ashamed to profess ourselves warm admirers of Mr. Carlyle, or to think that his works are full of instruction and wisdom. Of that immediately before us we believe it may be said with truth, that it has much precisely of the same merit which so strikingly characterizes many a dramatic picture in the history of the French Revolution. There is not much novelty of matter. Indeed we do not know that we have found a single thing in it absolutely new. But the power of painting, the vividness with which each separate element is worked up into the general picture, the brilliancy of colouring, and the force with which the whole view is made to strike the imagination, are exactly such as we have been accustomed to admire in Mr. Carlyle's writings. We look upon this little book therefore, appearing at such a time as this, to be a very valuable one; not because it gives us views or information which we were absolutely without before, but because it combines the whole subject into a living form, and graphically as well as forcibly places it before our eyes. The first step towards a cure is a right perception of the symptoms of the disease,—and Mr. Carlyle's diagnostics we think very accurate.

Mr. Carlyle's book is on Chartism. But what is Chartism? What does it mean? Whence does it come? whither will it go? To these questions all sorts of answers are every day given. Some cry out that it is all the fault of the Whigs, the natural offspring of their encouragement of political

agitation. So say the Tories. If we listen to the Whigs we shall be persuaded to believe that Chartism is the fever produced in the lower orders by the New Poor Law, fomented and converted to their own political purposes, by the arts of the Tories. So speak the politicians; men to whom party is every thing, and the nation nothing; who cannot conceive of the great body of the people caring for any thing else, but who shall dwell in Downing Street. Unfortunately for both these theories, Chartism has spoken and acted very significantly under the sway of both these parties. It has most refractorily refused to disappear under the approved modes of treatment applied by each. In spite then of these political wise men we have still to ask the question, what is Chartism? Let us hear what Mr. Carlyle says thereon.

"Chartism means the bitter discontent grown fierce and mad, the wrong condition therefore, or the wrong disposition of the working classes of England. It is a new name for a thing which has had many names, which will yet have many. The matter of Chartism is weighty, deep-rooted, far-extending, did not begin yesterday, will by no means end to-day, or to-morrow. It is the struggle that divides the upper and lower classes in society over Europe, and more painfully and notably in England."

Again,

"Decay of loyalty in all senses, disobedience, decay of religious faith, has long been noticeable and lamentable in the largest class as in the smaller ones. Revolt, sullen revengeful humour of revolt against the upper classes, decreasing respect for what their superiors teach, is more and more the universal spirit of the lower classes. Such spirit may be named, may be vindicated, but all men must recognize it as extant there—all may know that it is mournful; that unless altered it will be fatal :—of lower classes so related to upper, happy nations are not made."

It is most true, and of the greatest importance thoroughly to be convinced, that Chartism is no novel occurrence, no transitory feeling of a day. It may have borrowed a name from the Charter, but its essence was long in existence before the Charter was heard of. The five points of the Charter are mere superficial symptoms,—the objects which the burning fever for the moment thirsts for, but they are not the real substance of the disease. The true essence of Chartism is the disordered state of the lower and working classes, the unjust situation in which the course of modern civilization has placed them, and the bitter feelings of resentment which this injus-

tice calls forth. It is most foolish and most dangerous to think of Chartism as any thing else than a disease deeply rooted in the foundations of our social state; and most fearfully threatening the peace, and even the existence of the present order of society. Loud and vehement protests of the lower classes against the evils of their condition, have been the precursors of these latter and more serious outbreaks. Occasional eruptions have told to those who would understand, of the fires that were raging below the surface. The earthquake came at last. The commotions that disturbed the peace of the country in past years, the violence of the Luddites in 1817, of the operatives in 1819, the field of Peterloo, and the irritated temper of the people which made it dangerous for the sovereign to walk through his own capital in 1830, were all so many indications that the causes of disaffection were at work. But never before was this spirit so general, the organization so powerful, the sympathy in the tone of feeling so universal, as it was a few months ago. The quelling of each successive disorder seemed but to make the fire within glow with more intensity. The manufacturing population were infinitely better agreed in the objects they were to aim at; assaults on property broke out simultaneously in many parts of the kingdom, and it has become plain that if any favouring circumstances had furnished the opportunity, the men of Sheffield and Merthyr Tydvil, Glasgow and Birmingham, would then have united, and would again unite in a single host against the other orders of society. Hence our danger is immensely greater, and our prospect of eradicating the evil by the exercise of mere force immensely less. And that we are not single in this opinion, but that it is one generally entertained, is proved by the very remarkable and appalling fact, that all the classes above the lowest order were so alarmed by the danger which so manifestly threatened all property, as to combine in a common and determined opposition to the Chartists. Lord Brougham pointed out the perfectly novel circumstance, that in the late trials of the Chartists, the lowest order of shopkeepers could, for the first time in the history of this country, be trusted on charges of sedition and rebellion. Many will draw comfort from this fact. They will rejoice in the accession of force which it promises

to the cause of order: and doubtless this is a well-founded confidence, if resistance to the few next out-breaks be alone thought of. But this fact has other and far more sorrowful meanings. It speaks of the terrible character of the sentiments that animate the most numerous class of our population. It bears witness that they are supported by a union and force so formidable, as to cut off all sympathy between the workmen and those who have been hitherto their natural allies. It is small comfort to know that if the battle is to be fought now, we shall have a larger army to fight with. The fearful truth is, that there is now certainty of war; that the thousands of the working classes are the enemies of the state; that the creeds and common sentiments which bind up all orders into one nation have disappeared; and that the largest, the most ignorant and the most reckless class stand by the side of the rest in an attitude of avowed hostility.

But if this evil be thus great, what causes have produced it? and what are its remedies? The inquiry into the sources of mischief is twofold. They are either physical, or moral and religious. Mr. Carlyle's book enumerates some of the first class only; but he treats them in such way as to leave a very strong impression on his reader, that the latter class contains the most powerful, and the really true agents of the evil. There is perhaps no book which places so vividly before the eye the internal character of the malady. Now, though the public attention should above all be directed to our moral evils, still it is of great moment not to seem to palliate the positive miseries which our poor have to endure. Some we fear are inseparable from human nature, under every condition of its being; others proceed from causes seated in the constitution of our nature, which have been brought into activity by the growth of our civilization, but for which no specific remedy has been found. But there are others which are the infliction of bad laws, and these every good and patriotic man should do his utmost to remove. Mr. Carlyle speaks in the first place of wages:—

“What constitutes the well-being of a man? Many things;—of which, the wages he gets, and the bread he buys with them, are but one preliminary item. Grant, however, that the wages were the whole—that, once knowing the wages and the price of bread, we know all—then, what are the wages?

Statistic inquiry in its present misguided condition cannot tell. The average rate of a day's wages is not correctly ascertained for any portion of this country, not only not for half centuries, it is not even ascertained any where for decades or years; far from instituting comparisons with the past, the present itself is unknown to us. And then, given the average of wages, what is the constancy of employment? the fluctuations from season to season, from year to year? Is it constant calculable wages, or fluctuating incalculable, more or less of the nature of gambling? This secondary circumstance of quality in wages is perhaps even more important than the primary one of quantity."

There are several very interesting questions suggested by these remarks. No doubt the testimony as to the rate of wages throughout the country is extremely conflicting; but it seems a fact pretty generally admitted that the Chartists are not composed of the poorest class of labourers in England, and that it is not any great lowness of wages, or difficulty in procuring their livelihood, which has led to their combinations. Three or four years ago the rate of wages in most of the manufacturing districts was so high, that the Poor-Law Commissioners used their utmost efforts to encourage emigration from the agricultural districts, to those where labour was so well remunerated. And yet we know that mischief had long been fermenting, and that the alienation of the operatives from their masters and the rest of society, was decided. But the other point put forward by Mr. Carlyle is a capital one,—the quality of wages. The fluctuations of manufacturing wages have been enormous. This is an evil that has pressed far more severely on modern times than on former ones. The institution of guilds, by making admission to a trade tedious and expensive, kept the supply of labour better proportioned to the demand. The price of goods might vary considerably without throwing people out of employment. No doubt the commerce of England was then a very insignificant thing, when compared with the gigantic magnitude which it has reached in our days. But if it has brought us immense wealth and power, it has not escaped the lot which God has assigned to all human things. It has brought its evils also. A dense mass of human beings, subsisting on a pittance not much above the minimum of subsistence, and carrying on a trade which, from its vastness, and the countless and distant lands which it embraces, is exposed to a

thousand interruptions,—is indeed a most serious evil. Hence, the distressing effects which deficiencies of cotton crops, American Bank speculation, Eastern politics, and China wars, produce on so sensitive a population. Those who during last winter saw thousands of weavers, with scarcely bread enough to keep off starvation, and saved only by the timely arrival of orders from America from the sale of their small households and the workhouse, can fully understand that to be the workshop to the world, is not unmixed good to a nation. This is not the language of morbid complaint; but in all matter of real life it is salutary to see the dark side of the picture as well as the bright. Those fluctuations which flow directly from the essential character of our great trade, it would be both ungrateful and foolish to repine against. They require only to be faced with all our moral and intellectual resources. But there are others of our own making; and the poor have a just claim to their estimation. We will not speak here of our banking system, though a sounder knowledge of finance might probably save us from some grievous distress. But reason and right feeling will bear out the assertion, that the corn laws are the parents of great calamities to our working classes. The fluctuations which they produce in the price of food, is above all the disastrous evil which this wretched and narrow-sighted policy inflicts upon us. They deprive, indeed, the nation of a large trade, and so far diminish its national resources. But whether England be a few millions richer or poorer, is after all not the vital question. We heartily wish we could persuade the Anti-Corn-Law men of this fact. We feel the injustice of these laws as keenly as they do; but it is not the mere loss of so much gain that we mainly deplore. A country may be growing in wealth, and yet be very miserable. At least a great increase of widespread misery, and consequent danger, may be going on at the same time with the positive accumulation of riches.

This is a question which has been little considered by political economists. Our nobles and our merchants might be greatly enriched by an open trade in corn; but if our manufacturing population were only increased in number and density thereby, the active ferment of disaffection, and the spread and intensity of Chartism, might also be vastly stimulated.

It is the soundness of all its parts, the proportionate prosperity of each class respectively, and not the mere increase of wealth alone, which makes a happy people. Now it is precisely in this respect that the corn laws are so injurious. The fluctuations which they create in the price of food, form most serious obstacles to the physical and moral welfare of the working classes. To none is steadiness in the price of the chief articles of food more all-important, both because their resources are the smallest, but much more because their habits are so greatly affected by it. A poor man should feel some well-founded confidence in the average cost of maintaining his family. His disposition to lay by his savings, and consequently his contentment with his lot in life, must greatly depend upon the degree of hope that he feels, that these savings will enable him to better his condition, or at least cheer it by an enlarged command of comforts. But altogether different will be his mood of mind, if the surplus of his earnings, saved perhaps at the cost of many a severe struggle against the tempting indulgence of the passing hour, is absorbed by ever-recurring seasons of high prices, and even then inadequate to keep off a heavy amount of misery. Such variations in the price of wheat, as we have seen within four years, from forty shillings to eighty shillings a quarter, must make life a gambling speculation for the poor, and must entail upon them the habits of the gambler. They will balance the distress and scanty food of dear years by reckless and criminal indulgence in cheap ones. The wealthier classes have means to fall back upon. Their gains are commonly steady, often progressively increasing. They can bear seasons of low profit and loss without making any material change in their habits. But the man who overflows and starves by turns, will have small inclination for thrift and economy. Besides, the working classes have to pay more dearly for their bread, at the very time when there is less demand for their labour. We are, indeed, told that dear bread brings high wages. This is one of those monstrous assertions which folly or knavery so often palm upon the ignorant. Every table of wages refutes it. Deficient harvests must lessen the power of the consumer to buy; and on the other hand, the workman is in a poor condition to bargain with his

master for wages, when food is dear, and work scarcely to be had. The bad harvests which God sends us are bad enough to bear, but to aggravate their pressure by narrowing the district from which our supplies are drawn, is both foolish and criminal.

But this is not all. There is a still greater harm which fluctuations in the price of food do to the poor and the nation. They not only discourage habits of œconomy, but they also tend to destroy the only safeguard against an undue increase of population. That the tendency of population is to exceed the supply of food, is a law now universally recognised; and it is also equally clear, that the only effectual remedy to this evil is to be found in those moral and prudential restraints which check and control the desire of marriage. It has been fully established, that those classes which have the most to lose by imprudent marriages are the slowest to contract them, whilst the poorest and most miserable nations, such as the Irish, are also the most populous. Everything therefore that makes a man think he cannot be in a worse condition by marrying, must greatly indispose him to listen to the dictates of prudence. New variations in the price of food are extremely likely to produce this effect. They degrade a man's own estimate of his condition by the wretchedness which they at times compel him to endure. They prevent him from forming a probable judgment of the permanence of a generally thriving state; they suggest the doubt, whether by delaying the present comforts of marriage he is not making sacrifices for a very precarious good; and if in the chances of human life—for chances they are to him—destitution may possibly fall to his lot, the workhouse can scarcely be worse, and in many respects will be far better, than what he has at times been obliged to endure.

And here we are brought to a very painful subject for reflection, to which Mr. Carlyle has devoted a whole chapter. The immigration of Irish labourers into the manufacturing districts, unless accompanied by some considerable improvement in the condition of the Irish peasant, threatens the physical state of the labouring classes of England with a deplorable revolution. Mr. Inglis assures us that one-half of the population of Ireland die prematurely by the operation of

disease, bad food and bad lodging. In many districts 4*d.* a day is the common rate of wages. The proceeds of a day's labour will now get a man conveyed from Dublin to Liverpool. The consequences are obvious. The manufacturer is glad to buy Irish labour at a cheaper rate than he can get English, and "the finest peasant in the world" is delighted to exchange a land of scarcity for a land of plenty. Hence our towns swarm with Irish. Some 50,000 are settled in Manchester, nearly as many in Glasgow, and so in proportion for other large towns, whilst the capability of Ireland to keep up the supply is unlimited. But let us look to the effects of this system. The Irish are willing to work for less, and so are paid less, than the English. A man who is content to live on potatoes is more than a match for one who will have wheaten bread and bacon. In this way the market price of labour becomes permanently lowered. We may be told to look at our factories and our warehouses, at the millions of pounds of cotton which are annually worked up by our machines, at the lordly estates of our merchants, and even at the greatly increased cheapness of the most necessary articles of consumption which allows every class to become a sharer in the general good. Still we say emphatically, that all this, great as it is, is no compensation for the incalculable evil of an ever-lowering standard of food and wages for our workmen. We do not assert that wages have yet sunk to such a rate as can barely support life, but we do assert that the immigration of Irish labour has reduced the price of labour in the English market, and if unchecked will bring it down to the level of the other side of the channel. What then is to be done? Repeal of the Union is plainly impossible, and even were it carried, would be unavailing—for what custom-house could prohibit the ingress of Irishmen? We have here but one reason more, but that as powerful as any:—to raise the state of society in Ireland—to place tranquillity in that unfortunate country on a stable basis by wise and humane laws—to encourage to the utmost the development of its natural resources, and by thus giving value to its native labour, to bring up the Irishman to the same standard of food as the Englishman.

We have now discussed some of those outward causes

which have been most loudly insisted upon as the producers of Chartism. We allow them considerable weight, but numerous and grievous as are the evils which they inflict upon us—still even taken together, they are inadequate to account for the mood of mind prevalent among the country classes. They do not answer the question, What is Chartism? and whence comes it? The five points of the Charter; the wonderful unanimity with which a million and a half of men have signed it; the perfect sympathy in disaffection and riotousness through distant, and most differently circumstanced districts of the empire; the savage ferocity against every right of property; the greedy eagerness with which quacks, fanatics and knaves are listened to; the threatening hostility against the lowest, against all the classes above them, are not things to be explained solely by corn laws, septennial parliaments, high franchises, or the like. The real cause must be a deeper as well as a more general one. It is to be found in the peculiar and very unequal growth of our civilization. It is the pernicious principle of "letting alone," acting under the most favourable circumstances for mischief. We have drawn together immense populations round certain centres, solely for the purposes of wealth, and we have cared for little else. We have bred up human beings for the value of their hands, and the mental skill to guide them, but we have thought little of the souls they had in them, and have made small provision for their moral and spiritual wants. If we could have reduced them to a level with the engines and horses in whose company they worked, it might have been well with us; or if we could have kept them as bondsmen, thinning their numbers as they become excessive, as the Spartans did the Helots, we might still have escaped the peculiar evils that press upon us. Nay, even if we could have had the simple belief which sometimes accompanies ignorance, we might still have been safe. But we could do none of these; we could not prevent our workmen from having minds; we could not, in this free country, check their increase by the black deeds of tyranny, which history records; nor could we shut out a degree of intelligence which is little else than dangerous when uncontrolled by moral or religious principle. Such is the charge which we bring against England, first against her rulers,

but also against all and each who have not laboured to free themselves from it. Let us look at our manufacturing population. How does it spring up? Of what elements is it composed? Its primitive element, the nucleus of the whole body, is in most cases a factory, and its bond of union, money—wages. A wealthy capitalist erects a mill in some town or village—trade is brisk—wages high—hundreds, nay, thousands, flock together from all corners of the land, unknown to each other, unlinked by any common feelings, affections, or intimacies, but loosely connected with their master, of whom they know nothing but his face, and the money that he issues through his foreman—no gentry, no professional men, and but few tradesmen, living among them, and lastly, members of no church or religious society; such are the people that make up our large villages and large towns. The utter disproportion which the number and moral condition of the working classes bear to the higher and more cultivated ones, is the peculiar and dangerous characteristic of modern society in England. Large districts of Italy were, it is true, in the latter days of Rome, inhabited by none but the labourers who tilled the soil; but these were slaves, held of no account in moral and political respects, and reckoned pretty much in the same class with the brute beasts upon the farm. If the masters are strong enough, a society composed of a few masters and numerous slaves may enjoy entire security against internal disorder, but it is far otherwise with a nation whose lower orders are both free and numerous, and attached by no bonds of interest and affection to the upper. The evils which spring from this constitution of society in England are enormous. Large unbroken masses of men are crowded in our towns, little better than heathens in religion, exchanging no kindly or endearing sympathies with those who might guide and enlighten them, having but little affection for the state that neglects them, and keenly feeling the injustice with which they are treated. Such are the bitter fruits which come from the principle of “letting alone.” Can we wonder that disaffection, hatred and rebellion, should be fomented in such a mass? Are we to be put off with the answer,—that such men get good wages, and are well fed? So are our cattle and our horses. Does the

soul go for nothing? Are its social instincts, its moral affections nothing? Can we look for love where there is nothing to be loved? Among our ancestors, the journeyman was cheered with the hope of being one day enrolled in the guild, and enjoying the substantial privileges of a citizen; but in our own times, what moral or social station is filled by our workmen which can inspire them with the feeling that they are sharers in the blessings, the privileges and the proportionate honours and duties of society? They help forsooth to get money, and they receive money themselves. We are beside ourselves when we think of this reckless selfishness of "letting alone;"—this guilty neglect of the highest and most sacred national duty of government. We forget that men cannot and will not be turned into mere mechanical tools; and that the instincts of society are so deeply seated in man's nature that he cannot live otherwise than in society. We have provided no educational or religious training for our people. 500,000 persons in London live unconnected with any church or minister, dissenting or established. Millions can neither read nor write, but these millions feel and think. We have sent few bearers of good tidings among them to awaken such a religious faith in their minds as shall teach them contentment in this life, and cheer them with the hopes of a better lot hereafter. They listen, instead, to the teaching of blasphemous and seditious newspapers, and the guidance of evil-minded men. They are not incorporated with the rest of their fellow-subjects, by an exchange of sympathies with the classes living among them. Their human hearts find vent in giving utterance, with unanimous voice and intense feeling, to their resentment against those whom they call their oppressors. Well may Mr. Carlyle point to the French Revolution. M. Guizot has said truly, that the French Revolution was the uprising of the French nation against worn-out upper classes, against those who by birth and position were its natural leaders, and had no government, no counsel to give. Thank God! we fear nothing of the sort in England; not because the cases are absolutely dissimilar, but because the hearts of the great body of the English nation are still sound,

and because there is every reason for believing that when the true state of the patient is known, many an able head and willing soul will be ready to relieve his sufferings. But ere this knowledge be brought home to people's minds, much pressure of want and misery, much sullenness of discontent, many a deed of violence and bloodshed, must probably be endured. Would that men would calmly look at the evil before such dreadful dangers force it in its worst form upon their attention !

Chartism, then, is the natural result of the bad moral and social conditions under which our population has grown up, aggravated, and more rapidly brought to a crisis, by the rapid development which our trade has undergone since the beginning of the century. Its remedy therefore must be a moral and a social one. M. Sismondi would revive the institution of guilds ; they worked beneficially in their day, but are useless and impracticable for ours. They cannot co-exist with the steam-engine and the large establishments and large capitals which it requires. It is impossible to interfere with the free course of trade ; nor would it be desirable even if it were possible to do so. Here "*laissez faire*" is the right principle, because all attempts to control trade only cramp the action of industry without impressing a more moral or social character upon it. Bounties, restrictions, prohibiting duties, are all bad *œconomically*, whilst politically they foster national jealousies, and furnish facilities for war, by preventing that mutual interdependence of all the great families of the human race, which is the best guarantee of prosperity and peace. We cannot and we must not impede commerce, but we can and we ought to make civilizing institutions keep pace with its growth. We have acted like a parent who has taken pains to strengthen the health and promote the bodily growth of his child, but has had no care for his mind. It is this sin of neglecting the minds of our people, which is now visiting us with its ruinous consequences. Our manufacturing districts have few churches or chapels, no schoolmasters, no gentry, no bodies of men of various habits, professions and ranks incorporated with them, no religious teachers, no organs for true national sympathy. Is this civilization ? Or is civil-

ization a word which should never be used but of the better orders? a thing with which working men have nothing to do? M. Guizot justly lays down as a test of the civilization which prevailed at any period, What its institutions have done, first for the personal and moral, and then for the mutual and social condition of man. Judged by this test, what sentence must be passed on our civilization?

But what is to be done? What are the particular and specific measures needed to counteract all this evil? There has been no lack of prescriptions. Let the government cease encouraging agitation,—say some; let there be no more flattering lies of plenty and prosperity, such as mocked the nation at the passing of the Reform Bill. Others are vehement for annual parliaments and universal suffrage. One consideration alone disposes of all these propositions. They do not attack the disease itself. At best they do but get rid of some of the symptoms. They cannot restore health, because they do not act upon the organs which are diseased. Universal suffrage would enable the poorer classes to injure and ruin the upper, but would do nothing towards improving their own condition. They require to be guided and governed, not to have clubs put into their hands to beat down their friends and foes alike. They are dissatisfied with their condition, they know that they are intellectually and morally neglected; but how should they know what will make them happy? How should they distinguish really salutary measures from the selfish proposals of evil and designing men? It is obvious they must be qualified by knowledge and mental cultivation before they can be safely entrusted with the task of giving laws to society; and hence the favourite topic with the genuine friends of the people has been of late—the necessity of education. And truly great this necessity is—the statistics of ignorance are most appalling. Let schools therefore be extended with all zeal, and to the utmost possible amount. It is a most righteous work, and in the right direction. Education, however, has been discussed on too narrow a basis. Education has been talked of as if it were something confined to the walls of a school, and could be given to children by the time they reach some twelve or fourteen years of age. How utterly inadequate would such a training be as an apprenticeship for the

practice of any art ! how infinitely less can it suffice for effecting one of the most arduous tasks in the world, the right development of the human soul ! For what is education ? It is the harmonious cultivation of all man's faculties, the proportionate and just development of all the elements of his moral and intellectual being ; a formation of character, a calling forth of feeling, a creating of habits, resulting in a certain moral tone, moral harmony and moral character. Is this a business that belongs to childhood ? is it not rather the process of a life ? Will the reading of a few books, the learning of a few lessons, nay, will the promise shown by right sentiments during half the period of boyhood, determine the character for life ? Schools are excellent institutions as far as they go, but they are not the instruments by which health is to be restored to the sickly moral condition of the people of England. Supposing them to be as efficient as they possibly can be, they cannot get over the fatal difficulty, that the children of men who gain their living by their daily labour, must of necessity leave school at an early age. Where is the teacher of the least experience in education who does not know that the years immediately before and after twenty are by far the most influential in the formation of the character ? How often do boys go on very promisingly till they are sixteen or seventeen, and then a fatal change obliterates the whole previous training ! how much oftener still is not the reverse the case ! But, in truth, is education a matter of books and lessons ? Are there not more powerful agents than these that give a direction to its course ? The tone of feeling which prevails in the circle where young minds are placed, the kind of sentiments which they hear expressed at every hour of the day by those to whose authority they look up, the example set them by their parents and their school-fellows, are all much more influential in giving a bias to the character than the precepts of teachers or the good advice of books. If the child hears the language of disaffection or moral depravity at home, the hours which he spends at school will avail little against it. And even if they did some little to produce an opposite state of mind, that little would soon be lost when the child becomes a workman, and is merged in the great body of his class. These influences have not been sufficiently considered in what

has been said about education, and it is precisely these influences which prevent us from being sanguine in our expectations of any great moral change to be effected by education. But it is said, reform the young, and the next generation will be wiser and better than their fathers. Yes, doubtless, they will, if the reforming process goes on more rapidly than the corrupting one. But what is to guarantee this result? The work effected by education can only be the result of *all* the forces that bear upon it, and others, besides books and teachers, must be brought into action before very much can be expected of education. Indeed, the social condition of the people of England is the educational principle of the greatest power; it is the influence beyond all others that will determine the character of future generations. Its sphere is the widest, and its mode of acting the most varied. Each of the several elements of that social condition produces its own effect. Thus the possession of property will make men orderly, and thoughtful, and prudent;—inadequate wages with their consequent misery will encourage reckless and careless habits. Inequality in the administration of the laws will set in motion the evil ferment of a sense of injustice; and it may very well happen that whilst some parts of man's nature may be cultivated, the rest may be neglected, or rather be educated by latent but most real teaching. Men may be taught to read and write, and may even make such intellectual progress as to attend with understanding and profit scientific lectures at Mechanics' Institutes, and yet their moral nature may have become depraved, and the increase of knowledge may only serve to propagate with greater force of thought and organization doctrines subversive of individual and social happiness; and on the other hand, judging from the highest point of view, a genial and sound education may be in operation, where science and intellectual light have shed but few rays. The peasants of Norway may be prejudiced and ignorant, and their modes of agriculture rude and wasteful; but if they are warmly attached to their country and superiors, if they render a sincere and ready obedience to a simple religious creed, if their interest in their state of society is so secured by the possession of property, however small, that they feel themselves identified with the prosperity and adversity of

their country, have they not a really better and nobler education than many of the intelligent and skilful, but repining and irreligious, workmen of England? Ignorance is nothing but a pure evil ;—it never is the parent of innocence, though often accompanied by comparative innocence. It has earned undeserved credit, because people have not aimed at a comprehensive and harmonious cultivation of man. The good also which may have been gained has been too often judged of by partial progress in particular branches. Poor men no more than gentlemen should be thought educated because they can read and write, nor because they can read lectures in mechanics, geology or botany. *All* man's powers must be taken into account, and all other educational forces besides schools and teachers. Education must act on all simultaneously, and must give a right direction to all, and its merits must then be estimated by the value, the religious, moral, intellectual and social value, of the whole man.

We are amongst those who feel an intensely strong desire that an extended system of national education should be set on foot in this country, and an earnest hope that the unjust and selfish outcry made against every proposed plan by those who, when they had the power, made not the least effort to counteract the growing ignorance of the people, may be speedily put down by the determinate feeling of the country. But schools are only secondary means for our object, and so we shall not dwell at length upon them here. One remark only about music. We think the low estimation in which it is held in this country very unfortunate. If the intellectual greatness of painting is so universally recognized, why should music be so little regarded? If the eye can be the vehicle for admitting what is noble and purifying, is the ear utterly incapable of conveying valuable impressions to the mind? Surely if the greatness of the five arts consists in their power of cultivating and setting in action our moral and intellectual nature through the senses, why should this power be thought the exclusive privilege of the eye? Music may be made an excellent foundation for the general study of art amongst a people, and if it has never obtained the intellectual eminence which sculpture and painting have reached, yet it has the advantage of being more universally pleasing. It has charms

which the least refined can feel and appreciate, whilst it opens a field of delightful and progressive improvement to those who can enter more deeply into its meaning. The two most intellectual nations that the world has seen, the Greeks and the Germans, have agreed in ascribing a high intellectual value to music. Shall we allow our prejudices and our ignorance to prevent us from trying the effect of that, which, if successful, would be a very easy and a very ready help to our civilization? However, if little value is set on music as an element of education, few will deny its usefulness as a source of amusement. And this is a point of no small importance. The amusements of a people are an essential part of their well-being. Mirth and innocent recreation are at all times excellent antidotes to brooding discontent; how infinite then their value in restoring life and freshness to the care-worn minds of the busiest nation in the world! They have never met with the thought and consideration which they so eminently merit in our day. A great change in respect to the number and kind of popular amusements has come upon the nation in modern times. The variety of the seasons, and the gladness that naturally accompanies the period of harvest, have ever provided an agricultural people with holydays and festivals; and if at times the labourers are called upon for unusual labour, nature diminishes their tasks at others, and leaves them in the possession of increased leisure. The Roman Catholic religion also came to the help of the poor;—it rescued many days and hours from the encroachments of the spirit of gain. But now every man is eager to be as rich as he can, and it has been discovered that the same sum must be paid the labourer for his support, whether he has holydays or none. Neither religion nor custom could protect the needy;—most of the old games have gone out of use, and our poor spend the whole of their weary days and years almost without intermission in the mills. The Socialists, with instinctive sagacity, have seen how strong is the want of amusement;—and music and dancing are far from being the least of their attractions for the people. It is most ardently to be hoped that the increasing thought which is directed to the condition of the poorer classes, will take up in earnest the whole subject of their amusements.

We are now come to the last and most important part of

our task. Is there any adequate remedy for the evils of our social condition? Is there a remedy adapted to the wants created by the peculiar condition of our civilization capable of so adjusting the relations which the lower classes should bear to each other, and to the rest, as to cement us into a united, peaceful and powerful people? We think that there is such a remedy, and that that remedy is *church*. All our reflections have tended to convince us that in the idea of church the principle of our cure is to be found. Either our cure will come from this source, or there will be no effective cure at all. By church we do not mean the Church of England, nor the Dissenters, nor any one sect in particular; but the great principle on which they are all founded, and which they all, in a greater or less degree, embody. The idea of church is one of the most valuable gifts which Christianity bestowed upon the world, one of the mightiest and most blessed powers which Christianity was the first to call into being. A thorough realization of this idea in practice would go far to regenerate us into a healthy state, as far at least as it is possible to alleviate the evils and sufferings incident to human nature. For, in the first place, church acts on the strongest motives which the heart of man feels. Religious feeling exists in every human soul, and exercises an authority and a power which belong to none other. It speaks from the judgment-seat of the conscience, and has for its sanctions the present and eternal interests of men. Its force is felt in the rudest and in the most cultivated mind; it claims the obedience of all, from the highest to the lowest. Whatever, therefore, is supported by a strong religious feeling, will wield a power at once universal and paramount to all other motives. But in the next place, and this is a consideration of great weight for our present purpose, church is by its nature and institution an eminently social principle. It rests on feelings, and sympathies, and wants, that are common to all Christians. It is a society of men afflicted by the same sorrows, opposed by the same enemies, governed by the same Head, living under the influence of the same idea, and the same principles, and, amidst the trials and sufferings of this life, finding their greatest consolation in the thought that they will hereafter enjoy a pure and unbroken communion with each other and their common Lord.

Surely if the idea of a sympathetic, loving, brotherly-minded union ever dawned on the minds of men, it appeared in the glorious idea of the Christian church. And let not the hope of this heavenly feeling being ever found able to animate men's hearts, be treated as foolish and fanatical. Those who have felt its blessedness will have been taught by its own power to think otherwise of it; and to the rest we may say, that what has been once may be again,—“The living in one accord,—the having all things in common,—the breaking of bread from house to house,—the eating their meat with gladness and singleness of heart,” are all matters of historical certainty. That for a long series of ages the Christian church has soothed many a sorrow, has visited the poor and the afflicted, has shed the blessings of kindness and civilization on many an obscure and lonely spot, are equally well known facts. And in our day too, the active benevolence which this Christian sympathy has called forth in many a private person, and the works of charity and love which it is constantly producing, furnish some of the brightest contemplations which a true friend of humanity can enjoy. And if this feeling is so vigorously alive in individuals, why should it not exercise its beneficial power in its still more legitimate province—the common body of believers. It does exist as a fact, and its natural warmth and lustre are, in principle, as unchanged as ever. Why should it not be capable of organization? And be it further observed, church communion is not confined to some isolated object of pursuit, or some unimportant point respecting which men may feel very varied degrees of interest, but it extends over the whole of life. Its influence reaches alike every branch of man's outward and inward life,—his occupations, his amusements and his inmost thoughts. In a word, it concerns him as man. And precisely because it has for its object all truly human interests, it is universal in character, and may be, and is exchanged with persons of every degree. And thus we arrive at the third great element in the idea of church, its all penetrating, its diffusive character. Being a communion between man and man, church can exist wherever men live together. It requires, in the first instance only, the presence of sympathetic hearts in order to produce its fruits. It is essentially a mutual and self-acting principle; but if em-

bodied in a well-constructed organization, it is capable of the widest expansion. It not only can employ the services of a body of men, whose especial profession it is to promote its action, and discharge the duties it prescribes, but can command the cooperation of every other member of society, whatever may be his calling in life. In the actual condition of England this is by far the most important element in the idea of church. Were it in active operation amongst us, we should not only see an infinitely increased host of regular clergy, pastors and teachers of every description; but also the general feeling of the relation in which people stood to one another as members of the church, would express itself in an enlarged intercourse, both of action and sympathy. Of this there are now but few traces to be seen. There is no more melancholy proof of the weakness of the idea of church amongst us, than the utterly inadequate expression of it in our general and local institutions. However, our purpose in this place is to show, that church, if rightly conceived and as rightly expounded in practice, is capable of furnishing us with a machinery of the very widest range, such a machinery as might act on every village, and might number amongst its labourers the highest and the lowest; in a word, every Christian citizen in the land. It would give every man acquaintances that would live with him in the exchange of endless acts of kindness; it would prevent him from feeling alone in the world; and by showing him the value which he bears to others, would teach him to respect himself. And thus it would lead merely by the force of social motives to improved habits, to a steady desire not to forfeit the approbation of those whose esteem he will have learnt to value; and thus church would cement and bind together the nation, by strong feelings in each class towards the rest, and in all towards their common parent the State. Such is the conception we have of the idea of church, and such the services that we think it capable of rendering in the present conditions of the people of England.

The question then immediately arises, how far this idea has been realized in the constitution of this country. With sorrow and shame we confess that the prospect here is so melancholy, that we know not whether to grieve more as members of the State or as Christians. As a bond of social union

church is nearly powerless. Perhaps it never was so weak at any former period of our history. The country is torn asunder with sects, and sects, it should be observed, that hang together rather by agreement in speculative doctrine than by real Christian fellowship. We have no national church. We have an established church, but not a national one; a large proportion of the population have withdrawn from communion with her, and endless are the schisms, jealousies, and rival animosities that divide those who nominally profess her faith. And hence the religious wants of Englishmen are neglected to a degree, which is a dishonour to our Christian name. Tens of thousands are living in England in what it is no exaggeration to call pure heathenism. We speak on the authority of persons well acquainted with the actual condition of our large towns, when we state that enormous masses of our countrymen have not only no spiritual teachers, or places of worship, but positively know nothing of the faith which they nominally profess; in fact, they have a far less positive belief than the generality of Mahomedans. We will not dwell here on the fearful guilt which, as Christians, we have hereby incurred; but we ask, can a people thus unconnected by any of the creeds and positive sentiments which bind men together in society, be other than a storehouse of crime, impiety and rebellion? Is this society? Has the mechanical genius of our age shamed all the generations of the past by inventing an art of society, which shall have the benefit of all man's animal and mechanical powers, without troubling itself about his moral nature? Is not such heathenism, and worse than heathenism (for civilized nations of old would have repudiated such a disgrace), a reproach that covers England with the deepest shame? This dreadful guilt concerns all. No party can excuse themselves. If the Established Church has failed to discharge her duties towards the fast increasing population, the dissenters have only had thereby a freer field for their operations. 500,000 persons cannot have been accumulated in London for whom there is neither church nor chapel, without fastening the blame on dissenters also, of not having felt the emergencies of the day, or the duty which devolved upon them as Englishmen. But whilst the dissenters are in fault, the

Establishment is far more culpable. It is in the enjoyment of immense wealth, bestowed upon it for the express purpose of teaching the people. It comprises an overwhelming preponderance of the wealth, rank and influence of the nation. But it wants zeal; its members, both lay and clerical, have felt little for church union. This principle has had little force. Hence no vigorous and united efforts have been made to provide for the growing wants of the people. Indeed, the Church of England has been always impeded by serious obstacles against becoming a truly national church. She has inherited from the Church of Rome the fatal distinction between clergy and laity; church and clergy have become synonymous terms. This mischievous notion has been the fruitful parent of endless evils. The idea of church, and the sense of the duties which it involves, have become faint and almost evanescent in the minds of laymen. By her constitution, and the fixed character of the revenues assigned for her maintenance, she has been rendered independent of the laity. She has been and is still looked upon as a distinct profession, quite as much as the army, the navy and the law. The laity have forgotten that they are as much churchmen as the clergy, and have left the management of church affairs exclusively to the latter; and from this fatal mistake have proceeded isolation, estrangement and hostility. The laity have held it to be the duty of the clergy to provide for the church wants of the people, whilst the clergy have considered their business to consist in reading prayers, preaching sermons, and occasional visitings. And even now, when visiting has become more common amongst the parochial clergy, it is almost exclusively confined to the poor. It has not for its primary object the development of church communion between all members of the church with each other. Doubtless, to visit the fatherless and widow is a very blessed function, and has ever given vitality to the office of a clergyman. But it is only a single department of church duties; and by being unfortunately confined almost exclusively to the clergy, it has not been felt to be one which belonged to every member of the church. Nowhere do the united body of the church, lay and clerical, meet, deliberate and act in their corporate capacity. The clergy

have had their convocations, but they have no more represented the church, than a body of military officers would represent the nation.

Yet there is, we rejoice to say, one exception to this statement. In one body the idea of church, in all its comprehensiveness, still virtually but unconsciously dwells; the high court of parliament represents all the interests, ecclesiastical and temporal, of society. By the constitution of England, parliament not only regulates the temporal interests of the nation, but by settling the religious creed, prescribing the ceremonial, and determining the appointments of the establishment, sets forth the great truth, that church relations belong to every man, in his character of citizen, and must finally be controlled by that body which typifies the collective privileges, and wields the collective force of the whole people. But the circumstances attending the Reformation prevented the parliament from giving full effect to this idea. The prejudices of men, sanctioned by the practice of a long course of ages, compelled the adoption of the already existing machinery. Now, independently of the fundamental error of the distinction between laity and clergy, and looking at it merely in reference to its own principle, it is obvious that the establishment is strangely destitute of an organization capable of accommodating itself to the varying wants which the altered condition of the people is ever producing. Its formularies, its mode of government, its parochial arrangements, with a few slight modifications, are exactly the same as they were 300 years ago. Let us think for a moment what the civil constitution of England was at that time, and what it is now, and then ask, whether a people so altered can find in the same unchanged ecclesiastical institution an adequate instrument for spiritual government. What means has the church for the effective education of the hundreds of thousands of souls that have sprung up in single parishes? When did it possess a body that could discern the ever-increasing demands for help, and that possessed the power, the public influence, and the pecuniary means to satisfy them? A few isolated churches, after infinite trouble and opposition, have been raised, as if to remind the public that there was a God to be worshiped. And the reason of all

this is plain. The establishment from the beginning has been a stiff and unbending body. It has given to the laity no place in its management, and they, on their side, have felt no interest in increasing the strength of an institution with which they were so slightly connected. The establishment has retained every old abuse, has made no sacrifice of its ill-distributed wealth, no suppression of its pluralities, no modification of its lordly pretensions, no devotion of all its resources to the service of its flocks. If any poor and zealous pastor, after exhausting all his powers, is overwhelmed by the thousands that crowd his parish, neither the establishment, whose officer he is, nor his nearest clerical neighbours, are at hand with assistance. A rich rector in Yorkshire feels it to be no more his concern to make every sacrifice for the instruction of the heathen masses in Lancashire, than any layman in England. Unquestionably the vast increase of the population has been utterly beyond the means of the establishment effectually to provide for; but it has left the people out of its concern, and how can it expect that they will be found to open their purses at its call? By its professional isolation, by its jealous refusal to act with and through the laity, by its want of conciliating concessions to dissenters, by its arrogant pretensions to exclusive command, and its scornful contempt of the notion that it was but the minister and servant of the nation, the Established Church has chilled and all but destroyed the idea of church union, an idea which is the only fountain from whence she could derive the necessary supplies for what the state of the country imperiously required. And thus nothing has been done, and the neglected population has become more and more incapable of seeing that its cure is to be found only in the revival of efficient church institutions. We should be truly grieved if what we have been saying should be thought to proceed from hostility to the Established Church. We are sincerely and affectionately attached to it. It is the dispenser, however imperfect, of the greatest good that can befall man on earth; the piety and zeal too, of its ministers is increasing. We reverence its venerable and beautiful services. But it needs to be made much more effective. We wish to see its principles thoroughly carried out: we see how unequal it is under its present constitution to the

great work required of it, a work, however, which nothing else can perform. We earnestly wish it to be, what it may be made, the noblest, greatest, and mightiest institution on earth.

What then must be done to enable the church to fulfil its mission? How is the church to be made the great instrument of civilization? It is obvious, from what we have said above, that the great thing is to make the laity feel themselves as much members of the church as the clergy. The idea of church must be brought home to the consciousness of every man, and through it active and sympathetic church communion be established between every part of the people. We want institutions which shall not only penetrate into every corner of the land, but shall also act in minute detail on every family and every person. For this an immensely enlarged machinery must be set in motion. Such a machinery, it is plain, can only be obtained from the laity, from their active cooperation, and their ready contribution of the necessary funds. The establishment must be rendered, not a professional, but, in the widest sense, a national body. This can be effected in no other way than by giving the laity a large and influential share in the government and discipline of the church. Till this is brought about, it will be in vain to look for ready contributions, genuine zeal and vigorous cooperation from the nation; and without these church communion is impossible, and our working classes must remain isolated and uneducated heathens. In the joint action of every individual Christian lies the strength of the voluntary principle. By this combined power it has displayed so wondrous an activity in America, that the church is built there even before the village. It is the absence of this force in the establishment which is sending every day so many converts to the voluntary principle. It is a matter of serious regret, that the voluntary principle should be quietly allowed to retain sole possession of an advantage which in no way peculiarly belongs to it, and that England should hence be threatened with so serious an evil as its triumph. But for this advantage, which it owes not to its own peculiar nature, but to the fault and neglect of churchmen, both lay and clerical, the voluntary principle would never have made such formidable

progress. Its success must teach us our defects. Let the establishment but be made the common concern of all, and its intrinsic superiority will soon make it master of the field. Let properly constituted means of association be provided for every village, and every sub-division of our towns; let them be endowed with large powers, and incorporated in a system adopted to the political constitution of the country, and be made vital by the admixture in its administration of all the forces of society, and then there need be no fear for the result. We should see no large bishops theoretically despotical, and yet virtually incapable of acting,—no powerful corporation without organs for exercising the most necessary functions of life, and without the power of adapting itself to circumstances,—no uncontrolled exercise of patronage, and irresponsible rectors destroying the people's affection for the church; we should no longer be without churches, without schools, without a host of graduated officers and teachers diffusing comfort and instruction to every portion of the nation. And thus at last we might hope to witness, if not the perfect realization, yet at least an approximation to that great perception of the relation between Church and State, by which, in the language of Hooker, "one society is both the Church and Commonwealth."

But is not this such a change in church government as amounts almost to revolution? And if the establishment is so strong that it can prevent the passing of any measure for so plain and urgent a duty as national education, and is also the strongest and most effective weapon with which the Tory party do battle, where is the use of proposing schemes that are plainly impracticable, and that rest on theories which sensible men will call visionary? We answer, there is great use. If it is true that the church can alone remedy the evils of our condition, then it is of the highest importance to know this. We may never be able to reach the *end* that lies before us, but by knowing what and where it is, all our steps will be taken in the right direction. And then, in the next place, people's minds are anxious and looking about for help. Their eyes are beginning to open. Old prejudices in a country like England must ever be strong; but riot, burning and slaughter are still stronger. The positive violence of the working classes,

and still more the doctrines that are taking hold of their minds, are making thoughtful men perceive that the old system must have some radical defect, and that something decisive and comprehensive must be done. The signs of the times speak in a voice that will be heard. At a period like this is the truth to be withheld because it may for awhile be ridiculed as wild and impracticable? Truth will convince men's minds at last, and history shows over and over again that what has been laughed at one day has become a mighty and energetic power the next—the creed and truth by which after generations have lived and worked. And we will not do the good sense of the people of England the injustice to suppose, that if they are once convinced that a true remedy is to be had, they will allow practical difficulties and prejudices to render its application finally impossible. But without going to such an extent of change, there are many valuable measures which the greatness of the emergency may have force enough to pass. The present system of making the number of clergymen dependent on churches is slow, difficult and expensive. Fifty new churches are talked of for London. They cannot be raised without a sacrifice of much time and money, and when built, what are they, or rather the fifty clergymen connected with them, for the wants of London? The church is not a company for stone and mortar buildings, but a society of living men. When men are destitute of spiritual instruction, there is at once a church for teachers to work in,—there is a vineyard which cries out for a labourer. If a room large enough to hold a congregation can be found, prayers and preaching can go on in it as well as in a church-building; and if a district or street is so poor as not to contain such a room, the greater is the urgency that the pastors should fulfil their mission from house to house. And here the question will probably be asked, "Where are the funds to come from to support such pastors?" In the first place we answer, clergymen can be obtained more cheaply than clergy and churches. In the next, to say nothing of the claims which a heathen population has to every possible sacrifice on the part of an establishment which is in the receipt of five or six millions a year, there is evidently a very ready disposition in the lay-members of the Established Church to contribute

large funds to promote its efficiency. In truth, the great difficulty is the forming of a regular and comprehensive system to act on. District visiting societies have been set on foot, but they can never be effectual until they originate from an authoritative body, and instead of depending for admission into a parish on the will or caprice of its rector, shall have been closely incorporated with the parochial clergy, and have become a regular and universal organ of church action. There can be no doubt, that if the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were once in earnest about the construction of such a plan, neither funds nor even disinterested zeal would be wanting to carry it into execution. Nor would it be very difficult to make an arrangement by which every rector should obtain a certain number of regular assistants. The want of will is the great impediment to overcome, or rather the want of an existing machinery for making safe and necessary changes in the establishment. But there are still larger resources which the church, if it pleases, can command. There are numbers of laymen of every degree whose religious feelings would delight in ministering to the spiritual necessities of their brethren. A system of reading and visiting could easily be established, only it must be carefully observed that the vitality of the whole will turn on its being a regular, positive and universal institution,—on each parish being provided with such a staff of spiritual officers, varying only in number, and really and truly responsible to a vigorous church government. We shall be told of the expense; but will the zeal and contributions which pious benevolence now so liberally bestows on disjointed and crude measures be diminished by their being engrafted on a system which shall make them efficient, and shall enable the church to accomplish the ends for which it was instituted? And do riots and burnings cost nothing? Are the hundreds of thousands of pounds, which are the annual spoil of thieves in Liverpool alone, an insignificant item? Are schools and teachers dearer than soldiers and policemen? But, in truth, liberal aid will not be wanting, provided the nation has a sufficient guarantee that it will not go to strengthen an exclusive class. And let the establishment be assured, that timely concessions to the laity, far from diminishing the weight and authority of the clergy, will obtain for them and the church,

honour, respect and affection from the whole people. Lastly, the time is come to lessen, if possible, the prodigious evil of dissent. On several occasions lately signs of approximation towards the establishment seemed to show themselves among the dissenters, particularly among the largest organized body of them, the Wesleyans. But the establishment has not made the slightest advance towards conciliation, and it is to be feared that it will persevere in refusing to treat of terms of reconciliation, until a severe pressure from without makes it impossible to stand still. Such a pressure has already begun to act in the state of the nation, and the thoughts which it is calling up in the public mind. The establishment should be wise in time. The question may be opened now, and many of the dissenters brought back into communion with the establishment on far more favourable terms than will probably be exacted hereafter. Let the Established Church but show herself thoroughly in earnest to regain her straying children, let her display a genuine spirit of kindness and fair dealing, let it be seen that she is ready to hear, and willing to grant what, upon discussion, shall be shown to be reasonable claims on the part of the dissenters, and thousands will return within her pale. Only here we meet again the same ever-recurring difficulty—the want of a deliberative and legislative body for the church. The clergy from their position and class prejudices will never be equal to dealing with such a question. It must be entrusted to an ecclesiastical commission. To appoint such a commission would be useless, until the establishment be ready to support it zealously and sincerely. But if the Established Church, under a deep sense of its responsibility to the nation, should honestly set herself to the task of carrying through such reforms in her constitution as shall adapt her thoroughly to the present condition of England, she would confer a blessing on the country which no other body or institution can bestow, and would dispense those services to the working classes, which they are entitled, in the name of religion and civilization, to claim from society in England.

ARTICLE II.

1. *A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the various Countries, Places, and principal Natural Objects in the World.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq. Part 2.: London: Longman, Orme & Co. 1840.
2. *The Correspondence of the Morning Chronicle.*—March 1840. "Hungary and its Resources."

It is now a year and a half since we drew our readers' attention to the treaty intended to facilitate the commercial intercourse between this country and the Austrian empire. We made no mystery of the many difficulties which threatened to impede its operation, while we indulged in the hope that the united exertions of the statesmen to whose guidance the destinies of the two most powerful nations of Europe were confided, would prove equal to vanquishing them. 'Have these difficulties proved greater than was anticipated, or has there been any relaxation of good will on the part of those whose duty it was to obviate them?' is a question which the nation is now justified in asking after a lapse of so many months, in which but little appears to have been done towards realizing the expectations which that treaty was calculated to raise. We believe that neither of these cases has occurred. That a still-stand has taken place, where a rapid increase of commercial activity was looked forward to by many, is indisputable,* but it would be unfair to charge this check in the desired progress to a more intimate connexion with our natural ally, upon the treaty or upon its authors. The difficulty lies much deeper.

* According to the official returns the imports and exports of Trieste were as follows:

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
1835	51,259,764	40,438,028
1836	63,157,840	45,363,911
1837	48,514,518	38,482,214

The (non-official) return published at the beginning of this year, for 1839, shows the trade to have been in round numbers,

Imports 65,000,000 fl. Exports 51,000,000 fl.

The *apparent* increase is stated to be in the coasting trade, which was in—

1837	8,332,708 fl.	17,581,995 fl.
1839	12,500,000 fl.	21,000,000 fl.

To which must be added the increase caused by the large shipments of wheat, on which the treaty had no influence.

Two grand errors lie at the bottom of the commercial policy at present pursued by the greater part of the states of Europe, and it must be confessed that the example of Great Britain has mainly contributed to their establishment. The one is the opinion very generally maintained, that the field of industrial activity is so much over cultivated, that it is necessary for the governments of the various countries to interfere, in order to secure a fair proportion of its surface for their respective subjects. The second lies in the supposition, that, were the case as stated by the holders of this opinion true, we possess sufficient information respecting the workings of industrial speculation, and a sufficient insight into the construction of its complicated machinery, to be able by legislative enactments, especially of a restrictive nature, to cure the evil.

The first-mentioned error arises from an ignorance of the true state of the various countries composing what is called the civilized world, of the nature of their resources, and of the history of their development. To account for and perhaps excuse this ignorance, a great deal may be said, but the concealment and denial of it are faults of the gravest nature. We turn to the works of historians and tourists for instruction, but find they throw only scanty and unsatisfactory gleams of light upon points of such moment. It is consequently no wonder that the most absurd and extravagant hypotheses have even in our days been advanced and defended with enthusiasm. Publications like those named at the head of our article, when conscientiously undertaken, have therefore a higher value than that which is usually attributed to them, when they furnish the means of reasoning upon these questions, which have been most improperly made matters of speculation, whereas none belong so clearly and undeniably to the sphere of fact. We shall rejoice to see such works multiply in number and extent; and we consider it as one of the best symptoms of the sound direction which the literature of our day is taking, that men of all ranks, and of varied talents, deem it a meritorious task to call the public attention to the investigation of the sources of social prosperity and suffering in the various countries in which they unveil their operation. The article on Austria in Mr. McCulloch's new work, of which only the

first numbers are as yet published, contains some information drawn from original sources, which will materially assist our present investigation. But we are fortunately enabled to add documents, hitherto unpublished, and to which we would invite the particular attention of our readers, without which we should have been necessitated to approach the momentous question before us with far greater diffidence. These weighty papers form in themselves a host of evidence, which it is only necessary for us to connect by means of general remarks, as the view they afford of the condition of manufacturing industry in Austria is too clear to need any further illustration, or almost any comment from us.

Much has been done of late years in the way of collecting authentic and useful intelligence respecting foreign countries, and yet we daily meet in all countries with men in influential situations, whether from their connexion with government, or from their station in public life, who zealously uphold the views we have designated, and hope to be able to prove, erroneous. Taking for granted that which ought to be the subject of diligent and unremitting inquiry, we find such persons everywhere asserting that a country which does not by timely legislative enactments guard against the encroachments of its neighbours, will be pushed, as the weakest, to the wall, and be overmatched in the race for power. This is of course the avowed object of each of the multifarious tariffs which latter times have seen start up, like Chinese ramparts, erected to secure our trade against the unpermitted trespasses of our neighbours. It is therefore time that popular works on geography and statistics should embody, and present in a simple and convincing shape, the substance of the scattered information which during several past years has been gleaned by intelligent travellers or communicated from official sources, as the surest guard against the spread of erroneous impressions, and the best means of dissipating similar apprehensions.

Now in recording our solemn and positive denial of the truth of this position, we would gladly avoid the failing which, as we have remarked, is but too common, of making matter of speculation that which can and ought to be purely matter of fact. Whatever opinion we advance we shall therefore be

careful to illustrate by example, and, as far as the Austrian states are concerned, we shall avail ourselves of the experience of a traveller who has passed some years in that part of Europe, and who has devoted great attention to its commercial interests.

One of the most singular recorded assumptions of a supposition for a fact, was, however, that which was alluded to in a late number of this Review. This was the assertion that Europe at large was not able to supply us with the quantity of wheat which we required to make up for the occasional failures of our own crop. This argument, which two years ago closed the final debate in the House of Lords, on the subject of the Corn Laws, was not, we believe, repeated in the discussions of the present year. How such an argument could be advanced by any one who had travelled on the continent is wonderful enough. It was unfairly deduced from the reports made by Mr. Jacobs, at the desire of the House of Lords, in which that gentleman, who visited several countries of Europe for the purpose of ascertaining what they could produce, is supposed to have shown that no great surplus of grain was to be expected from the continent. Now it is evident that, in the first place, no such result can fairly be drawn from these reports, which are more directed to show the price at which corn can be grown in several parts, than to estimate the probable quantity which could be furnished from the different countries, and to judge of which more extended inquiries than were then made would be necessary. When the accounts of a farm in Podolia showed that wheat could be produced in that part of Europe at about 15*s.* per quarter (*Tracts on the Corn Trade, Appendix*), it would only have been fair to inquire what extent of land of that quality admitted of the application of this calculation; and if the quantity, under these circumstances, shipped at Odessa, was found to be but limited, it would be necessary, *in order to tell the whole truth*, to state to what amount it was capable of being augmented.

As it is, however, easier to say something witty upon given premises than to prove their truth or falsehood, the quantities of grain which, under the system which it was proposed to alter, were found to be disposable in certain ports,

and the quantities actually exported from other ports, were assumed as the stocks likely to accumulate, and as the exportations which might be expected to take place *after the proposed alteration was made*. Thus matter for a humorous article in the Edinburgh Review was furnished, after which grave senators were not ashamed to shape their votes; neither reviewer nor senators holding it worth while to inquire whether the information furnished in these reports exhausted the subject, or whether *anything beyond* it remained to be said upon the matter, which might set it in a different light. Now it so happens that in this case what remained to be said formed the most important portion of the explanation. After learning the price at which corn could be grown in Germany, in Poland, in the North of Italy, and in Holland, there remained to be ascertained how much the neglected countries of Europe, Wallachia and Moldavia, Hungary, the two Sicilies, Spain and Portugal, could produce, if a regular demand were to arise; and the result of such inquiry would most likely be, that each of the above-named countries separately would, under such circumstances, be able to furnish the quantity required without any aid from the rest; that, in short, the small supplies found to be forthcoming in other countries when we were at a loss for grain, arose not from any inability on the part of those countries to produce grain, but from the little encouragement we held out to them to cultivate it.

On this point the correspondence published in the Chronicle is decisive; for if it be true, as is there asserted (and it is a fact which is easily verified), that Hungary possesses 20,000 square miles of land of the quality there described, situated in the finest climate of Europe, it is clear that Hungary alone could, if properly cultivated, more than furnish any quantity we are likely to require.

If, then, it has been possible for British legislators to travel for centuries through the wastes of the *Campagna di Roma*, heedless of the tokens of a different order of things which antiquity has bequeathed in the ruins of countless villas, unexampled for extent and pomp; if British armies have swept through a country like Spain, from the ocean to the Pyrenees, and from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, and our

troops have for years been quartered in the relaxing shades of Sicilian palms and pomegranates, only that no member of the upper house should be able to reply to arguments so evidently sophistical and even absurd,—is it wonderful that Prussian or Austrian ministers, dazzled as they are by the picture of prosperity which Britain presents, should err in tracing the causes of that prosperity, which her own sons have often enough shown that they do not comprehend?

The calculations of the agriculturist are much more tangible than those of the manufacturer. It is easier for him to follow the progress and the result of his experiments to their close, as, in our part of Europe at least, the produce only leaves his hands to pass into those of the consumers. The course which a manufactured article has to travel between the first conception of the speculator and the sale to the consumer, is of a far more unstable nature. The fluctuations in the prosperity of the nation, the steady continuance, temporary interruption, or sudden extension of its foreign relations, the incommensurable effects of fashion and caprice, in short, almost every moral and physical change to which the social system is exposed, influences the sale of manufactured articles. From the greater part of these risks the agriculturist is protected, or only feels their effects in a modified degree. Corn and meat still remain the food of man, however they may be prepared; and even cotton, flax, silk and wool must form his clothing, into whatever textures they may be woven, or whatever dye they may receive. If these errors are not only easy but almost inevitable in calculations having for their object the simple interest of the agriculturists in different countries, ought not the task of regulating the subtle and almost imperceptible flow of trade and manufacturing industry be approached with the greatest diffidence, and with a proper distrust as to the nature and extent of the data which we possess, when called upon to legislate upon so delicate a matter?

It is surely time that some leading axioms of political economy, the truth of which can be supported by historical evidence, should be laid down and agreed to by men of all parties. Nor can one be found more supported by the concurrent testimony of every age and of every country than

this : " that the satisfaction of one object of desire only creates in the human mind new wishes, stronger in degree and " more varied in their scope."* But how will the commercial and financial policy adopted by the leading European states bear the application of this principle?

The British navigation laws exclude most foreign vessels from a participation in the trade with our colonies, on the supposition that our shipping interests would suffer by the rivalry of other nations, and at the same time the custom duties on sugar compel the shipowners to prefer the West India to the East India voyage. Wheat which, it is proved, can be purchased cheaper in six or seven foreign countries than it can be produced by us at home, dare not be imported ; but tobacco is not allowed to be grown in England, lest our vessels should be in want of foreign cargoes. How many more vessels would the corn trade employ than now serve to convey our tobacco? Again, why is the wool of the foreign farmer to be admitted at so low a duty to our market, while his wheat is excluded? Is the supply of wool to the loom of greater importance than the food which the weaver and his workmen consume? Would the nation, dependant as it now is upon foreign countries for supplies of raw materials, feel less inconvenience at the sudden stoppage of the regular importations of cotton, wool, silk, or metals, from abroad, than it would from the interruption of its corn importations, which only could increase in proportion to its manufacturing prosperity? As no reasoner will be bold enough to draw a distinction in point of importance between the food which our fellow countrymen eat, and that which enables them to buy that food, unprejudiced eyes find it difficult to see the wisdom of the exceptional laws in the case alluded to. Let us look further.

France and Germany are setting up for manufacturing countries, and are both in want of the prime necessities to enable them to become so. We say this without prejudging the question, whether this policy, under the existing circumstances of relative density of population, abundance of capital and natural facilities, is a wise one or not. Such is, how-

* Not Mr. Senior's words, but their import.—*Vide Polit. Econ. Encyc. Metrop.*

ever, the wish of those Governments; and how do they set about it?

They acknowledge the superiority of our manufactures in quality and cheapness, by the duties which they impose for the protection of their own. They know that our machinery is one great source of this superiority, and yet they exclude that machinery too, by the imposition of heavy duties. But even the demand of their agriculturists for iron in the commonest shapes is far from being satisfied by the supplies furnished by their foundries; yet is English iron excluded,—and why? Austria, on the other hand, has immense stores of iron in her inexhaustible mines of Styria, Carinthia and Hungary. Are not these a source of wealth to the nation? We think it will not be difficult to prove, on the contrary, that they are one great cause of its poverty. Austria produces grain, wine, and many other objects of commerce, in great abundance and of excellent quality, where any attention is devoted to their cultivation; yet we find the exports and imports of the state which has the greatest natural resources of any country in Europe, the most insignificant in point of amount, while the circulation of manufactured wares in the internal trade of the empire is on the most limited scale.

When we say that Austria has the greatest natural resources of any country in Europe, we must explain that we are well aware there is another land which is at least equally favoured by nature,—Russia. But the natural advantages, great as they are, of Russia, are thrown very much into the back ground by the nature of its social institutions, on which account it by no means possesses the command over its resources which is in the power of Austria. No country, however, evinces the good policy of encouraging commercial enterprise in the most unlimited manner, so strongly as Russia. The settlement of foreign traders, and the introduction of foreign capital, encouraged by the most enlightened of its sovereigns, speedily raised this empire to a pitch of power which enabled it to triumph over two such formidable neighbours and rivals as the Turks and the Poles. The ramifications of the gigantic trade, which speculation, thus encouraged and left unshackled, has called up, resemble more

the dream of a speculative enthusiast, than a fact of our own times; so little are we accustomed to allow exertion uncontrolled to find out its own way of conquering difficulties, and consequently so seldom do we witness the varied play of human ingenuity in its full development. Yet with this experience before her, Russia has long since begun to retrace her steps. She deems herself independent of foreign aid. She demands that the millions which the purchasers of her productions annually pour into her lap, shall be paid in the form which is the least convenient to them, and the least serviceable to herself,—in money. If she pursues this course long, the consequences which must ensue are too obvious to require detailing.

With what opprobrium has not the Methuen treaty with Portugal been covered? And yet was it not under shelter of the advantages then held out to our merchants to settle and cultivate the resources of the country, that a trade like that of Oporto was founded, which has proved an inexhaustible source of riches for the land? And as these questions of political economy assert a constant influence over political conjunctures, have we not seen the importance of that constant revenue to the preservation of the rights of the crown? Was it not Oporto which put down Lisbon, and which made Don Pedro's arm more powerful than that of his opponent? Has not Cadiz proved the importance of trade for furnishing means of power to a country? The last refuge of Spanish patriotism and national pride was within those walls where the peaceful emissaries of commerce had long been welcome guests; and the wines of Andalusia, like those of Oporto, have not only purchased material enjoyments for the districts which produce them, but have imported in exchange the higher blessings of liberty and peace to an oppressed nation.

In the three last-mentioned cases, the advantages in the commercial relations subsisting between Great Britain and those lands, was supposed to be solely on the side of the former; and yet which of those countries is not more dependent upon us, than we are upon it, for the advantages accruing from our mutual intercourse?

Another maxim which might without much risk be adopted, is, that a nation produces more, and furnishes a greater

amount of labourers, in a high state of moral and physical prosperity than in a low one. The difference may often not be so great as to be commensurable by any striking, or even very tangible, standard; but as a general result, we believe that the truth of the proposition is undoubted. In this case a government would do well to attend to the state of the industrial classes in general at home, and might more easily judge of the progress of the nation to wealth, by the condition in which they are found, than by the returns of exports and imports, from which no immediate deduction respecting the prosperity or decay of the country can safely be drawn. Now if the condition of the industrial classes in most continental states be inquired into, that is to say, if the supplies of food, clothing, and other necessities at the command of the lower classes be compared with even that which an English operative can command, and finds it hard to dispense with, how great is the difference between the continental and the English labourer! And to what is this difference ascribable?

There can be but one of two reasons assigned for any such difference. Either the peasant cannot pay for these articles of necessity, or there must be something in his moral condition which disposes him to reject those things which in England are sought with such eagerness. Now as far as Austria is concerned, it is difficult to see how either of these cases can occur. The greater part of the provinces of the empire have been shown to abound in sources of wealth beyond the common share of European lands; there can consequently be no inability to pay, provided he can dispose of his produce, and these goods be furnished him at a fair price. He therefore cannot at present be adequately supplied. We draw no other reasonable conclusion from the fact of his not consuming things which are essential both to his comfort and to his industrial exertions.

Here, then, it is that the first grand error which we stated to pervade the commercial policy of so many countries of Europe presents itself in all its might, as the grand impediment to commerce of any kind. Are industrial undertakings in all countries really carried to that pitch of refinement which makes it a matter of self-preservation to drive all com-

petition from the field, and to exclude all the aid of other nations in contributing to the comfort and well-being of our respective populations?

We trust we shall be dispensed from the ungracious task of drawing a picture of the wants of the lower classes which still remain to be satisfied both in England and abroad, before it can with truth be asserted that our fabrics and our fields are overflowing with the materials which produce comfort, if not happiness. If a self-complacent Englishman points with conscious pride to our well-dressed peasantry, and the low prices at which the most essential articles of household use or the implements of labour are supplied in England, when compared with other countries, we would venture to hint, as far as the quantity of these articles is concerned, that Ireland is by no means as yet so well furnished with these necessary articles as she might be; while with the emancipation of our colonial population and the improvements introducing into the government of India, new races of consumers are daily starting up, whose wants were formerly considered as too unimportant to enter into speculations of national weight. With freedom will come exertion, with exertion wealth, and with the means of satisfying it, the desire after a higher description of comfort and enjoyment will not fail to be awakened. How much remains in every continental state to be done before the peasantry shall attain even the imperfect condition of the lower classes of British subjects, we need not here demonstrate to those, in whose recollection the rope harness, the creaking axle-trees and unbending springs, not of peasants' wagons, but of royal and imperial post-coaches, is fresh. That these deficiencies, which strike the most superficial traveller, are but symptoms of still greater wants in the interiors, both of huts and palaces, will be believed upon our assertion; for to prove it by example would be too tedious a trial, both for our own and our reader's patience.

Now at the time when our quartern loaf has attained a price to which during a long course of years we have been unaccustomed, it is not unfair to compare our scarcity of food with this absence of comfort which we find upon the continent. We cannot therefore wonder at other nations

wishing to do without our help in supplying their want of household utensils and machinery, when we persist in remaining independent of their supplies of grain. We are not now discussing the policy of abandoning our system of corn-laws; we are only furnishing some examples of the correspondence in point of bias to peculiar systems, which we observe in our own statesmen and those of the continent. They, too, deem it fit that all objects consumed within their countries' limits shall be made at home, and adduce in favour of it the current arguments of self-defence, of the chance of supplies being interrupted by war, and the consequent privation to which they would be exposed if too dependent on foreign countries,—“*et hoc genus omne.*”

One thing must here, however, be clear; that these are difficulties which no minister of foreign affairs, and no ambassador, however consummate his diplomatic skill, can get over. If the initiative in these matters must come from the foreign offices of different lands, it surely can appear in no other shape than in the representation that our position towards foreign governments would be materially improved, that our influence in Europe would be greatly augmented, if we condescended to contract such commercial relations with foreign nations, as by affording them a fair field of gain would make them desire to cultivate our friendship. The Milan treaty seems to us modestly to hint that the navigation of the Danube by English and Austrian vessels of commerce, in addition to the present flotilla of Turkish and Wallachian caiques and lumbering barges, would perhaps be as effectual a guarantee of a wavering frontier as a fleet of ships of war at Vourla, or even in the Sea of Marmora; with this difference, that it would not be difficult to make the vessels of commerce minister to the prosperity of both empires, while the ships of war would prove no inconsiderable burden. What these ships were to carry backwards and forwards, and what were to be the inducements to traders to seek this unfrequented path, were points, the decision of which was as little entrusted to Prince Metternich by the Emperor of Austria, as they were to Lord Palmerston by the British parliament. It would therefore be absurd to expect any stipulation respecting these points in this preliminary treaty. Since, then,

the difficulties to be overcome lie deeper than the sphere of diplomatic action extends, and the commercial policy of both nations must undergo a change before any interchange of the productions of both can take place upon a grand scale, the persons in whose hands the furthering or preventing such a change lies, are the true parties responsible to the public for the efficacy or nullity of the proposed commercial intercourse. The responsibility is here clearly shifted from the minister, who originates a measure as advisable, to the representatives of the people, who are entrusted with the power of granting or withholding the means of carrying it out.

Leaving for the present the English side of the question out of consideration, that is to say, the policy of providing more regular and cheaper supplies of food in exchange for manufactured goods, we shall proceed to examine the Austrian side somewhat in detail. The objects of our inquiry shall be the condition of manufacturing industry in Austria, which will lead us to the effect which the introduction of English manufactures would be likely to have both upon the industrial establishments of the empire and upon its agricultural production.

We must premise with expressing our rooted conviction that the manufacturing capabilities of the continent have been in almost every country greatly overrated. Instead of dreading anything like a rivalry in foreign markets from continental manufacturers, they are in our eyes very far from being able to supply the wants of their own respective countries. As a general proof of the truth of this assertion, we might appeal to the protecting duties which they impose upon our manufactures. But we shall go further, because we are enabled to lay before our readers a statistical document of no small interest, which will at full view show how Austria is situated with regard to manufacturing power. It is the official return from the tax-office of the industrial establishments of the empire at the close of the year 1837. The respective manufactures are specified numerically for every province, and are moreover so classified, as to allow of a survey of the species of industry which each province particularly affects.

Description of Fabric.	Vienna.	Lower Austria.	Upper Austria.	Styria.	Carinthia and Carniola.	Ilyrian Coast.	Tyrol.	Bohemia.	Moravia and Silesia.	Galicia.	Dalmatia.	Lombardy.	Venice.	Trentino.	Military Frontier.	Total.
Silk Spinning and Weaving	24	10	...	6	...	4	69	1	...	...	8	3735	1244	...	24	5119
Cotton and Woollen Spinning and Weaving ..	8	34	10	1	1	...	11	65	21	5	...	108	91	...	...	346
Flax and Hemp Spinning and Weaving .....	...	26	4	...	...	4	8	55	2	4	6	748	144	...	...	996
Cloth Weaving .....	...	1	2	...	1	...	...	10	35	3	...	17	73	5	...	147
Paper, Paper Hangings, and Playing Cards ..	13	25	15	6	7	4	15	99	40	18	...	158	81	8	2	523
Leather and Sadlery, &c.	12	11	4	...	...	8	1	27	9	5	8	177	150	118	...	491
China and Earthenware	2	5	...	6	...	...	5	13	3	4	3	50	65	1	...	157
Glass and Plate Glass	10	13	9	16	5	...	5	62	8	20	...	9	39	6	...	202
Iron Foundries and Works	1	47	74	153	69	...	10	39	15	50	3	186	71	48	9	775
Copper Mills and Works .....	...	4	6	7	8	...	1	3	...	12	5	18	86	3	1	154
Steel Factories and other Metals	9	8	...	73	94	...	4	6	...	...	2	47	2	2	...	247
Brass and Zinc, Needles and Buttons	3	6	4	2	1	...	6	2	...	...	...	77	23	...	...	124
Sugar Refineries	6	3	...	1	1	1	1	5	12	7	...	4	4	1	...	46
Distilleries of Spirits and Liqueurs	1	1	...	6	1	5	...	19	15	1233	27	65	109	25	...	1507
Colour Makers and Chemists	19	15	2	4	14	1	...	16	2	...	...	8	17	...	...	98
Wooden Wares	5	2	...	...	1	...	...	4	...	...	4	83	116	78	...	293
Sundry Factories	49	37	2	30	18	20	6	36	23	47	...	1450	769	135	5	2628
	162	237	132	312	221	48	142	462	185	1408	66	6940	3074	423	41	13,853

The following are included amongst the Miscellaneous Factories:

28 of Chocolate.	286 of Hata.	32 of Confectionary.	61 of Oil Refiners.	14 of Sealing Wax.
95 of Vinegar.	52 of Combs.	47 of Machines.	9 of Soap Boilers.	47 of Lace.
10 of Honey and Wax.	311 of Candles.	34 of Mathem. Instruments.	32 of Sieve Makers.	69 of Straw Hats.
8 of Wax Bleachers.	5 of Oil Cloth.	56 of Coach Makers.		

The circumstance of an exportation of manufactured goods of various kinds has been taken as a proof that the countries so exporting actually manufacture more than they can consume. This has been the case with some exports of cotton wares from Germany to South America, and with some articles of cutlery and hardware exported from Austria. The fact was in these instances overlooked, that since the restrictions on trade had very much limited the consumption at home of goods manufactured in Germany and Austria, it was very easy to cause a glut in a market thus artificially conducted. The circumstance of an exportation proves no more, when it can be shown that the price of all articles within the country is a high one, than the fact of the exportation of a certain quantity of Constantia wine from the Cape of Good Hope would prove that the agricultural population of that colony is supplied with wine at half a guinea a bottle.

The title of manufacturer is here tolerably extended, and yet for an empire containing 34,000,000 of inhabitants (Hungary is not included in the return, but has no manufactures of moment), it must be owned the number of fabrics is limited enough. Of 346 cotton-spinners and weavers, 189 belong to the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, into which the greatest importation of English wares is known to take place, both through legal and illegal channels. The 86 weaving and spinning establishments of Bohemia and Moravia must be very active if they furnish one-third part of the stuffs which are worn by their countrywomen*! And this is the total of cotton and woollen factories, with the exception of the clothweavers, which in those two provinces, with Silesia, number 45. The total number of iron works of all descriptions is 718, of which 257 belong to Italy.

But lest it be supposed that any sudden increase of factories has taken place within the few years in which there has been so much talk about continental manufactures, we are enabled to subjoin the list of the trades as they were ascertained in 1829. From this list it appears, that while in some

* M. Becker, in his "*Handelslexicon*," estimates the produce of the woollen looms of Bohemia at 120,000 pieces of cloth, from 30 to 35 Austrian ells (2 feet) in length, and 70,000 pieces of other woollens. The woollen factories of Moravia furnish, according to the same author, 150,000 pieces of cloth and kerseymere, and 1,100,000 pieces of flannel and other stuffs.

provinces there has been an increase amounting to nearly fifty per cent. on the number registered in the former year, yet that the rise has not by any means been so rapid as to present the picture of a manufacturing interest flourishing in a manner proportioned to the demands of the richest countries of Europe.

The official tables do not give the sums at which the fabrics are separately rated, but the total of the capital which they assume as employed in trades of all kinds in every province is so trifling, that we confess, prepared as we were not to find it a large one, it falls far beneath our expectations. In whatever manner this circumstance may be explained away (and we know the difficulty of obtaining correct returns even in countries where there is a better control over public officers than there can be in Austria), still sufficient evidence is here adduced to convince the most sceptical, that the state of the manufactures in the empire is far below what it ought to be, in order to furnish the commonest necessities to its inhabitants.

	Fabrics and Manufactories.		Merchants and Dealers.		Working Trades- men.		Increase since 1829.		
	1829.	1837.	1829.	1837.	1829.	1837.	Fabrics, &c.	Dealers, &c.	Trades- men, &c.
Lower Austria (with Vienna) }	254	399	1,617	2,001	52,841	57,166	145	384	4,325
Upper Austria	115	132	519	553	41,863	44,468	17	34	2,605
Styria	207	312	394	416	30,368	31,096	105	22	728
Carinthia & Carniola }	149	221	265	326	24,554	25,665	72	61	1,111
Illyrian Coast	22	48	154	190	6,218	6,802	26	36	584
Tyrol	437	142	1,026	514	25,518	27,158	decrease 295	decrease 512	1,640
Bohemia	335	462	2,726	2,998	110,897	123,631	127	272	12,734
Moravia and Silesia ... }	127	185	621	1,085	56,429	60,036	58	464	3,607
Gallicia	60	1,408	1,366	2,452	31,924	40,940	1,348	1,086	9,016
Dalmatia	41	66	356	451	10,469	11,236	25	95	767
Lombardy	2,668	6,940	3,705	9,702	90,091	98,053	4,272	5,997	7,962
Venice	3,010	3,074	4,776	3,789	71,203	78,249	64	decrease 987	7,046
Hungary .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Transylvania ..	1,469	423	470	894	32,126	44,243	decrease 1,046	423	12,117
Military Frontier... }	393	41	840	907	18,829	19,995	decrease 352	66	1,166
	9,287	13,853	18,857	26,278	603,330	668,738	4,566	6,441	65,406

The importance of these establishments is further still more diminished when the amount of capital at which they are assessed for the industry tax is taken into account.

	Fabrics and Manu- factures.	Bankers.	Merchants.	Shop and Store- keepers.	Working Tradesmen.	Special Oc- cupations.	Total.	Apprentices, Labourers, &c.	Registered Capital in Florins.
City of Vienna	162	18	90	1,187	23,239	1,453	26,150	27,062	4,594,700
Austria below the Ens ...	237	...	...	705	33,927	1,374	36,243	29,687	2,519,800
Austria above the Ens ...	132	1	...	552	44,468	1,367	46,520	15,591	2,905,828
Styria	312	3	2	411	31,096	1,186	33,010	10,688	1,978,890
Carinthia and Carniola ...	221	...	1	325	25,665	707	26,919	10,364	2,217,690
Illyrian Coast (exclusive of Trieste)	48	1	140	49	6,802	953	7,993	1,521	552,127
Tyrol	142	3	1	510	27,158	1,786	29,600	7,218	5,411,000
Bohemia	462	5	4	2,989	123,631	4,899	131,990	30,898	6,837,765
Moravia and Silesia	185	2	4	1,079	60,036	2,799	64,105	7,055	2,912,404
Gallicia	1,408	42	5	2,405	40,940	2,862	47,662	27,032	6,757,738
Dalmatia	66	...	10	441	11,236	702	12,455	unknown	...
Lombardy	6,940	73	288	9,341	98,053	30,140	144,835	160,892	75,011,055
Venice	3,074	73	521	3,195	78,249	12,725	97,837	126,795	39,680,000
Transylvania	423	4	1	889	44,243	2,167	47,727	unknown	...
Military Frontier ...	41	...	...	907	19,995	1,095	22,036	4,975	4,103,326
	13,853	225	10,68	24,985	668,738	66,215	775,084	459,798	155,482,323 €15,500,000

From private sources of information, we learn that many circumstances corroborate the correctness of these official statements. While the abundance of wares of English manufacture which are met with in provincial towns, when compared with the moderate returns of importations in the official lists, leaves no doubt of a most extensive contraband system, the price of the most common articles of clothing is throughout the empire from 75 to 100 per cent. higher than the same articles bear in the shops of London. The factories of metal, especially those attempting to produce any kind of machinery, are overwhelmed with orders, which they are unable to execute to the satisfaction of their customers. The high profits which the protecting duties ensure to manufacturers induce experiments of all kinds, until all parties are convinced that without skilled labourers no undertaking of the kind can thrive; and where are these labourers to come from in a country whose population is thin, and whose resources of all kinds are so immense?

Of the many difficulties with which the continental manufacturer has to struggle, the want of skilled labourers is the greatest. The number of hands disposable for manufacturing labour is in every country strictly in proportion to the agricultural capabilities of the land, but in an inverse ratio. Where soil and climate are so favourable to the growth of the first necessities of life, that food is to be had for the trouble of cultivating the field without recourse to the refinements of art, it will ever be found difficult to persuade men to shut themselves up in factories. The history of all ages has shown, that in the infancy of nations, when the population bore no proportion to the productiveness of the soil, labour on a large scale, the profit of which was to accrue exclusively to one or to many lords, was only attainable through the institution of slavery. Compare the condition of Ireland with that of England or Scotland; South America with Europe; the southern provinces of the North American Union with the northern portion of the same country; India with England; Hungary with Austria and Prussia; Italy, Spain and Portugal with Germany, Belgium and Sweden, we everywhere find the same picture held up to our view, of fertile countries, with little disposition to manufacturing industry, and land less favoured in point of soil and climate, striving to make up for this deficiency by the exertions of art.

But the productive powers even of fertile countries have a limit. When the population attains a certain density the labour of gaining sufficient food becomes no less irksome than any other kind of labour. Machinery and invention are applied either to purposes of agriculture, or to facilitate the transport of wares. Thus the inhabitants become familiarized with the use and management of machinery, and the way is paved for its more extensive application. It is evident that the period at which this change takes place differs in every country according to the various influences, not only of the varieties of soil and climate, but of position, the possession or want of certain advantages. Thus while the abundance of water in Lombardy doubles the produce of the fields, it retains the population in a great measure within the sphere of agricultural industry. The abundance of coal and of iron in England have perhaps given a somewhat premature impulse to

manufacturing industry in this island, before the agricultural resources were so far exhausted as to make the transition from the one to the other indispensable.

The population of no province of the Austrian empire exceeds 150 inhabitants to the square mile, with the exception of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, in which the number of inhabitants on the square mile exceeds three hundred. Now if Lombardy, with a population equal in density to that of the British isles, does not yet find itself driven to the resource of manufacturing industry, how are other provinces, which are still less urged by over-peopling, to succeed in introducing it? Bohemia and Moravia, with Silesia, are the provinces whose condition approaches most nearly to that of our islands. The average population is, however, even in these provinces much below that of England, while a large portion of the level country is fertile, and the habits of the people essentially agricultural. It appears that nothing short of the immense protecting duties imposed on foreign manufactures would induce the inhabitants of these countries to manufacture for years to come, at least as long as they could find a sale for their raw produce, such as wool, metals, etc., whereas the opening of a market for the occasional surplus production of corn would doubtless remove the period of the introduction of machinery to a still greater distance. The soil of Galicia is for the most part very productive; and as the establishment of good communications with the capital and the southern provinces is on the point of increasing the value of the produce, this province can still less be supposed to be prepared for industrial undertakings. The table which we have given above shows that distilleries are the main industrial occupation of Galicia, in the train of which mining will probably follow when it is required.

Hungary, with its military frontier district, remains in point of agricultural riches the most remarkable province of this remarkable empire.

" We may imagine the large extent of level country which intervenes between the secondary hills of Western and Northern Hungary, the Sclavonian and Servian mountains on the south, and the Carpathians on the east, to have formed one immense lake, or rather sea. The extent of this plain has been calculated by geographers at not less than 1,700 German

miles, or upwards of 35,000 English square miles; and that the water which once covered it might well be denominated a sea, is evident from the circumstance that the diluvial soil which it deposited is found to be impregnated with salt to a considerable depth. In the greater part of this plain the quality of the soil is only rivalled for productive power by that of the rich provinces acquired by Russia in the partition of Poland. A rich black mould, containing a large portion of vegetable substance, and in which no stone of any description is found for hundreds of miles together, varying in depth from one foot to five or six feet, and occasionally alternating with layers of yellow loam or sand, forms the most striking feature of this remarkable plain. Large tracts of sand are occasionally interspersed, and the greater part of the county of Pesth, and of the most northern districts of the plain, are of this description. If we deduct, therefore, from the calculation as given above, one third for sandy districts and marshes, which are very numerous, more than 1,000 square German, or 21,000 square English miles, of the richest soil in Europe, remain, the climate of which is eminently adapted to the cultivation of wheat."—*Correspondence of the Morning Chronicle, Letter 1.*

The picture drawn in the next letter, of the oppressive abundance of the harvest in good years, is very striking:—

"The want of hands makes the landowners very dependent on the labouring population; and the labour which the latter give, as part of the rent for their lands, being exclusively limited to ploughing, harrowing, carting, and other ordinary field-work, many branches of labour remain objects of special contract between the lord and the peasant, and the latter can only be brought to undertake them by extravagant payment. The most expensive operation is the threshing, or rather treading out the corn, for the flail is almost unknown in this part of Hungary. When the corn is cut and bound, if the weather be fine, and labourers with horses abundant, it is immediately carted to the treading place, a stamped square piece of ground in the open field. If the weather be unfavourable it is temporarily stacked. The sudden thunder storms, which are frequent in summer, often occasion great inconvenience, as, if the stack be broken up and spread over the ground, an unexpected storm, accompanied by heavy rain, is sufficient to destroy in one day the produce of thousands of acres, as, before it can be collected, and the grain removed to some protecting roof, it is often so soaked as to malt, and make it only fit for the distillery. The population in these fertile districts not averaging more than about 100 on the square mile, the difficulty of collecting labourers on the day, which would be most desirable, may be imagined; and when we are told that the lowest price paid for treading is 1-13th of the grain, while 1-12th, and even 1-10th, are not unusually given; that this recompense is even trifling in comparison with what is consumed by the unmuzzled horses and oxen employed in the operation, combined with the waste and imperfect separation of the grain from the straw;—it will not appear wonderful that in years of great abundance, or when the crops are of inferior quality, the owners prefer

turning pigs and other animals into the ripe corn as it stands upon the fields, rather than undertake the expense and risk of housing the crop. Threshing machines would naturally remove this inconvenience at once, but the difficulty of storing so much grain in abundant years, when no foreign market is open, discourages the landlord from erecting them. It is literally, to use a common saying, '*un embarras de richesses*,' which, however, not unfrequently inflicts all the evils of poverty on many districts." — *Correspondence of the Morning Chronicle.*

Is the abundance here described not a source of wealth to the land? Do its inhabitants not purchase with the surplus of that which it costs them so little to produce, the means of supplying their wants, and even of increasing their production? No:—the inhabitants of this land, which may well be said to be flowing with milk and honey, are, according to the account of this traveller, unprovided with the many articles of comfort which raise men of the peasant class in their own opinion, or afford them the means of a more productive labour; while amongst the rich proprietors the want of threshing machines and other implements of husbandry diminishes the produce of the land, in the case of wheat to one third, upon a moderate computation, of what ought to be drawn from it.

In Letter IV. the condition of the grand means of communication, and the manner in which they are used, are discussed. Here again steam engines are pointed out as the only means of accomplishing that regular and extensive traffic which the rich produce of the country requires:—

"The passage down the stream (of the Danube) is effected by mere drifting with the current, little or no artificial means of impulse being applied. Although the principal trade of Hungary consists in exports, and they mostly go up the Danube towards Vienna, yet it would seem that the arrangements for navigation have chiefly been adopted under the influence of the navigation down the river. Immense barges of 300 to 400 tons, drawn by twenty to twenty-five horses, convey seven thousand to eight thousand metzen of corn in fifteen or twenty days, when the weather is favourable and the shallow parts of the river are passable, but oftener in several weeks, from Semlin to Wieselburg. When the river is low, Raab is the highest point reached by these large vessels, and their cargoes are there discharged and conveyed to Wieselburg by land-carriage. * * *

"The general use of these large barges is unquestionably one of the greatest defects in the navigation of the Danube and the adjacent streams, and the steam-boat company has unfortunately imitated the bad example in the first towing-vessel which they started—the Eros. This boat draws

nine feet of water, and carries goods to the burthen of several hundreds of tons. Their barges, too, built for the carriage of cattle and merchandize to be towed by the steamer, are proportioned to it in size, and the consequence is, that neither steamer nor barges can come up to Presburg during several months in the year, while they are quite unfit for use on the smaller streams. * * * In fact, these large boats were adapted to the old system, founded on the little communication which had until lately taken place between Hungary and the countries adjacent, as well as within the country itself. Two trips in the year with such a boat were considered sufficient, and three were rarely to be depended upon. It is easy to see how great a change will be brought about in the transport of goods by water when the steam navigation is properly developed."—*Correspondence of the Morning Chronicle.*

The utility of railroads in a country which contains plains and valleys, on an equally gigantic scale with the chains of mountains by which it is traversed, was too obvious to be overlooked. While the Germans were petitioning their governments, and the French Chambers were discussing the prudence of adopting these innovations, the Austrians, in their quiet way, had got so much the start of the rest of Europe, that if in 1839 the Birmingham and Liverpool Railways had not united, the railroad from Vienna to Brunn, in Moravia, which was opened in July of that year, would have been the longest continuous line in Europe.

The Hungarians were not slow at discerning the advantages which their country offered for laying down railroads, and several lines are projected from the capital on both sides of the Danube. These undertakings, together with the navigation of the Danube with steam-boats, will serve to give an idea of the difficulties which great industrial undertakings have to overcome in countries which are not fully prepared for their introduction. The line of road which it is proposed to continue from Vienna by Raab to Buda, and across the plains of Upper Hungary towards Trieste, is already commenced, and the works within the province of Austria (for which alone they have as yet received the permission) are in a state of forwardness. A stranger, however, on entering the yard of the principal station-house at Vienna, would not suppose the object of the establishment to be the transport of goods. Large forges and extensive workshops filled with smiths, machinists and engineers of all nations, give to the establishment the appearance of a great machine factory, and such it really is.

The want of skilful smiths to repair and put together the engines when required, oblige the company to undertake this branch of labour, as well as that of managing the transport of goods and passengers, so that a great portion of the subscribed capital, and no small share of the time of the committee, are diverted to this extraneous work, while many additional inspectors and comptrollers are required, who are dispensed with in England, to the great simplification of the business. In the same manner the difficulty of conducting so grand an undertaking as that of the Danube Steam Company, extended as it of late has been by the establishment of lines of communication between the mouth of the river and Trebisond, Smyrna and Alexandria, is far beyond anything which an English company would have to contend with in the more frequented paths of commerce. The first difficulty is that which we before noticed in speaking of the railroads, a want of good machinists and smiths, which obliges this company also to have its building-yards and forges. The want is here evidently that of a proper division of labour. The ancient mode of navigating this splendid river, and which is still continued for heavy wares, was so rude, that the boatmen trained in this school were found totally unserviceable for the steamers. A smart steersman might occasionally be picked up, and if well conducted was an invaluable acquisition. The sailors, as well as the captains, it was of course necessary to take from other established steam-packet stations. The greater part are from Trieste. Englishmen are seldom found serviceable; the work is too rough, or rather the order to which an English sailor is accustomed can hardly so speedily be established. He gets impatient and breaks through restraint. Other dangers arise from the high pay which is frequently awarded to confidential servants in a country where the value of money is so much above its worth in England. For these reasons the engineer alone is usually an Englishman. When the boat is at length built, afloat and manned, numberless other difficulties have to be overcome. The want of a working population from which to take men for the construction and repair of the machinery, and the limited sphere from which the mariners can be chosen, are no greater impediments than arise from the scanty num-

ber of intelligent mercantile men at the various stations who are able and willing to undertake the office of agent. The lists of this company show twenty-eight agencies between Vienna and Galacz, more than the half of which are in places which offer scarcely a change if accident or illness render the agent's services unavailable. There are besides twenty-one agencies in the Greek and Turkish harbours.

The labour and merits of the men who put so extensive a machine in motion, and continue to conduct it so well with such small command of means, can from this hasty sketch be but imperfectly appreciated. The mere desire of gain, although the undertaking is a highly profitable one, would not suffice to lend the necessary perseverance and temper; and we gladly pay them the tribute of acknowledging their claim to the possession of qualities beyond the usual estimable attributes of good men of business. The spirit of patriotism in which this enterprize had its origin, continues to guide and inspire its progress; and the presence of this spirit is not the less easy to detect, nor its influence to be appreciated as less sacred, that it condescends to work through an instrument of such unpretending utility. Each extension of the establishment increases the dependence of the company on the persons in their employment. The resolution to add a new vessel to any station, by offering fresh temptation to the overwhelming consciousness of their value among the mariners, and neglect or peculation amongst the agents, may be considered no trifling act of moral courage. Here is a school in which the people of the continent can learn from experience, and in which we can observe the difference which exists between a number of separate small establishments, which the director of each can overlook with ease, and the sure and regular working of a great undertaking, branching into many departments, the slightest interruption in any one of which impedes the movements of the whole machine. This contrast, which the rapid progress of our industrial improvements has nearly deprived us of the opportunity of witnessing at home, is here held up to view in the clearest and most striking light.

And what is this but a picture of the difficulties which every manufacturer on the continent has to encounter? for we need

not restrict the application of our thesis to Austria. The unfitness of the various underclasses, whose cooperation is indispensable to the success of factory speculations, is universal, and indeed the risk of embarking large sums in machinery has everywhere been prudently avoided. Much as has been said of the progress of manufacturing industry in Austria, the power-loom, as well as printing with cylinders, are both but sparingly adopted within the empire. But from the tenor of what we have said, it will not be supposed that we consider this wise abstinence from over-hasty speculation, to which so many factitious allurements are held out, as matter of reproach. This cautious and dilatory progress in manufacturing industry is as creditable to the good sense of the country as is the spirit with which the difficulties have been attacked, and in a great part overcome, that stood in the way of the Danube Steam Navigation. But no one will have the courage to assert that the manufactures of Austria can, under these circumstances, suffice to supply the demands of the people.

We extract the following remarks from M. Kreutzberg's interesting pamphlet on the manufactures of Bohemia: "*Skizzirte Uebersicht, etc.*"

" Besides the fifteen printing establishments at Prague, which are mostly on a large scale, there are 102 other printing establishments in different parts of the kingdom, chiefly in the circle of Leitmeritz, counting 3400 tables and 38 cylinder machines for plain, and 6 for coloured printing. The chief article produced by them is calico of different qualities, for dresses, shawls and furniture, of which 1,400,000 pieces, from thirty to fifty ells (of which Prague alone prints 800,000 pieces), are printed * * The greater part of these are inferior calicoes at 10 kr. per ell (6d. per yard). But the number of finer calicoes, muslins and chintzes, ranging from 20 to 50 kr. per ell (1s. to 2s. 6d. per yard), is so considerable, that the average value of the whole may be rated at 15 kr. (9d. per yard). * * Although far from being admirers of an *absolutely prohibitive* system, we fear we have given the friends of modern systems of political economy reason to accuse us of advocating no enlightened system of commercial policy. *Our cotton fabrication would certainly not have become what it is without protective measures*, but whether these measures have proved a warrant to indolence and kept it stationary in its progress we leave to our readers to decide. * * The large printing establishment of Messrs. Poyes, at Prague, has its own forges and carpenters' workshops."

According to the wholesale prices quoted by this writer, the

pleasure of manufacturing costs the Bohemians about two thirds of the entire sum which they lay out annually in the purchase of cotton goods.

We before said that we had no wish here to canvass the merits of the Austrian municipal and provincial system of government, further than is necessary to throw light upon the state of trade and manufactures in different parts of the empire. From what has been stated, it is evident that Austria has provinces susceptible of an immense development of agricultural industry, into which the effort prematurely to introduce manufactures is not wise, nor will it be successful. Nor must it be concealed, that in addition to the impediments which we have described, and which may be called natural obstacles to manufacturing, other and more artificial restraints are imposed by the laws relating to settlement and licensing. One of the immediate effects of these artificial impediments is curious enough, and is thus noticed in the *Geographical Dictionary* :—

“ We have already remarked, that the greater number of these (Beetroot sugar) factories, together with the country breweries and distilleries, are carried on by the large landed proprietors. It is singular, however, that other branches of manufacture are likewise to a great extent carried on by the members of so proud an aristocracy ; but who find themselves obliged, by so doing, to obviate the loss accruing from the system of restrictions on trade and manufacture, which is peculiarly discouraging to small beginners. Thus Count Bucquoy has five glass-houses, Count Harrach one, Prince Schwarzenberg three, besides others belonging to Counts Desfours, Kinsky, &c. Among the earthenware manufacturers we find the Emperor ; Counts Wrthby and Falkenhayn, Prince Coburg, Counts Salm and Egger are large iron founders ; and Count Wrtna and Prince Windischgrätz manufacture tin plates. The list might be much extended : and it will be supposed that neither the public nor the noble tradesmen are so much benefited by this arrangement as they would be by a more natural one, which would make them, in their senatorial capacity, the protectors of tradesmen who should work cheaper.”—*page 242.*

Manufactures, as we have seen, cannot yet take root in Lombardy, where the agriculture is at the highest pitch, and the density of population nearly double that of Hungary and Galicia ; but where the inhabitants, in the enjoyment of unfettered industry, choose those occupations which are likely best to repay their trouble. How can we expect, then, that the few factories of Bohemia and Moravia are to supply the

wants of an empire half as populous again as the British Isles? Is not such a supposition an evident absurdity? Supposing trade to be freed from the shackles which are imposed upon it in those provinces, what will be the result? The people, left to the exercise of their own discretion, will assuredly, like the Italians, devote more labour and capital to the cultivation of the ground and the lower trades, both of which occupations remunerate them better.

What, then, is to become of the consumer, whom we see waiting in the possession of superfluous wealth of one description, which he is ready to exchange for manufactured articles of utility and comfort when he is allowed? Is it possible to travel through such provinces as Galicia and Hungary, and see the absence of such articles amongst a peasantry which in any other part of Europe would form a class of wealthy landed proprietors, without being convinced that they are actually *not supplied* with these necessaries at a price which would cause them to be consumed? Bohemia and Moravia cannot possibly furnish enough for their wants. We go even further, and do not hesitate to assert, that were the trade with England opened tomorrow upon a liberal footing, even our factories would not suffice fully to satisfy the demand which would arise, at very advanced prices. On the publication of the Milan treaty, the Austrian government was alarmed at the cry raised in the German papers by the manufacturers, that the country was to be deluged with English goods. These good people forgot that the stream only flows where there is a fall in the surface; that goods only go to countries which require and pay for them. We have before called the condition of the lower classes in England an imperfect one in point of comfort; and yet our manufacturing power is dreaded as likely to deluge other nations with wares at ruinous prices. Persons who look deeper into the matter, know that the demand arising from a fresh market of thirty millions of rich and civilized neighbours, would be most seriously felt in England, and that a sudden change of the kind would be in many respects anything but desirable. There is, however, a wide field for choice between an unlimited freedom of intercourse and an approximation of interests, which would mutually benefit the two countries; between the present state in which

the Gallician and Hungarian landowners lose the one half of the value of their produce, while the government loses its share of this lost profit; and one which would convert our whole island into a vast factory, to be provisioned like ancient Rome by annual fleets from distant lands.

We have here endeavoured to arrive at a basis upon which the commercial intercourse which the treaty declares to be desirable can be founded. If our view be the correct one, we have shown that there is no cause for jealousy on the part of the Austrians, founded on our manufacturing superiority; for if large supplies were drawn from this country, it would clearly be of such articles only which the factories of the empire do not supply. The fact of this supply not being produced after an attempt continued through several years, to encourage manufacturing at home by artificial inducements, must prove to all parties that the difficulties which lie in the way of the establishment of factories on a large scale are of a nature not to be overcome by encouragements of the kind held out. The empire has, consequently, the choice of doing without such supplies as would spread comfort amongst all classes, and furnish them with the means of increasing the amount of their natural productions; or of taking them from strangers who are able to give, on moderate terms, what cannot be procured from their own factories. The Government has the option of taxing the productions of industry at home, and the supplies introduced from abroad, so highly as to place the greater part of articles of the first necessity out of the reach of a large class of subjects; or of moderating the imposts on both, so far as to allow of a greater spread of those articles amongst all ranks. That the revenue, instead of losing by such a measure, would be a considerable gainer, cannot be doubted by any one who has devoted much attention to recent financial experiments in many countries.

If, then, the task of supplying the wants of a great and rich nation be so great, that the Austrians, instead of being jealous of our aid, ought, to a certain degree, to court our co-operation, there can be still less reason why our manufacturers should object to the founding of every arrangement made to facilitate the mutual intercourse between the two countries, on the most open reciprocity. The concessions

made to our manufacturers ought in the fullest degree to be granted to those of the power with whom we treat; and thus a partial opening might be gained for that play of ingenuity and industry which is too subtle for the grasp of restraint, or even of the fostering care of laws, but which forms an essential element of national feeling, and of the happiness of a large class of our fellow-creatures. We shall hail the day with unfeigned pleasure, when the scarcely perceptible influence of geographical position, of soil and of climate, shall assert their power in distributing to different spots the description of industry best suited to the advantages of each.

That, however, this desirable consummation will not be attained by the efforts of the wisest government, is a truth which we do not hesitate to assume as demonstrated. That it can be solely gained by the unshackled efforts of a free and energetic people follows as a matter of course.

The principle, whose truth we have here endeavoured to illustrate upon a small scale, may without doubt be expanded to the larger field of the commercial policy—interchange of the productions of nations. Restraints, in both cases, can only serve to check exertion, and to foster unnatural speculations. Could it at any time be proved that a new nation, with the manufacturing power of England, was about to rise in Europe, ready armed, like Minerva, to compete with those already established, the utmost that could result from such an apparition would be, that a population equal to that which England now supplies would then be likewise as well supplied with all it required for comfort or for utility. Were these wants satisfied, there can be no fear that new desires would awaken; and thus every limitation of exertion is a fetter upon the development of human ingenuity, which must prove as injurious to those who impose as it is to those who bear it.

The immediate effect of forced industrial speculation is that of diverting the attention of the working population from occupations for which the land possesses natural advantages.

"Iron and native steel are especially found in such abundance in Styria and Illyria, that the ore is merely quarried from mountains several thousand feet in height, and which are solid blocks of carbonate of iron ore. Yet it is a fact, although almost incredible, that an advertisement of the new

Polish Railroad Company, in the spring of 1838, in the Vienna Gazette, set forth, that 'having proved by official statements that a sufficient quantity of rails could not be furnished by the mines and foundries of the empire, they had received permission to import from foreign countries the required supply.' The article of native steel is worthy of serious attention from every country in Europe; for, though owing to the bad state of the means of communication, English artificial steel be at present sold cheaper at Trieste, yet not only is the quality of the Styrian and Illyrian metal far superior, but it is found in such abundance that it could supply a demand which would cause a serious advance in the price of artificial steel. The use of this metal for machinery must be very advantageous, and not less so for the chain cables of ships, which might be made much lighter; and perhaps ships of war and Indiamen might then take two such cables instead of one. The suspension-bridge at Vienna, hanging from two main chains instead of four, is a practical illustration of what is here suggested."—*Geographical Dictionary*, &c.

The mountains of solid ore here alluded to, are the mountains near Eisenerz in Styria, and at Hüttenberg in Carinthia, which literally justify the expression, as is well known. The production of iron within the empire is limited solely by the want of fuel to smelt the ore. Nor would this inconvenience have so long been felt if the government officers had not taken the direction of this branch of industry under their control like the rest, and materially impeded the progress of the art of mining. It has long been a standing regulation for the mining board to grant no permission to work mines where the applicant could not prove the possession of a certain extent of forest land to supply fuel for smelting. The aim of this regulation it is not easy to conceive; it, however, had the usual effect of limiting the number of miners in provinces where the supply of ore is inexhaustible, and consequently of both raising the price of the metal and deteriorating its quality. One great reason why foreign iron is sought by the undertakers of railroads, and other similar enterprises, is, that more dependence can be placed upon the articles delivered by an English house than those furnished from the Austrian foundries. Mr. Clark, the architect employed to design the suspension-bridge over the Danube at Pesth, even declared that unless he was allowed to have the metal cast and worked in England, he would have nothing to do with the undertaking. Now such a declaration can be no detraction from the quality of the foreign metal. It is notorious that the Styrian, Illyrian, and, generally speaking, the

Hungarian iron ore, is of a far superior quality to that of England; and the works of Wolfsberg, in Carinthia, have even furnished cylinders of native steel for the use of the mint at Stockholm. This testimony of so competent a judge may, however, be recorded as a proof of the truth of our two assertions respecting the injurious influence of limitations of industry in general, and of the imperfect foundation on which manufacturing undertakings in Austria are based at present.

In all the provinces in which iron ore is abundant, large fields of coal are found, of inferior quality, no doubt, but so easily worked as to make it unnecessary to economise them. Yet it will scarcely be believed that the Austrian mining board has for years refused to grant a permission to work iron-mines founded upon the possession of a bed of coals of this description, alleging that this description of fuel would not be found to answer for smelting, and thus assuming as a fact that which it ought, if it used any influence in the matter, to have combated with all its energies when advanced as an hypothesis. It was not until the present year, when the enterprising house of Rosthorn Brothers, at Wolfsberg, in Carinthia, proved indisputably that these coals could be used not only for smelting, but for welding and working the metal in other stages, that the government granted the right to work a mine, founded upon the possession of a coal bed instead of a forest. Thus for some years this province has been deprived of a legitimate branch of industry, the empire of an increased supply of this useful metal, and the wages of the miners have been kept down by the high price of fuel and the remuneration demanded by the temporary monopolists of the licensed mines. As the high price of iron naturally acted as a great limit upon its consumption, and the mountainous provinces of Inner Austria were evidently not progressing in the same proportion with many other parts of the empire, many of the nobility, and some capitalists, who were either interested as landholders in those parts, or who acted from philanthropic motives, established companies for the purpose of turning the resources of the country to better account. The Archduke John, brother to the late emperor, put himself, with his usual alacrity, where benevolence is the aim proposed, at their head. Capital was subscribed, scientific

men encouraged to suggest improvements, and persons of practical experience were invited from England and other parts, in order to leave nothing untried which could ameliorate the condition of the mines and the miners. Unfortunately, however, the true source of the evil was overlooked. The restrictions, which paralyzed exertion, were increased instead of being removed; and the labouring population, instead of being directed to an efficient working of the mines, the result of which ought to have been a reduction in the price of the metal, while their wages would have risen on a corresponding increased demand, were taught to believe that a reduction in the price of iron would be their ruin. A great many hands were diverted from the natural and legitimate occupation of producing, to be employed in manufacturing the iron, which, as we see, was both dear in price, and of inferior quality; and the prosperity of the province was thought to depend solely upon the quantity of manufactured wares which it sent out. We have heard of casks of knives of this coarse workmanship having been sent, under the denomination of manufactured goods, at a low export duty, to London and Paris, where the cutlers break up and throw away the wooden handles, and temper the steel blades to produce a fine article. Now can any one suppose that the labour thus lost in putting the raw material into the fashion of a manufactured article, in order to evade the export duty, is a source of real gain to these provinces? Does not such a trade rest upon the most unsound notions of political economy? Are we not justified in declaring that, under the present system, the mineral riches of the Styrian and Carinthian mountains, instead of being a source of wealth to the inhabitants, inflict upon them the curse of poverty? And it is to support this kind of industry that the Austrian Government imposes a duty of 8s. per cwt. on raw steel;—an article, of which, if left to its natural course, the exportation, like the supply, would be almost unlimited!

The thesis here advanced derives the fullest support from another important document, which we have obtained from the private source to which we were indebted for the trade and factory returns. This is the official return of the produce of the Austrian mines for the year 1837:—

Produce of the Mines in the Austrian Empire, showing those which are worked upon private account, as well as those belonging to Government, for the year 1857. (The Austrian cwt. = 133 lbs. English.)

DISTRICTS AND MINES.		Gold.	Silver.	Quick-silver.	Tin.	Copper.	Lead and Lead Ore.	Litharge.	Spelter.	Zinc.	Raw Iron.	Cast Iron.	Antimony.	Alum.	Copper Vitriol.	Iron Vitriol.	Cobalt.	Arsenic.	Sulphur.	Coals.	Manganese.	Graphite.
Lower Austria	Private mines	366 fl. 53,753	24 fl. *	Cwts. 235 fl. 15 x.	Cwts. 63 fl. 41 x.	Cwts. 57 fl. 40 x.	Ore 5 fl. 30 x. 14 fl. 48 x.	Cwts. 9 fl. 45 x.	Cwts. 1 fl.	Cwts. 10 fl. 20 x.	Cwts. 3 fl. 37 x.	Cwts. 6 fl. 6 x.	Cwts. 9 fl. 12 x.	Cwts. 6 fl. 37 x.	Cwts. 10 fl. 54 x.	Cwts. 1 fl. 13 x.	Cwts. 7 fl. 15 x.	Cwts. 10 fl. 15 x.	Cwts. 6 fl. 32 x.	6 fl. 7 1/2 x.	39 x.	3 fl. 23 x.
Upper Austria	Saltpetre Govern- ment mines	70	143	36	365	157	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Syria.	Government share of Innerberg		56								516,617											
Carinthia and Carinthia	Private mines.	7	606	3	1135	157	727	3	3	3	3,016	19,319	1,852	707	206						4,289	3,290
Illyrian Coast.	Government mines	2	1	4	1135	157	727	3	3	3	402,663	4201	1,852	707	206						421,315	3,290
Tyrol.	Private mines.	31	513	1318	1318	1318	1318	1318	1318	1318	37,313	14,111	81	707	1,213					92,653	55,290	
Bohemia	Government mines	1	108	1318	1318	1318	1318	1318	1318	1318	38,064	3446	81	707	1,213					10,746	10,746	
Moravia and Silesia	Private mines	1	31,313	34	1318	1318	1318	1318	1318	1318	37,313	22,723	81	707	1,213					4,013		
Gallicia.	Government mines	1079	1335	62	1335	1335	1335	1335	1335	1335	313,423	67,085	5,211	3883	20,572	36	1089	7,402	3,453,010	133	30,646	
Lombardy	Private mines	418	1335	2340	313	410	1335	1335	1335	1335	12,694	40,193	3,340	3,340					631,572	1,180		
Hungary	Government mines	1838	51,347	58,466	19,469	19,469	19,469	19,469	19,469	19,469	34,303	60,060	5,490						3,071	59,766		
Transylvania	Private mines	712	338	9412	306	348	7062	1717	13,312	13,312	18,104	3538	12,350						138	59,766		
Military frontier	Private mines	5773	610	30	908	3503	1441	1441	1441	1441	13,621	796	53						6,833	92,788		
Total produce of the Empire.		9066	96,497	3361	1337	10,092	115,527	39,469	3707	3717	1,209,332	298,794	3330	34,189	4432	41,316	3954	1,006	10,213	5,003,061	323	34,590
On private account		4087	43,166	57	1335	36,012	75,343	4065	3014	1717	1,440,356	212,409	1373	34,181	4216	31,573	29524	1406	8,531	1,000,961	323	34,590
Produce of the Government mines.		1919	33,194	3396	34	13,080	40,184	20,666	403	469,579	56,291	1373	306	9,643	30	10,282	14,997					

* Value in florins = 9s. English.
† R.R. The owners of many mines in Hungary dispute the right of the crown to levy a tax of the tithe of the produce in that country, and refuse to give regular returns. The quantity of iron and coal yielded may therefore be estimated higher.

To point out the value of this table, whether to commercial men, or to all who pay the slightest attention to the state of other countries, would be superfluous. The prices alone annexed to each column, and which may rather be assumed as the figure at which the metals are produced under the present systems of industry and trade, than what they could be got for were all restrictions removed, furnish matter sufficient for serious reflection. How much might they not be reduced by an extension of the operations, and by opening the trade, and what a benefit would not a reduction in them confer upon the country at large! The official tables show an exportation annually to the amount of near four millions of florins, which must consume more than one-third of the gross produce of the mines. May we not here ask, what quantity remains for the supply of this immense empire? The native steel of Austria is, however, an article eagerly sought by foreign nations, in spite of the restrictions which now impede the production and exportation, both of it and other articles of mining produce scarcely inferior in importance. The empire abounds in copper, zinc and sulphur. Of the latter mineral, a district in Croatia, at no great distance from Trieste, has a large supply, which is easily worked, and it is chiefly from this district that the sulphur used by the government, in its extensive manufacture of gunpowder, is drawn. Sulphur is, however, an article of such low value, that the most trifling cost of labour or of carriage is immediately felt, and operates as a limitation to its consumption for many manufacturing purposes. The expense of conveying the brimstone from the mining district to the coast would, under the present circumstances of the neglected means of communication, be the greatest impediment to its exportation.

This circumstance leads us to the consideration of another important subject.

If the agriculture and mines of Austria offer an almost inexhaustible field for the profitable employment of capital and talent, there is another department which is still more neglected, and which promises even a richer remuneration to speculators—the means of communication between the interior of the provinces and the sea-coast.

No country in Europe is furnished by nature with such facilities for cheap internal communication as Austria. The Danube traverses the empire in its whole breadth from west to east, like a great artery into which several hundred streams pour their tribute, flowing from the north and south. Of these, sixty are navigable, or might easily be made so. The Inn is navigable from the heart of Tyrol, the March from the northern extremity of Moravia. The north of Hungary is opened by means of the Waag, the Gran and the Theiss; Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, by the Save and the Drave. The total length of the navigable rivers of the empire is given in a rough estimate by the Geographical Dictionary at 4332 English miles, when measured in straight lines, and without reckoning the arms which the Danube throws out. Another peculiarity consists in the facility with which, according to all accounts, these streams can be made available for every purpose of communication; and yet, how exceedingly limited and imperfect in its arrangement is the traffic carried on upon them! What a field is here open for industry and speculation is evinced by the great profits which result for every undertaking of the kind, notwithstanding the difficulty attending some of them which we have noticed.

That there is room for a rapid improvement, especially if English capital and credit were encouraged to contribute towards the working out of so many extensive and legitimate speculations, is obvious in every portion of the empire to the most superficial observer. But no undertaking promises more lasting advantage to Austria, and a greater remuneration to the speculator, than the establishment of steam navigation upon the Save. This river, which flows in a direction from west to east through the provinces of Carniola, Croatia and the military frontier, forms for a long portion of its course the boundary between Turkey and Austria. At Sissack, in Croatia, the Save is but 110 miles distant from the Adriatic, and a small river, the Culpa, navigable as far as Carlstadt in the military frontier, shortens the distance of land carriage to the coast to about 70 miles. The advantages offered by this river for the furthering of the productions of the empire to the sea, have ever been a constant object of study by the most enlightened of the Austrian sovereigns.

Charles VI., the last male descendant of the Hapsburg family, and one of the most intelligent of the emperors of that line, was early aware of the source of wealth here offered to his states. A road, named after him "the Carolina," bears testimony to his penetration, as its execution through a difficult portion of the Istrian Alps is a monument of true Imperial munificence. The example was not lost on the Emperor Joseph II., whose cooperation was easily obtained for all that was enterprising and useful. A second road, leading from Carlstadt to Zeng, on the Adriatic, was executed under the reign of this Emperor, the object of which was to draw the Dalmatian coast, on which large and safe harbours abound, into the sphere of commercial activity, which he desired to establish. Neither of these lines was found fully to answer the end proposed. The ridge of limestone rocks which they traverse forms a narrow but steep hill, over which the roads were carried with a rapid ascent; in addition to which, the difficulty of provisioning a bleak mountain district increased the expense of labour and carriage. The Josephine road lay further, for the greater part, within the military frontier, the regulations of which are perfectly incompatible with commercial operations. Still the attention of the Hungarians was irresistibly drawn to this line of communication, and in 1809 a third line of road from Carlstadt to Fiume was opened, being constructed on a better plan than the two former. This road was made at the expense of a company of shareholders, chiefly composed of Hungarian nobles, and is one of the finest roads in the world. Were a grand commercial policy adopted by the Austrian Government, the traffic upon this line would be enormously extensive. The Dictionary alludes principally to an extension of the trade with England, but the Mediterranean and the other states of Europe would, too, demand their shares.

"How much the trade of the empire may be increased by a treaty of commerce with England, in which concessions are made on both sides, must be evident from our remarks on the extent and produce of the Austrian forests, on the corn that may be grown, and on the wine and silk production. The town of Stry, near the Dniester, in Galicia, is as near Carlstadt in Croatia as it is to Danzig; and from the plain which the Dniester waters, the finest wheat is drawn which supplies the Danzig market. How easy, therefore, would it not be for Austria to draw a large

share of this carrying trade through its own territory, instead of sending it to the Baltic! And to do so nothing is wanting but perseverance on the part of the government in the improvement of the means of communication, and some relaxation in the strict measures in force respecting Hungary. To this the whole of the produce of Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, Bosnia and Bulgaria may be added; which, by the aid of towing steamers, might be brought up the Save to Sissek, and by the Kulpa to Carlstadt, within 70 miles of the Adriatic; so that even as matters now stand, England, on an emergency, is in a great measure independent of Russia and the Baltic ports as long as she is on friendly terms with Austria."—*Geographical Dictionary*.

The truth of these remarks will only be fully proved when the Austrian Government shall resolve to adopt the measures here suggested. It is not a matter in which either the merchants of Austria or of any other land can take the first step, for the regulations of the military frontier are impediments that can only be removed by the government itself. The organization of this frontier was a rude measure corresponding with the notions of preceding centuries, and which various political reasons have since contributed to keep up. A strip of territory on the Danube and the Save, extending along the Turkish frontier from the extremity of Transylvania to the Adriatic, has been appropriated to the support of military colonies, whose male population has the obligation to do military service. A chain of posts keeps uninterrupted watch along this whole line, to prevent all communication between the two countries, except at appointed places, and under fixed formalities. Europe is no doubt in a great measure indebted to this guard for a limitation of the intercourse with Turkey, and consequently a diminution of the chances of the introduction of the plague. But as the same object is attained along the Polish and Russian frontier of Turkey without the incumbrance of such colonies, their utility at the present day will be defended by none. These troops are the most expensive to support that the empire, or perhaps any other state, keeps up. The land sacrificed to them is partly of the most productive kind, especially that situated on the Danube and the valley of the Save. As, however, the cultivation of this land is but a secondary object to the military efficiency of the colonists, its produce bears no proportion to that which might be

obtained from it by a peasant population in an ordinary way. Further, the military peasant is allowed no property in his holding, which is left to him as long as he is able to serve, but which can, at the option of the war-office, be without notice transferred to another. No improvements or investment of capital can therefore be expected at his hand. It will suffice to say, that between three and four millions of acres of the best land in Europe, situated on navigable rivers, and in the most delicious climate, besides eight to ten millions of acres of inferior land and forest tracts, are given to support a corps of 50,000 men of doubtful efficiency in case of need. But the expense entailed by this institution on the nation is trifling, when compared with the serious impediment which the regulations established for observance in these colonies place in the way of commercial intercourse. The line of the Save and the Danube to the Black Sea and the Turkish provinces is destined one day to be no less frequented than that through Germany and along the Upper Danube. The fertility of the Turkish provinces to the north of the Balkan, the communication with Asia Minor and the Russian harbours on the Black Sea is so easy by this road, that the obstacles which now close it up cannot possibly be retained; and by opening it speedily, the Austrian government will have no less a claim upon the gratitude of her own subjects, than upon the good will of Europe at large. The trade which might be drawn over to the harbours of the Adriatic through this channel would speedily attain an importance that cannot easily be calculated, if but a little attention and encouragement were held out to its cultivation; and little indeed would suffice. The sum of £500,000 would, as has been proved, be sufficient to effect such works upon the Danube and the Culpa as would allow of the free navigation of these rivers at all seasons, both up and down. The surveys have been taken, and the plans drawn, and are now in the possession of the government. The sum requisite for their execution could be raised in various ways if the government did not choose to undertake their execution itself. As it is well known that such speculations are extremely profitable, especially in Hungary, where no impediment in the heape of passports is laid in the way of travellers, no want

of subscribers would be felt on the announcement of the opening of subscriptions for shares in companies founded for the execution of these projects. But the first steps must, as we observed, be taken by the government.

The arbitrary power which every officer, and even every sentinel within the military frontier can exercise, especially after sunset, and which enables him to stop every traveller at will, has become a source of methodized speculation, and may surely be modified without danger to the general security. The permission to purchase land and erect magazines, as well as the right of settling without incurring the obligation of military service, ought to be conceded to strangers, and the administration of justice to be made speedy and simple. With these improvements strangers may be induced to bring talent and capital into the country, which would speedily change its aspect under the influence of trade.

A proclamation, which in the autumn of last year was voluntarily issued by the Austrian government, affords a proof of the anxiety entertained in high quarters in Austria to meet the demands of the age, and we hail it as a sign of the attention which commercial matters have awakened on the part of that ministry. As several European powers had prohibited the exportation of grain, from the fear of the supplies not sufficing to meet the exigencies of their own subjects, fears were entertained that the same step might be taken by Austria, in the event of an unusually great demand from foreign countries. As such an apprehension was calculated to check speculation and inspire distrust, the Austrian government came forward unasked, with the declaration, that in the event of such measures appearing indispensable, they should in no way affect the corn which had been purchased by foreign merchants; further, that all corn should be regarded as foreign property which was stored in warehouses along the military frontier, or which was loaded, or should be loaded into barges within a certain time from the date of the prohibitive proclamation.

This wise step was one worthy of a great power, and the consequence of a continuation of this policy will infallibly be, not only that the grower of produce will be inclined to increase the cultivation, but that the trader will devote capital

and exertion to the promotion of such an interchange as must bring riches, civilization and happiness in its train.

Our limits have not admitted of our exhausting the arguments that might be used on this important question, still less have we been able to give such detailed descriptions as would satisfy those who desire full information on the subject of the trade with Austria. On a future occasion we may recur to the subject, when the broad principle, for the establishment of which we have here contended, has been admitted. This principle is, that instead of dreading the competition of each other's industry, the different states of Europe have the greatest need of mutual aid to equalize the condition of their respective subjects. Instead of overworking, if free play were left on all sides to industrial exertion, instead of too many manufacturers, we should soon find that there were not enough to furnish all that was demanded of them.

The treaty of Milan has removed the obstructions to an intimate commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the Austrian empire, and even includes Turkey in its scope. It remains for the legislature of the two countries to examine the laws restrictive of commercial enterprise, in order to allow the benefit of this treaty to be enjoyed in full.

To Great Britain we see that a field is offered for an immense consumption of her manufactured goods, which can be most advantageously exchanged for produce of every description, which we now draw from less friendly sources. The colonies would find a sale for sugar, coffee and other productions, if they would take the cheap flour of Hungary in return. Our shipping interest would by these means recover a portion of that carrying trade which the Americans have made the price of their supplies. We of course do not mean this in the sense of the navigation laws, but because there are no vessels but our own to carry on the trade, while the opening of these new channels would give full employment to Austrian capital within the empire, and the more this trade extended the less chance there would be of our experiencing competition.

To Austria we should like to see the widest field held out for the sale of her rich produce of all descriptions. Her corn, flour, metals, oil, silk, wine, hemp, timber, potashes, tallow,

hides, wax, and countless productions of the field, the mountain and the forest, ought to entitle her subjects to the enjoyment of luxuries at least equal to those of the English and Americans. The government, at whose command provinces abounding in such productions stand, ought assuredly to draw from a judicious financial system a revenue both great in amount and little burthensome to its subjects. That the opening of a trade with Great Britain upon the largest scale would be the surest way of attaining these desirable ends, cannot admit of the slightest doubt; and we have some expectations that convincing proofs will soon be given by the Austrian government of its intention to carry out in the fullest manner not only the letter, but the spirit of the Milan treaty.

Now the importance which we have all along attached to the navigation of the Save and the outlet by Fiume towards the Adriatic, clashes in no way with the treaty in question, although the stipulations contained in it seem more intended for the improvement and security of the outlet of the Danube. It can be of no manner of importance to any party whether the trade goes up or down the Danube, but all parties are interested in cheap modes of conveyance and quick sale for the produce exported. The following extract from the custom-house books at Orsowa, shows by the increase in the importations last year over the preceding one, that there is a tendency in the trade of the principalities to work itself up the Danube, as the very imperfect facilities now offered suffice to cause speculation. How much would it not increase if an easy access to the sea and the trade with England were opened in that direction to the Wallachians and Moldavians?

Table showing the Imports up the Danube into Austria by means of the vessels of the Danube Steam Navigation Company*. Return of the Custom-house at Orsowa :

Description of Merchandize.	1838.	1839.
	cwts.	cwts.
Cotton wool	207½	867½
Dried fruits.....	201½	95½
Hemp	134	156
Raw silk	18½	46
Bristles	14	33

* Previous to the establishment of this company there was no traffic upon that part of the Danube.

Description of Merchandize.	1838. cwts.	1839. cwts.
Cyprus and Greek wine.....	9	4½
Oil of roses	1½	0½
Hare and lambs' skins	38½	265½
Tobacco	15	3½
Ecume de Mer	13½	125
Wool	12,169½	7780
Copper (unrefined).....	—	39½
Leather	367	1034
Sundry wares	120	191½

It would be our wish to extend the advantages of trade, which by the Milan treaty were offered to Moldavia and Wallachia, to Servia and Bosnia. The trade with Trebisonde might be as easily led up this line as through the Dardanelles. But it will be sufficiently evident from what we have said, that if Austria is desirous of cultivating a trade with those eastern countries, she cannot depend solely upon her own manufacturing resources. Her fabrics cannot rival those sent from this country by way of Constantinople, but she may draw a great portion of this trade through her states, and especially she has the power of becoming the purveyor to the provinces lying to the north of the Balkan. The means for giving full effect to this proposition are in her hands. Various stations along the Save and the Unna have from the earliest periods of Austrian sway in those parts been fixed upon as the points of commercial contact between Turkey and the empire. Fairs and bazaars are held at stated periods, and the trade in cattle is facilitated by its being necessary to drive the beasts through the river, by which process they are sufficiently cleansed.

That the Save is the natural channel of communication for all bulky wares, is evident from the following statement of the navigation up that river during the last four years; in which, however, the large quantities of salt shipped on government account are not included. The increase on the wheat shipped in the last two years shows the effect of a demand from England. The freight rose in consequence to nearly double the usual price, but the immediate consequence was a disposition to invest money in ship-building.

Semlin—Save Passage.

Years.	No. of Vessels.	Wheat.	Mixed with Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Mall.	Millet.	Rape.	Tobacco.
		Imperial Quarters.	Imperial Quarters.	Imperial Quarters.	Imperial Quarters.	Imperial Quarters.	Imperial Quarters.	Imperial Quarters.	Cwts.
1836	218	62,825	33,339	2793	6230	20,153	2338	640	41,223
1837	244	86,425	19,478	2088	6775	50,738	1171	14,127	26,273
1838	475	175,036	24,090	4505	24,420	62,659	2578	2626	53,933
1839	378	147,206	21,055	1349	10,770	57,092	384	2984	71,386
Aver. 4 yrs.	329	112,324	24,489	2686	12,548	47,910	1617	5091	48,203

Similar frontier establishments (Kastellen) to those on the Save are found on the Dalmatian frontier towards Montenegro, and it will only be requisite to choose careful and well-conducted officers for the management of the control required, in order to cultivate an extensive and most profitable transit trade between these countries and the sea. How much such a course of policy must contribute to invigorate the Turkish Empire must be evident at the first glance; how desirable it is for us that she should be so invigorated, no party has hitherto been so hardy as to deny. Now we do not think that Austria will quarrel with the share allotted to her in the task—that of being the medium through which this aim, no less desirable to herself than to her allies, is to be attained, and that by means advantageous both in point of material remuneration and of political influence.

As far as the Turkish Empire is concerned, we for our part heartily wish her the unshackled enjoyment of both.

ARTICLE III.

Le Nœud Gordien. Par CHARLES DE BERNARD. 2 vols.
Paris and Brussels: 1839.

WHATEVER may be the merits of the popular writers of modern French fiction, as compared with their predecessors in other respects, in one, at least, they appear to us sadly degenerated; they seem to have lost altogether that peculiar

art de conter which constituted the greatest charm of the national literature. As French was pronounced, by a royal critic of old, to be emphatically the language of companionship, while Spanish was that of prayer, and Italian that of love, so easy, graceful, vivacious narrative was the point in which Frenchmen especially excelled; the one talent by which writers were often able to please, who could boast of little sense, no philosophy, and only a moderate share of wit. Their superiority in this respect was universally acknowledged, and French tales and romances were the common stock-in-trade of the book-makers of all other nations, as French theatrical pieces still are of foreign playwrights, the last remnant of Gallic literary sovereignty. Every style of story-telling which successively found vogue at Paris was adopted by the heavier wits of England and Germany, and often with strange disfigurement. Calprénède and Scudery overshadowed all libraries with their heroic folios. Madame d'Aulnoy, with her successors and imitators, down to the inimitable Count Hamilton, set the fashion of fairy tales throughout Europe; a fashion to which, childish though it were, we look back with a certain degree of affectionate remembrance. A more durable mode was that introduced by Galland, the original author of what we shall always esteem the *true* Arabian Nights, the only genuine edition in the eye of taste, however unfaithful they may be esteemed by the antiquarian, that exquisite *cross* of the French and Arab styles of composition, successfully blending the romantic invention of the East with the liveliness and artful simplicity of the polished West. A succeeding age, not understanding the true philosophy of letting well alone, has set itself with infinite wisdom to inquire after the originals of these delightful nondescripts; and, being disinterested honestly and painfully by Von Hammer and Mr. Lane, they serve only to convince us how invaluable they must be in the desert, where a few hours' seasonable sleep is sometimes the saving of man as well as beast. The unrivalled Le Sage, Voltaire, Marmontel, and their followers in the light ironical style of narrative, which by courtesy was termed philosophical; Rousseau, the cunning varnisher of the loathsomeness of human nature,—all, down to Prevost and Crebillon, with their false

sentiment and vulgarity of costume, and Florian, with his namby-pamby heroism—all had one faculty in common, the art of narrative,—the art of amusing the reader by the point of a story, or captivating him by its interest;—a faculty which, quite independent of genius or philosophy, of powerful description, sometimes even of natural feeling, secured a certain degree of popularity for their worst effusions, and was the first cause of that European success which was achieved by their best.

And now, whether the fault be really and altogether in the authors, or whether reviewers themselves are apt to grow somewhat less amusable with age, our first ground of quarrel with the modern French school of fictitious narrative, is its excessive and overpowering dulness. Whenever we endeavour to satisfy ourselves as to its real character in other respects, as to the justice of the heavy charges brought against it by some on the score of morality and taste, or of the high praise which its power and energy meets with in other quarters, our first and invincible obstacle arises from the extreme labour of toiling through the stories in which these qualities are developed. The modern fashion of insinuating serious thought in fiction is a good one enough; but the narrative should serve, as it were, as a shoeing-horn to draw on the philosophy, instead of being the more cramped and difficult of the two. The great cause of this defect seems to lie in exaggeration; characters and situations out of all ordinary nature, out of all the ordinary probabilities of domestic life, are absolutely necessary for the exhibition of those strokes of power which these writers consider as the first merits of a novelist: and we do not deny that the effect of power, the result of seizing and fascinating the reader's attention, is, to a certain extent, obtained; but it is inevitably obtained by the sacrifice of all narrative interest. Eccentric characters, startling incidents, intense emotions, all these may be legitimate instruments when properly used; but it is plain how incalculable the difficulty must be of making up a good story out of these materials alone. It is a laborious prodigality of strength, a profitless dissipating of the last resources of a writer of fiction; as if a general were to go into battle with nothing but his reserves. When these fail, nothing is

left for the artist but to crowd extravagance on extravagance; to run into the sanguinary and frenetic vein of the old English tragedy, which bears an odd resemblance to the literature of refined France in the nineteenth century; to call physical power of the most far-fetched description to the aid of moral, and turn the pages, which should reflect common and healthy life, into the portraiture of a hospital for lunatics, and a lazaret-house of incurables. For instance, that a jilted heroine should die of a broken heart is but trivial pathos; how infinitely is the catastrophe heightened, when the forsaken one is made to perish, as in one of Balzac's novels, of hunger, occasioned, if we remember rightly, by a sort of constriction of the œsophagus, and has her last moments embittered at once by the anguish of seeing a rival in the arms of her lover, and the peasants of her domain rejoicing in their bread, soup, and piquette!

Of Paul de Kock we do not here speak, because he belongs altogether to another sect, that of the laughing philosophers, the old *polisson* school of novelists, much in vogue at one period, but now fallen into general discredit, notwithstanding the sort of popularity which his productions have acquired. Inferior, perhaps, both in wit and in breadth of character to his model Pigault Lebrun, the Smollet of France, he greatly surpasses him in general comic power, in liveliness of narrative, in fertility of invention. And, undoubtedly, an hour wasted over any of his novels is wasted pleasantly enough, though there is a sense of monotony at last, arising from the extremely limited range to which his talent extends; and though his grotesque Parisian heroes, his Dubourgs and Dumonts, Raymonds and Blémons, melt together rather undistinguishably in the memory. His success, they say, is on the wane in his own country, and he now chiefly finds readers among Englishmen and grisettes; if so, we are inclined after all to think that these unrefined classes of critics have the better of the admirers of the ultra-fashionable literature of the modern Parisian school.

Of this school we believe Balzac is considered as the leader, and continues to this day to produce, with intolerable fertility, surprising specimens of all its peculiarities. We have so frequently found this writer exalted by French

critics, of no contemptible rank, into a genius of the high creative order,—the founder of a new era in literature, that it is with some mistrust that we record our own impressions of him. But we must honestly confess, that, after some successful and more unsuccessful attempts at perusing the numerous works with which he has favoured the public, the effect upon us has been that of insipidity and pedantry, most wearisome and most disappointing: for the excessive employment of stimulants, of laborious exaggerations of character and sentiment, becomes more insipid than the flattest tameness, if taste and spirit are wanting; and there is quite as much pedantry in the perpetual affectation of worldly wit and *savoir vivre*, as if the writer were continually bidding the world observe how deeply he is versed in the theory of transcendental profligacy, and from how high an elevation of practical knowledge he looks down on the passions and follies he describes, as in the parade of learning or moral superiority. Vanity, and self-importance are at the bottom of both; and nothing is so utterly adverse to the spirit of that delightful *art de conter*, in which Balzac is to our apprehension utterly deficient, though not without talent of his own. His stories drag themselves heavily along; the unnatural and forced incidents on which they turn are not dexterously hinted, but developed with a painful minuteness; they are encumbered with never-ending disquisitions and digressions. He has, in a ruinous degree, that fault which is common to all his school, of leaving nothing to the reader's imagination. For fear lest a single trait should be lost, he never suffers a character to develop itself, or a conversation to proceed uninterrupted. Every dialogue must be interlarded with comments indicative of the meaning, or the look, or the gesture of the speaker, until we are reminded of the stage directions at which we used to laugh in the plays of Kotzebue. A perpetual anxiety seems to torment the author, lest the reader should forget *him* in his attention to the narrative. With such serious obstacles in the way of real and permanent popularity, we need hardly say that we apprehend no great eventual danger to public taste or morality from the partial success of such a writer as Balzac: and little more need be

said of the breed of his followers, from Soulié, Sue, &c., down to that purveyor of excitement for ogres, if ogres had a literature, who signs himself Paul L. Jacob, Bibliophile.

But George Sand, in what language are we to speak of him or her, or how to assign this epicene author a rank among cotemporaries? It is, indeed, a subject on which we have little courage to venture; because, while shrinking with horror from the depth of moral degradation which those works disclose, we cannot but be conscious that they convey glimpses, not only of genius, but of high and rare feeling, of which the Balzacs and Jacobs are as innocent as they are of common sense and taste. Were we disposed to treat them with ridicule, they would afford fair mark enough, at least to English perception, in the ludicrous monstrosities with which they abound by way of descriptions of actual life and manners. We might raise a smile over the heroic swindler Trenmor*, who has acquired his deep insight into the philosophy of life during "*cinq ans de travaux forcés*," imposed by perverse legal institutions for a little act of forgery; or that paragon of stoical Englishmen, and worthy successor of Lord Bomston and Lord Oswald, "Sir Ralph," or "M. Rodolph Brown," or simply "Sir Brown," who proposes to the object of his affections a little voyage together as far as the Isle Bourbon, in order to commit suicide by drowning in a particular waterfall, unless, as he gallantly adds, she has any preferable place in her eye. But this would be a very unworthy treatment of the subject. The uninitiated reader would probably begin the perusal of any one of George Sand's long line of volumes with a smile, or with disgust, or with weariness at much tedious prolixity, and evident signs of book-making; but, on the other hand, he would be attracted onward by various graces and accomplishments of no common order; an exquisite tact, great force of language, and a sense of outward beauty, a happiness in the description of minute objects of everyday scenery, a sympathy with Nature, even in her dullest developments, down to the sandy bye lanes, the sluggish streams, the chalk slopes,

* We observe that this author, becoming, as is often the case, less audacious with increasing popularity, has lately recast the novel *Lélia*, in what is meant to be a less offensive shape. Trenmor is no longer a swindler, but a gentleman of honour, who has undergone his five years of *travaux forcés*—only for having had the misfortune to kill a mistress by throwing a cut-glass decanter at her head!

and the straight poplar rows of Northern France, rarely met with in any writers, and least of all in writers of that country. How far these will seduce him onward, depends on himself and his idiosyncrasies. Assuredly neither his heart nor his taste will profit by the study. Critics have exhausted themselves in railing at the mischievous outward tendency of these writings, the disparagement of the most sacred human ties and institutions; but the evil lies deeper still than this. If we could conceive a society arrived at such a pitch of demoralization that the trappings and gaiety of vice seduced no longer, and that modesty and virtue, and the most exalted and purest feelings, were valued by contrast as communicating a peculiar zest and refinement to the most bestial profligacy—of such a society George Sand would be the laureate.

The exquisite subtilty of such poison as this counteracts, to a certain extent, its own influence; it is little felt by coarse or healthy constitutions; and bad as the world is, comparatively few have qualified themselves for the full enjoyment of it. But, we may be asked, are not the works of this school in general, and of George Sand in particular, at this moment the most successful products of the press, not in France only, but in Europe? To judge by the innumerable little volumes which issue from the stores of honest M. Melina of Brussels, and inundate the circulating libraries of foreign capitals and watering-places—wherever the idle congregate—we must needs answer yes. In Germany they seem to have swept away from the shelves, in such situations, even the national literature, with all its sterling superiority. Nay, we are told that

" Their victorious colonies are sent
Where the North Ocean girds the continent,"

that they are translated and read with avidity in Denmark and Sweden. In England they seem little known; thanks, in part, to our Saxon morality, and in part also to our rough Saxon organization; for the coarseness of Paul de Kock is popular enough with us, while the refined voluptuousness of Sand has not, we believe, yet found an English translator. But to what, after all, does this popularity amount? The German

character presents the odd contrast of a morbid *imagination* with a sound and hearty *disposition*; the effect of such stimulants on it is therefore superficial at best; and the French mind is at bottom too practical and acute, and too keenly sensitive to the ridiculous, not to revenge itself on its own aberrations, at least by neglect and sarcasm. We suspect that France feeds at this moment on such garbage, chiefly from the mere deficiency of better provender; and we found this notion principally on the little permanent vogue which any single works of this description seem to attain. They are produced, read with avidity, puffed with all the eloquence of a hundred *feuilletons*, and then perish everlastingly. No one ever seems to look back to them. No dramatic character stands forth from among them, and takes possession of the public mind as a recollection; no Lovelace, or Saint Preux, or Julie; no Ravensworth, or Die Vernon, or Jeanie Deans: they vanish as they came, pale, fantastic, disfigured shadows, like those which haunt the recollection after a night of uneasy dreams.

We hailed the writer whose name is at the head of this article, on our first acquaintance with him, as a singular exception to the ordinary run of French novelists—belonging neither to the school of coarseness nor that of excitement, but resting his claims merely on the legitimate attraction of his craft; the art of telling a good story with tact and vivacity, seizing dexterously the fashionable follies of ordinary life, and possessing not only some wit but a good deal of humour, which is said by critics to be in general no French accomplishment. In the style of his touch, and more particularly as a “*dramatiste de salon*,” bringing out with much theatrical effect passages of common drawing-room occurrence, he has sometimes reminded us of the ablest, by far, of our own fashionable novelists,—the authoress of “*Preferment*,” to cite her, as advertisers do, by the title of her last production. Whether the name of the first of the tales comprised in this collection, “*la Femme de Quarante Ans*,” is borrowed from Göethe’s “*Mann von Vierzig Jahren*,” is more than we know; if so, it is a Parisian pendant to a most Teutonic piece: life, as seen in the gay saloons of the metropolis of fashion, contrasted with life as it is talked of in the smoking, embroider-

ing, sentiment- and scandal-loving coteries which people the gardens of a German watering-place. It is a lively narrative of the embarrassments attending on a *liaison*, such as the law of the continental world construes not too malignantly, between a young man of fashionable habits, and a lady who has reached the critical age suggested by the title. It is only as a sketch of very real life, drawn with many touches of harmless satire, though perhaps a little too laboured in some parts, through the infection of that bad taste of which we have already spoken, that it has any value; and as such we venture to present it to our readers, begging them to lay aside for a moment some scruples of our English austerity in judging of it.

We are first introduced to the personages of this little tale in the boxes of the Italian opera at Paris; and the foremost of them is its heroine, the still lovely and graceful Madame de Flamareil. Her toilette is described with an exquisite propriety of language, such as no masculine novelist, out of Paris itself, could possibly have displayed; but we must pass it by with the concluding remark, that

"Simple as it was in appearance, even its slightest accessories denoted the experienced taste and the prepared science which had presided over its combinations. Seated in an attitude of languor and suffering, the lady sometimes raised towards the cornice of the theatre her soft and dreamy eyes; the paleness of her fair complexion was so marble and so pure, her movements, whether she reclined against the back of her fauteuil, or rested her elbow on the edge of the box, were all performed with such an air of aristocratic tranquillity, that the implacable quizzing-glass of the most professional observer could only have discovered that she was somewhat less young than beautiful, and might, perhaps, have classed this flower of the opera-box among the violets of autumn."

Her companions are a most remarkable "Anglaise au chapeau coquelicot," Mistress Lavington by name, whom the prudent Madame de Flamareil seems to have selected as her chaperone, with that instinctive sense of the advantage of contrast which usually guides a beauty on the decline in the choice of her companion; and M. Edouard de Mornac, a Parisian exquisite of twenty-five, the cavalier whose adventures are the subject of the history. He is described as showing but too evident an anxiety to escape from the enviable position in which we find him, while the jealous eyes

of Madame de Flamareil still detain him at his post, and forced to bear his part in a sentimental conversation from which his attention is perpetually wandering. All this while the movements of the party in the box are closely watched by two neighbouring gentlemen in the stalls—a little, elderly dandy, a well-preserved relic of the gay days of “*la jeunesse dorée*,” “carrying his powdered head upright on his shoulders, his chin buried up to the ears in a white cravat, with a rosette which reminded the observer of the *Incroyables* of the time of the Directory, the collar of his coat thrown back with an affectation of juvenile audacity,” who turns out to be the rich uncle and patron of the young M. Edouard; and by his side a youth, fresh from college, whom on that account “men still called the little De Boisgontier, although, moustaches apart, he would have made a very pretty *grenadier*,” who seems to give himself a perpetual wry neck in his attempts to discover what passes in the interior of the box, and blushes like a girl when the eyes of the beauty whom it contains meet for a moment with his own. Contriving to escape from his prison for a few moments, under some pretext of gallantry towards Mistress Lavington, M. de Mornac makes a rapid incursion into another box in the tier above. It contains Madame de Passerot, a Norman lady of considerable self-importance, and her fair daughter Mademoiselle Loidé, a *parti* of considerable value, whom M. Edouard is ordered to win and to marry, as such negotiations are usually conducted in France, under all the usual penalties which patronising uncles hold out to their dependents. Although quite resolved in his own mind to resist this tyranny, and suffer no force to separate him from his beloved Eudocia, De Mornac cannot resist the impulse of curiosity to become at least acquainted with the proposed partner of his life, who is thus unceremoniously thrust upon him. He finds the elder lady in a high state of dignified excitement at his delay in arriving; the younger, her eyes resolutely fixed on the stage, with an attention a little too marked to be genuine, “without allowing her features to reveal the slightest trace of the impressions which the music produced on her.” But the squire who attends them demands more particular notice.

"This individual was a man of six-and-thirty, or thereabouts, tall, strongly proportioned, and endowed with one of those martial figures for which some women conceive a particular esteem. His coat buttoned to the chin, his boots and spurs, his trowsers ample as those of a Mameluke, announced a sort of disdain of that elegant severity of costume which fashion prescribes at the *Théâtre Italien*. By the red ribbon at his button-hole; by the cut of his whiskers, in a horizontal line from the corner of the ear to the moustache, according to military ordinance; by the copper tinge which overspread his naturally fair complexion; you would have pronounced him an officer of the army, and to all appearance a fresh arrival from Algiers: for the sun of all the bivouacs of Europe could not have communicated that brilliant carnation, which resembled nothing on earth but the tints of an overdone piece of roast beef."

As this personage has an important part to play in the drama, we must introduce him as Commandant Garnier of the African Chasseurs, who has come to the opera with the double purpose of waiting on his fair cousin, whose marriage he is anxious to promote; and finding out for himself, with as little delay as possible, some *grande passion* to amuse his three months' furlough—with a duchess or marchioness, if such may be procurable at so short a notice.

"In the middle of the second tier of the theatre, this African Mars had taken his station, like a pacha on the divan of his harem; his eyes, accustomed to track the bornouss of a Bedouin at half a league's distance, marched audaciously from box to box, seeking from the *buigniores* to the gallery the Venus who was to crown with myrtle those brows scorched by the sun of the Metidja. At every discovery which seemed to pronounce favourably, he twirled his moustaches with an heroic air, smiled with an expression of martial voluptuousness, threw a fascinating expression into his eye, and drew in his athletic breast so as to communicate a mightier breadth to his expansive shoulders. But after half an hour of this manœuvring, the gallant officer was forced to confess to himself that the graces of his person and his demeanour were all wasted, like so many pearls thrown before an ignorant multitude, and that not a single feminine opera-glass had had the good taste to inquire by a glance, who was that magnificent-looking military man in the second tier."

Notwithstanding all his prepossessions, Edouard is forced to confess, after a decent time allotted to this ante-nuptial parade of mutual inspection, that there is no fault to be found either with the face or figure of the pretty provincial to whom he has been thus despotically consigned; and his retreat to his old station is effectually cut off by a manœuvre of his uncle, a great diplomatist in his way, who contrives to

force himself as a visitor on Madame de Flamareil, and to thrust "little" De Boisgontier, "tout rougissant de son bonheur," into the fourth and only vacant seat by the side of the lady of his boyish dreams.

Thus disconcerted in all his schemes, Edouard has nothing for it but to make the best of his person and accomplishments by way of exhibition before Madame Passerot and her daughter, in whose eyes he has too much vanity to wish to appear a fool; to escort them to their carriage, and to make an appointment with the commandant to talk over matters after the performance; in preparing for which he has the mortification of seeing his own Eudocia led from her box by his malicious uncle, with Boisgontier close at her heels, and receiving from her a glance of irritated jealousy presaging future wrath.

"Edouard then directed his pensive steps towards the Passage de l'Opera; and during the half hour which he spent in waiting there for Garnier, three very dissimilar ideas divided his reflections between them. The first was that of a scene of reproaches, tears, a fainting fit perhaps, which Madame de Flamareil had in store for him; for he knew too well her nervous irritability and her despotic jealousy. Secondly, that of a couple of boxes on the ear, which he promised himself the pleasure of bestowing on little Boisgontier on the first favourable occasion. Finally, an ancle like that of the huntress Diana, of which a glimpse had been revealed to him on the step of the berline, while Mademoiselle Lœide was mounting it with all the activity of a Norman girl.

"This meditation in three parts, interlacing with each other every instant like the threads of a ball of silk, was interrupted by the commandant, who advanced rapidly with the step of a bearer of good news."

The officer, who is really anxious about his cousin's marriage, is delighted to communicate to Edouard the effect which his Parisian elegance has produced on the mind of Madame Passerot; but is not a little mortified by De Mornac's confession of the entanglement in which his former passion has involved him.

"'You mean your princess of the opera,' said Garnier; 'let us have her history, if you please.'

"'For heaven's sake, my dear Garnier, understand my position, and do not wound, even by a pleasantry which to you may seem inoffensive, a sentiment which is serious enough to me; too serious, no doubt, if I regard my own interest. That lady to whom you allude I have loved for more than five years; I am attached to her by tenderness, by gratitude,

perhaps by habit too, in short, by all the bonds which an uninterrupted and exclusive intimacy can frame. To break this chain, for I admit that it is a chain, to throw aside this past so full of recollections, to bid an everlasting adieu to this passion into which I have put my whole soul ever since I have been a man, all this is a sacrifice which frightens me. She loves me, Garnier, she loves me; my marriage would be a dagger-blow to her; it would kill her, perhaps.'

" 'Bah !' said the officer of Chasseurs, launching towards the sky an enormous whiff of smoke, like a seal blowing salt water.

" 'Do not fancy that a ridiculous coxcombry makes me speak thus,' said Edouard, with warmth; 'would that I might be deceived! but I know too well that devoted heart, that morbid sensibility, that enthusiastic soul, that woman, in short, no less proud than susceptible, who, wounded by me, would not complain, but——'

" 'Would die, you mean?' interrupted Garnier. 'You are young, my friend; be tranquil on that point. Women surrender, and do not die.'

" At this impertinent parody of the saying attributed to Cambronne, Edouard threw away his cigar with a gesture of disdain, to which the prosaic officer paid no attention.

" 'Commandant,' he said, with a slight tone of irony, 'I see that we do not understand each other. I can perfectly conceive that your garrison conquests have left you very little disposition to appreciate all that there is of noble, passionate, and sublime in the souls of some women of more exalted nature.'

" 'My garrison conquests? what do you mean by that?' exclaimed the officer, piqued in his turn. 'During fifteen years that I have been in the service, I tell you that I have known twenty ladies, I say *ladies*, more beautiful and more amiable than all the fantastical set we have seen this evening. In the devil's name, let us discuss this question without personalities, if you please. I speak to you as every man of common sense would speak in my place; and now do not take it into your head that I am a mere trooper, without a heart or soul, as you seem to imagine; if, instead of holding this language to you, I had consulted my own deep recollections and my own experience, perhaps I might have been of your opinion; but one must never take the exception for the rule.'

" 'How?' said Edouard; 'have you ever felt in your life any serious sentiment, which has given the lie to that incredulous philosophy which you were affecting just now?'

" 'Perhaps,' answered the chef d'escadron, throwing away his cigar in turn; and therewith he suffered to escape between his long moustaches one of those laboriously loud sighs which are exhaled from hearts that have become somewhat rusty through age.

" 'Confidence for confidence,' said Mornac, who, after his first moment of ill-humour, wished to keep on good terms with his companion.

" The officer shook his head with an air of melancholy, which seemed strangely out of place on his broad and rubicund countenance.

" 'Tis a story of which I think as little as possible,' said he, 'and

which I tell to no one; but I will not refuse it to you, because one would think, to listen to you, that I had never known anything better than the *vieillesse* of my regiment; and yet I have experienced in the course of my life a passion of at least as high a number as yours.

"Ten years ago, I was lieutenant in the 7th chasseurs in garrison at Lyons....."

But we are forced, against our will, to cut short the narrative of the gallant officer, and can scarcely find room for his description of the wonderful change which his lady of Lyons wrought on his feelings and habits.

"To look at me today, Mornac, you would never think what a Celadon I was in those times. That woman made such a metamorphosis in me, that I am stupefied when I think of it. I, who could not look at an inkstand without a headache, I used to improvise letters of twelve pages to her, intense enough to calcine a rock. You have read the *Nouvelle Héloïse*? well, on my word of honour, it is melted snow in comparison to my style in those days. And then, such a reform in all my habits! no more coffee-houses, no more billiards, no more cigars. My comrades, who knew nothing of it, used to call me *Mademoiselle Garnier*; but it was all the same to me, if *Elise* was content."

"*Elise*! that is one of the names of the woman whom I love," said Edouard, with a feeling of compunction.

"She was a few years older than I, and that gave her a sort of authority, which she loved to use; she imposed upon me her tastes, her wishes, even her caprices; everything pleased me. She was jealous; I loved even her jealousy."

"It is a fault which causes much vexation, nevertheless," observed Mornac, as he thought of the trials to which *Madame de Flamareil* subjected him every day.

"Yes, but it flatters one.The house was near the Saone; in the evening we used to take boat on it, particularly when the moon shone. *Elise* loved the moonshine, and I took devilishly to it also. She was so pretty, sitting at the helm, with her little straw bonnet and her blue cashmere, which I fancy I still see! *Elise* always wore cashmeres. When I was tired with rowing, I used to recite the *Meditations* of *Lamartine*, which she made me learn by heart; yes, my dear friend, the *Meditations* of *Lamartine*. Don't fancy that I have not been as romantic in my time as any man. I believe that if she had wished it, I should even have made verses. Ah! those were moments not to be forgotten; no, *sacre dieu*, one cannot forget them!"

"The commandant twisted his moustaches several times, and kept for some seconds a tender silence, which was respected by his companion."

The rest of the commandant's excellent story must be despatched in a few words; it turns on the ordinary events of the inopportune arrival of a husband,—“stiff, dry, polite,

and serious,"—a duel,—a wound,—an order from an imperious relation to exchange into another regiment, destined for active service in the Morea.

" ' My Theodule, said Elise, as she stifled me in her arms, you take with you my senses, or my life ; for if I do not die of it, I shall go mad.... Without voice and senseless, she heard not my last adieu, she felt not my last kiss : there was no longer a soul in that body ; and, when the door was shut on me, I felt as though I heard the lid of her coffin fall !

" ' Ten years have passed since, Mornac,' continued the commandant, after a second pause occasioned by his emotion ; ' I have spent those ten years almost entirely out of France, in the Morea, at Algiers, wherever there were blows to be given and taken ; that remembrance has been to me the worm which dieth not.'

" Carried on by the interest of their conversation, the two friends had reached the Madeleine. The commandant Garnier, whose embonpoint the never-dying worm seemed to have respected, and who moreover, like most cavalry officers, was but an indifferent pedestrian, stopped to recover his breath. Lifting his eyes to the sky, as if inspired by a sudden reminiscence of the days in which he had known by heart the *Meditations* of Lamartine, ' I will confess to you,' he said, with a timid smile, intended to disarm raillery, ' another boyish folly. Do you see that star, just above the pediment of the Madeleine, to the left of the great bear ?'

" ' Well ?'

" ' It is ours : that which Elise, whose imagination was very enthusiastic, chose as the emblem of our love. Ay ! in Greece, in Africa, where the nights are always clear, many a time have I passed whole hours in gazing on that star. And even now, after ten years, I cannot look at it without longing to cry like a child !'

" Edouard listened to this sentimental confession more seriously than could have been expected from a man of five and twenty, wearing moustaches and yellow gloves, with an opera-glass in his waistcoat pocket, and just come from the *Italiens*.

" ' It is a pleasing superstition, and cherished by many a tender heart,' said he, staring upwards in his turn. ' My dear Garnier, do not blush at a noble sentiment, because it is too exalted for vulgar comprehension. I have my star, too !'

" ' Bravo,' answered the commandant, happy to escape from the raillery which he dreaded. ' And whereabouts are *you* lodged up there ? are we neighbours ?'

" ' There, in the west, that beautiful, solitary star, a little beyond the spire of the Invalids. Singularly enough, I was anxious to fix upon that star of yours ; but my mistress would not have it, and chose this.'

" ' It must be confessed that women in love have devilish pretty ideas sometimes,' said Garnier, in a tone of pathos.

" ' This strange coincidence still further increases the interest with which your narrative inspires me,' replied Mornac, who, since he had discovered in the fat commandant a brother in amorous distress, felt more confirmed

than ever in his sentiments of fidelity, and abandoned himself with more confidence to the elegiac turn of their conversation. 'They all have the same noble and enthusiastic hearts.'

" 'They *have*!' interrupted the officer, in a tragical tone; 'I would give my cross and my epaulettes to be able to say so with you. But when I think of my poor Elise, I have indeed reason to look upwards at our star; for here on earth

" 'She is dead?'

" 'She must be, I am but too sadly persuaded of it. For a long time I received no news of her, and I dared not inquire for them when I returned to France. One of those presentiments which cannot deceive told me that I should see her no more. Never has her name escaped my mouth before any persons who might have spoken of her to me, so much have I dreaded the confirmation of my fears: I have never set foot in Lyons again; I have preferred doubt to the certainty of misfortune. In these ten years I have loved other women, and distinguished ones,' added Garnier, in the imposing tone of Ruy Gomez enumerating his family portraits to Charles the Fifth; but none like her. An Elise is only found once!'

" Involuntarily Mornac cast upon his companion one of those oblique looks by which young men mutually depreciate one another, as women do among themselves. The result of his inspection was, that the commandant was rather stoutly built, rather flourishing and rosy of complexion, of an air somewhat martially plebeian, that a woman of good society should have thus suffered herself to languish out of life from the mere cause of his absence.

" 'You think then that this lady has been unable to survive your departure?' said the young man, passing rather rapidly from sympathy to raillery, for he had on his heart some words which had escaped his companion at the beginning of their conversation.

" The officer stopped and rolled his eyes wildly, like a bull who receives in his flank the dart of the picador.

" 'Do not *you* pretend that your marriage would prove a death-blow to your princess?' said he, in the deepest bass of his warlike voice.

" 'I am consistent in my sentiments; but did I not hear you say that women do not die?'

" 'There are women and women!' said Garnier, drily.

" 'As there are men and men,' thought Mornac, making a mental comparison between himself and his companion, the conclusion of which was that if either of them might cherish pretensions to consigning a mistress to the tomb, it was assuredly the elegant Parisian, and not the fat military dandy."

The officer, whose pride is aroused, and the expansion of his sentimental spirit checked by this sudden change of tone on the part of his companion, feels less disposed to show mercy to his amorous scruples; and the result of their conversation is a promise on the part of Edouard to come to a decision in

twenty-four hours, in default of which he must resign all hope of connecting himself by marriage with the family of the gallant commandant of African chasseurs.

This resolution is precipitated, on the next morning, by the threats of his diplomatic uncle, and still more by his sarcasm on the young man's infatuation; for, like most irresolute characters, Edouard's determinations are still more affected by raillery than by a sense of interest. The uncle's speech on the subject is for the most part compounded of such arguments as rich uncles have been accustomed from time immemorial to press on needy heirs; some of it, however, is too characteristic and Parisian to be omitted. De Mornac insinuates, by way of reply, that his relation had in the first instance encouraged the attachment to Madame de Flamarail, which he is now determined so savagely to crush.

" ' Yes, Edouard, you owe her your gratitude; I admit it, she has made you what you now are, a man tolerably scarce in the times in which we live, a well-educated man, and one whom I can own for a nephew. Perhaps through attachment, possibly through prudence, she has inspired you only with moderate, although elegant tastes. Her exquisite tact in understanding all that belongs to her age—don't frown at me—has saved you, and consequently me, an amount of expense of which you are hardly aware. Forced to renounce dancing, having left off riding, not having yet arrived at the period of gambling, she has insensibly interdicted you from balls, horses, play, all pleasures, in a word, in which she could not take her share; and whatever may have been her motive, tenderness or self-interest, I have to thank her for it. For these five years I have not had a single reason to quarrel with your conduct. Your allowance of six thousand francs has been enough for you: I have not made acquaintance with one of your tradesmen. You have, in short, never once made me play the ridiculous part of the uncle in a comedy. Love her then, it is your duty; and I should be the first to blame your ingratitude. Yes, you have contracted a debt towards her.' "

But this equitable claim the old roué seeks to convince his nephew may very easily be arranged, so as not to interfere with legal engagements of another description; and he offers him, in the usual language of testators, a free choice between his passion and his inheritance.

" Mornac passed part of the morning in debating the *pour* and *contre* of the question stated to him in these distinct terms. For the thousandth time he took up the scales in which feeble characters balance their irresolutions: into the one he cast the inheritance of his uncle and the fortune

of *Mademoiselle Passerot*, which made a round total of 80,000 livres a year; on the other he placed the queen of his heart, surrounded by the hopes and recollections of their loves, like a melancholy *Ceres* seated amidst the sheaves of a half-reaped field. For a long time love and money made the balance alternately incline, as heretofore the destinies of the Trojans and Greeks, weighed against each other by the hand of the master of Olympus. At last the heavier metal triumphed, and the scale of *Eudocia*, mounting aloft almost as high as her star, descended no more."

Determined on rupture, our hero is not long in proving to himself that such a step is most justifiable as well as expedient. He warms himself gradually into a comfortable and inspiring state of anger at the thoughts suggested by his uncle's malicious speech: the remembrance of his youth wasted in the wearisome servitude of a languishing, sentimental, jealous, capricious and (most fatal of truths) middle-aged lady. Inspired by these reflections, he marches desperately towards the house of his fair one,

"in the heroic disposition of a soldier who, on the point of marching to the assault, has got drunk on brandy and gunpowder. A few steps from the door, he perceived the young *Boisgontier*, who for his part might have been taken for the sentinel charged with the defence of the fortress, taking long turns on the Boulevard in front of the house, with a slow and serious step, and, at each, launching an impassioned look towards the windows of the second story. At the sight of him, *Edouard* felt a ferocious satisfaction."

Thinking to himself, like the captain in "A Fair Quarrel,"

"Sure, heaven hath pitied my exceeding patience,
And sent me a cause: now I have a cause,"

and rejoicing in this pretext for his intended proceeding, "he passed before his rival aspirant, just throwing at him "as it were from the end of his fingers one of those salutes "which seem to convey a box on the ear to the receiver, and "entered, majestically, by the *porte cochère*."

On the stair he encounters the husband—"a man of fifty, "stiff, dry, serious, dressed in black, decorated with a bit of "red ribbon, and exhibiting, in the most minute details of his "costume and lineaments of his countenance, that politico-administrative cast which characterizes the frequenters of "ministerial drawing-rooms."

The two gentlemen exchange a few words of ironical politeness, and each proceeds on his way.

"'Tricoloured Jesuit!' said *Mornac* to himself, as he mounted the last

steps of the staircase; 'if you had in your veins a few drops of the blood of that gallant husband who chastised the coxcomb Garnier at Lyons, you would have thrown me out of the window long ago. And on my life, I had rather at this hour find myself face to face with your parchment physiognomy in some clearing of the Bois de Boulogne, than confront the sorrowful countenance which awaits me up stairs. Ill, it seems! her headache, no doubt, or else her *gastrite*.' "

(We have not the boldness to adventure on a translation of the name of this fashionable malady, it should seem, at Paris.)

" ' When she has not got the one, she is sure to have the other. She means to examine me about my conduct yesterday. Let her take care. At the first broadside of jealousy, I reply with a volley of Boiagontier, and display the revolutionary flag.' "

But we feel that we are doing so much injustice to our author, that we must pray the reader's indulgence if we substitute his original for our version, through the remainder of this scene.

" La résolution de Mornac avait atteint, lors qu'il sonna, son apogée d'exaltation : mais dès que la porte fut ouverte, la décroissance commença. En suivant à travers l'antichambre le domestique chargé de l'annoncer, il laissa un lambeau de son courage à chaque meuble dont la vue éveillait dans son âme quelques-uns de ces souvenirs qui ne sont jamais plus puissans qu'aux jours de crise ou de catastrophe. Lorsque la dernière porte s'ouvrit, il se trouva dans la position d'un général qui, en arrivant devant l'ennemi, a déjà perdu par la désertion ou les fatigues de la marche la moitié de son armée.

" La chambre où il fut introduit était un petit parloir, orné dans le goût du moyen âge, à la mode depuis quelques années. Les rideaux de l'unique fenêtre n'y laissaient passer qu'un demi-jour, nuancé au passage d'une teinte rose, dont les reflets adoucissaient la sévérité des meubles de Boule et de la tenture gris-sombre. Les fleurs étaient bannies, la sensibilité nerveuse d'Eudoxie n'en supportant pas les parfums. Leur absence, en laissant deviner sa cause, complétait le caractère mélancolique de cette chambre, dont l'aspect inspirait à la fois le recueillement et la sérénité. Involontairement on y parlait bas ; on y marchait d'un pas discret, comme on fait dans une chapelle.....

" A côté de la cheminée, sur un grand fauteuil de forme gothique, sur laquelle plus d'une châtelaine avait sans doute pris place, Madame de Flammareil était assise, le coude sur le genou, le front dans la main, tenant à demi-ouvert un volume de Jocelyn, qu'elle ne lisait pas. En entendant le domestique annoncer M. de Mornac, une rougeur légère colora son visage, qui d'abord avait paru à son amant plus pâle que de coutume. Edouard appela sur son front toute la cruauté qui commençait à sortir de son cœur, et s'avança, l'œil sombre, les sourcils froncés, du pas d'un tigre qui épie sa proie.

" M. de Flamareil vient de m'apprendre que vous êtes malade : " dit-il avec un accent glacial.

" Malgré le langoureux assoupissement de son regard, Eudoxie avait perçé le jeune homme à jour, pour ainsi dire : avec la rapidité d'intuition particulière aux femmes expérimentées, elle interpréta les plus fugitives expressions de cette physionomie qu'elle connaissait si bien : avant qu' Edouard eût cessé de parler, elle avait compris l'imminence d'un péril imprévu, inconnu, mais terrible : secouant alors, comme par enchantement, la torpeur triste et jalouse dans laquelle l'avait plongée la scène de la veille, elle fit, avec le promptitude de l'éclair, une espèce de branle-bas de combat ; en une seconde elle fut prête, tandis que Mornac avait passé des jours et des nuits à méditer son ordre de bataille. Sachant ce qu'à l'opposé de l'homœopathie, l'amour doit employer les contraires, elle s'anima d'une amabilité improvisée. . . . Ce fut donc en lui offrant la main, et en accompagnant ce geste du plus doux des tous les sourires, qu'elle répondit,

" Malade ! vous êtes là—je ne le suis plus."

" Edouard prit et laissa retomber aussitôt, sans la serrer ni la porter à ses lèvres, cette main qui lui était si tendrement livrée.

" M. de Boigontier est aussi là," répondit-il d'une voix rauque.

" Madame de Flamareil ouvrit de toute leur grandeur ses beaux yeux bleus, et resta pendant un instant plongée dans un ébahissement affecté, mais plein de grâces.

" ' Là ! ' dit-elle, en secret charmée de la jalousie que semblait trahir la physionomie furve de son amant ; ' Où ? là ? '

" Edouard étendit le bras vers la fenêtre par un geste de mélodrame. ' Devant la porte, ' répondit-il, ' où vous vous laissez compromettre par lui aux yeux de tous les passans. '

" ' Aimerez-vous mieux qu'il fût ici ? ' demanda Eudoxie, avec un sourire doucement ironique ; — ' tenez, ' continua-t-elle, en prenant sur la cheminée une carte de visite où étaient gravés les noms et titres du comte Léon de Boigontier, ' il est venu tout-à-l'heure, et je n'ai pas voulu le recevoir ; en quoi suis-je coupable ? puis-je empêcher cet enfant de se promener sur le boulevard ? '

" ' Après ses assiduités d'hier, vous devriez vous attendre à sa visite, et je m'étonne fort que vous ne l'ayez pas reçu, ' reprit Mornac, qui, en voyant sa manifestation de jalousie menacée d'un échec complet, évoqua machiavéliquement le souvenir de la veille ; il espérait de trouver dans la rancune de Madame de Flamareil le prétexte de querelle après lequel il courait mais Eudoxie voulait la paix à tout prix ; car l'âge de quarante ans est pour les femmes un époque de désarmement forcé ; aussi n'eût-elle garde de donner prise aux hostilités par des récriminations inopportunes.

" ' Allons, ne tardez plus, vous voyez que nous n'avons tort ni l'un ni l'autre. Asseyez vous là et soyez aimable. Si vous ne voulez pas me lire un chant de Jocelyn, parlez-moi bien doucement, bien gentiment ; vous savez que j'aime vos paroles plus encore que les vers de Lamartine. D'ailleurs je suis réellement souffrante, et votre voix me fait du bien. '

" C'est le diable qui s'en mêle, pensa Mornac ; aujourd'hui elle ne veut

pas se fâcher. 'Jocelyn!' s'écria-t'il d'un ton bourru; 'poésie de curé constitutionnel! J'aimerais autant les homélies de l'Abbé Grégoire. J'ai de la sacristie sentimentale par dessus les oreilles; je ne peux pas perdre ainsi ma jeunesse. Je vais acheter des chevaux.'

" 'Ah! vous allez acheter des chevaux!' répondit Eudoxie, en suivant chaque soubresaut de son interlocuteur avec l'anxiété vigilante du pêcheur qui craint de voir le poisson rompre le fil de son hameçon. 'Comment les choisirez-vous? bai-brun, n'est-ce pas? c'est une belle couleur, élégante et sérieuse. Vous savez, peut-être, que M. de Flamareil veut changer ma voiture. Oh! je vais être tout-à-fait élégante, et vous pourrez m'accompagner au bois sans rougir.'

" 'Au bois certainement, et au bal aussi; ne suis-je pas votre chevalier?' reprit le jeune homme, qui, à la vue du terrain qu'il perdait à chaque pas, sentit la nécessité d'une charge décisive, et appela à son secours une ironie voisine de l'outrage. 'N'allez vous pas au rout de Madame d'Alvimare? Je viens de la rencontrer, et je lui ai demandé une contre-danse. J'espère que vous m'en accorderez une aussi?'

" Malgré ses efforts pour se contraindre, Madame de Flamareil sentit une larme sous sa paupière; elle baissa d'abord la tête pour la cacher, puis, épanchement involontaire d'un cœur blessé, ou calcul profond d'un esprit consommé qui utilise tout, même les souffrances, elle releva sur son amant ses yeux humides, auxquels la tristesse prêtait une éloquence inexprimable.

" 'Edouard,' dit-elle, d'une voix brisée, 'que t'ai-je fait?'

" Cette question Mornac venait de se l'adresser; car dans les âmes naturellement généreuses, le remords suit de près l'insulte. N'y trouvant pas de réponse, il se sentit navré, comme s'il eût commis un parricide. La réaction, qui jette toujours les caractères indécis à l'opposé de leurs résolutions, s'opéra subitement et sans résistance. Il oublia la succession de son oncle et la dot de sa future; il n'aperçut plus que la femme qu'il avait aimée pendant cinq ans, qu'il aimait encore, qu'il aimerait toujours; il la vit belle, il la vit jeune, et, en songeant à la blessure qu'il venait de faire à cet ange, il ne trouva qu'un mot à lui répondre:

" 'Pardonne-moi!'

" Ce mot, il le dit à genoux; et Madame de Flamareil pardonna, car la clémence est de la grâce toujours, de l'habileté souvent."—*Vol. i. pp. 76-83.*

As Ariosto has it:

" Molti consigli delle donne sono
Meglio improvviso che a pensarvi usciti:
Che questo e speciale e proprio dono
Fra tanti e tanti lor dal ciel largiti."

The consequence of the heroine's victory is, that the uncle's intended dinner party is reduced to a *tête-à-tête* between himself and the commandant, interrupted only by a letter in which his nephew dutifully assures him of his unalterable obedience, and, at the same time, his unalterable re-

solution not to marry. The first idea suggested by M. de Pomenars' wrath is, to wed the young lady himself: but her cousin succeeds with some difficulty in pointing out, with due gravity, the objections to such a step.

"Monsieur de Pomenars walked rapidly several turns in the room, and then, enlightened by a sudden thought,

" 'Commandant!' said he, 'are you a man?'

" 'I have always thought so,' replied Garnier, with a heavy laugh.

" 'I mean, by that,' said the old gentleman, casting on his guest the scrutinising look of a serjeant examining a recruit, 'a man capable of undertaking the conquest of a lady still young, amiable and handsome, and of succeeding in a given time, say three or four months?'

" 'My longest siege lasted seven months,' said Garnier, with an imposing air; 'but *that* was a woman among ten thousand!'

" 'This is a woman like the rest of them; she does not choose to be abandoned by her lover; but that is no reason why she should not abandon him!'

" 'What do you mean?' asked the officer, whose understanding did not march so rapidly as the ideas of his more acute companion.

" 'To have you render the greatest of services to that madman, Edouard; a service which assuredly I should not ask of you, if I were only fifty myself: carry off his mistress, that is all.'

" 'Agreed!' said Garnier, presenting cavalierly his broad hand to the old gentleman, on which the latter only placed, with some hesitation, the tips of his fingers, fearing to feel this species of crab's claw shut upon them.

" 'Good!' answered he; 'your confidence re-assures me. I was like that at your age. Danton was right: *de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace*: and in love above all. I had been thinking of little Boisgontier, whom you may know; but 'tis too young; a child, that blushes and loses his countenance at every word; I tried to launch him yesterday, and I thought he was going to cry, or faint away with tenderness; while you, commandant, should be a kind of sea-wolf.'

" 'A little!' replied the other, running his hand through his hair, and throwing back his neck at the same time as if to expand his chest, a complication of gestures in which he was in the habit of indulging whenever his ambition to play the part of a Lovelace was called into action.

" 'Then I may reckon on you as on myself?' demanded Mornac's uncle.

" 'A little better than on that skeleton of your own, you Adonis of Père la Chaise,' thought the officer, casting on the little old man a look of which the compassionate expression was not at all understood by its object; 'I have said agreed: consider the thing as done.'

" 'Hem!' muttered M. de Pomenars to himself, 'confidence is a good thing, but a little modesty would do no harm.'

The bargain, however, is concluded; after a slight demur

on the part of the officer, on finding that the proposed lady, with whose name he is not yet made acquainted, has no title to boast of, he enters resolutely on the campaign, urged on by the double motive described by the poet,

"Son bien, premièrement, et puis le mal d'autrui."

the desire of proving to M. de Pomenars his own redoubtable qualities, and that of inflicting a little bit of revenge on the sarcastic Edward.

"Two hours afterwards, the drawing-room of Mistress Lavington, (*the Anglaise au chapeau coquelicot*, with whom the reader became acquainted at the beginning of the story,) where Madame de Flamareil and her husband, as well as Edward de Mornac, had joined the assembly a few moments before, witnessed the arrival of the two conspirators; the eyes of M. de Pomenars twinkling with a wicked expression of malice, his chin buried in his neckcloth with an air of slyness even greater than usual; the commandant stiff, warlike, and valiant, as if on the point of charging Abd el Kader's Arabs at the head of his squadron."

The reader, by this time, can scarcely be unprepared for the terrible dénouement which follows. *

"Tenez," reprit M. de Pomenars lorsqu'ils furent arrivés dans l'autre salon, "vous reconnaissez là, près du piano, le bonnet extravagant de Mistress Lavington...Eh bien, voyez vous à sa droite cette femme en robe noire et en turban? Regardez, la voilà que se retourne...Aïe! vous me cassez le bras! Prenez donc garde!"

"Le petit vieillard arracha son coude de l'étau où le broyait convulsivement la main de l'officier, en regardant celui-ci d'un air piteusement ébahi.

"Tenez-vous beaucoup à me prouver que vous avez un poignet de fer?" lui dit-il: "malheureusement, je ne peux pas en dire autant de mes os. Quelle frenésie soudaine! est-ce d'Alger que vous avez apporté ce tempérament Africain?"

"Vous dites que c'est là la femme, dont votre neveu est amoureux?" demanda Garnier d'une voix entrecoupée, et il se passa la main sur le front pour en essuyer la sueur soudaine.

"Elle-même," répondit Mons. de Pomenars, qui continuait de se frotter le coude; "modérez vos transports, et attendez-moi là; je vais négocier votre présentation."

"A ces mots le vieillard fit un pas en avant, mais il se sentit cloué sur place par la main du chef d'escadron. "Je me présenterai moi-même," dit ce dernier, dont la figure flamboyait comme une comète; et il traversa le salon d'un pas qui, sans le tapis, eût ébranlé le parquet. Feuilletant avec nonchalance une partition ouverte sur le piano, Madame de Flamareil ne le vit pas tenir: avant d'avoir reconnu l'homme qui se penchait vers elle, comme pour la saluer, elle reçut, à bout portant, ces paroles, qu'un loup,

au temps où les animaux parlaient, n'eut pas prononcées d'une façon plus caruassière.

"Si je n'en meurs pas j'en deviendrai folle ! Je vois avec plaisir que vous n'êtes ni folle ni morte."

Eudoxie tressaillait, se retourna, et se renversa à demi sur le piano, comme si quelque chose invisible l'eut frappée. Dans ce mouvement ses doigts, en s'accrochant aux touches du clavier, leur firent rendre une harmonie qu'il eût été fort difficile de noter, et qui se perdit heureusement au milieu du bruit du rouf.

"Elise ! vous ne m'attendiez pas," dit Garnier, du ton dont Othello dit, Desdémone avez vous prié cette nuit ? Un salon est pour une femme du monde, ce qu'est pour un homme le terrain d'un duel ; il faut vaincre ou mourir sur place. En face d'une apparition plus effrayante que celle d'un revenant, Madame de Flamareil s'affermit sur ses genoux fléchissants, dompta l'émotion de son corsage, puis, lançant tout autour d'elle un regard rapide, imprima sur ses traits dociles, par une puissance de volonté presque magique, l'air calme et gracieux avec lequel, dans un autre moment, elle eut accueilli les compliments d'un homme de sa société habituelle.

"M. de Flamareil est ici," dit elle d'une voix basse, mais distincte.

"Est-ce lui qui vous fait peur, ou M. de Mornac ?" répondit l'officier, en lui plongeant dans les yeux un regard furibond.

Eudoxie sentit une rougeur ardente s'étaler sur son pâle visage, et se pencha comme pour regarder son bracelet, qu'elle feignit de fermer. Un moment après, lorsqu'elle releva la tête, son front était calmé de nouveau, ses yeux et ses lèvres souriaient. "Théodule," dit elle avec un accent pénétrant, "autrefois vous étiez un homme d'honneur."

Les deux anciens amans se contemplèrent un instant en silence, étudiant plus attentivement qu'ils ne l'avaient fait jusqu'alors les changemens opérés en eux par dix années de séparation. Quoiqu'on puisse dire de la précocité du déclin chez les femmes, Madame de Flamareil sortit victorieuse de cet examen, et parut au commandant aussi belle qu'aux jours où elle s'appelait pour lui seul : Elise —

En face de cette rayonnante infidèle, le chef d'escadron sentit, malgré sa colère, un éblouissement involontaire. En revanche, l'impression qu'elle-même reçut fut fort différente. A la vue de la figure enflammée et du colossal embonpoint qui avaient remplacé la pâleur sentimentale et la tournure élancée de l'ancien lieutenant du septième chasseurs, elle se demanda par quelle indigne lâcheté de son cœur elle avait pu aimer cette manière de tambour-major. Le résultat de cette mutuelle comparaison fut instantanée. En se sentant près de revenir amoureux comme autrefois, Garnier éprouva un surcroît de fureur, en partie dirigée contre lui-même, tandis que la femme de quarante ans dissimula sous un redoublement de douceur conciliante la haine subite que lui inspirait la vue de son ancien adorateur."

The reader may imagine the tremendous scene which poor Eudoxie has to undergo with her former lover, whom the very excess of wrath supplies with a sarcastic eloquence above

the ordinary compass of his mother-wit. He contrives to throw the sharpest sting into the end of his philippic, by informing her of the contemplated marriage of De Mornac, and sends her fainting from the room.

The astonishment of old M. de Pomenars, who sees this scene from a distance without in the least comprehending it, is amusing enough.

“ ‘Is this the fashion, among the Bedouins, of presenting one’s self to a lady whom one has never seen?’ said he to himself in his profound stupefaction; ‘of what wild elephant have I made myself the cornac?’

“ ‘Unable to resolve these questions by himself, the old gentleman waited until he saw Garnier alone, and then hastened to rejoin him.

“ ‘Glory to you, commandant!’ said he with an astonished air; ‘is this the way you tame the Arabs?’

“ ‘Would to God I had to do with an Arab!’ replied the soldier, grasping energetically the hilt of his sabre.

“ ‘I must confess that all this is utterly beyond my comprehension,’ said M. de Pomenars, in utter amazement.

“ ‘Instead of answering him, the commandant extended his arm, and swallowed at a gulp a glass of lemonade from the plateau, handed to him by a servant. Having thus applied a remedy to a slight strangulation, occasioned by his wrath, he was on the point of unbosoming himself entirely; but how was he to punish Eudocia without relating the history of Elise, and consequently standing by his own avowal in the position of a forgotten lover? Garnier hesitated a moment between the fear of being laughed at, and the desire of giving vent to one of the most violent fits of anger he had ever experienced; for he could not pardon Madame de Flamareil for not having fulfilled her engagement by dying after their separation. For ten years that imaginary decease had been his chagrin, his remorse, his undying worm, to use his own language; and although he did not venture to make such a confession to himself, his heart felt at times a proud pleasure in allowing the worm to gnaw it. Every time that he grew tender at the recollection of his dear defunct, the glance which he suffered to rest on living womankind had something more royally exterminating in its expression....

“ ‘Garnier determined then to keep his secret to himself; but in taking this resolution, to which he was prompted in the first place by his vanity, he attributed his own conduct, as people usually do, to a more generous motive.

“ ‘She has appealed to my honour: I will be silent: my vengeance shall be noble, but not the less overwhelming.’

“ ‘Will you be so kind as to let me into the secret of the proverb which you have been playing?’ continued M. de Pomenars, as he saw the officer absorbed in these reflections, which cast a savage shade over his broad countenance.

“ ‘Rira bien qui rira le dernier,’ replied he, smiling much in the same manner as another might have gnashed his teeth..... ‘I can give you

no explanation ; but the marriage shall take place, if Satan were to oppose it in person. I take all on myself."

Somewhat subjugated by the awful solemnity of the officer's manner, M. de Pomenars determines to wait a little longer for the result.

But another week's breathing-time, thus afforded to the heroine, suffices for the development of a series of the most masterly counterplots. The mother of *la future*, Madame de Passerot, is won over to a state of the most confidential friendship: a strong diversion is operated by the proposed introduction of a M. d'Alignier, a cousin of Madame de Flamareil's, "millionnaire, et plus noble que le roi," as a fresh candidate for the hand of Loide: and lastly, the African hero himself returns from Hâvre, whither he has gone post-haste on the announcement of the death of an uncle of some value, whom he finds at breakfast, "eating his eighth dozen of oysters."

"'Bravo, young man,' said M. de Pomenars, 'you have found your master. A few days ago Edouard sets out, resolute as a Spartan, and returns without his shield; and now, you are despatched some two hundred miles on a fool's errand. A capital trick! and which, by the way, will teach you not to believe so readily in the death of uncles, commandant. Come, since active soldiers lay down their arms, I see that the last hope of victory is in the Invalids.....'

"An hour afterwards, M. de Pomenars, his eye brighter, his whole bearing gayer and more alert than ever, announced himself at the door of Madame de Pomenars. At the sight of the man whom she hated worse than any one else in the world, the commandant Garnier only excepted, the lady rose with the affectation of a most graceful eagerness, and herself reached him a chair."

We wish we could transfer to our pages the capital scene which ensues, in which the old gentleman, beginning the interview with a sort of diplomatic frankness, constituting himself the lady's parental friend and adviser, recommending her to abandon Edouard with grace before the inevitable event of her own abandonment by him—painting in seductive colours the charms of a more delicate and sentimental intimacy between beings better fitted to comprehend one another—is seduced, step by step, into one of those positions in which

"To turn the rein were sin and shame,
To fight were wondrous peril."

"En voyant le chemin où s'engageait le vieillard toujours vert, Madame

d : Flamareil se rassit doucement, comme si l'insidieuse éloquence des paroles qu'elle venait d'entendre l'eût fascinée en dépit d'elle-même.

" ' Ces réflexions sont trop vraies, ' dit-elle avec un accent mélancolique ' voilà comme souvent nous autres pauvres femmes, nous gâtons notre vie d'une manière irréparable. '

" ' Irréparable ! ' s'écria M. de Pomenars avec une chaleur juvénile : ' à votre âge, peut-il exister quelque chose d'irréparable ? Il n'est aucune blessure que le temps ne ferme, aucune douleur qu'il ne console. '

" ' Le temps ! ' répéta Eudoxie en secouant tristement la tête.

" ' Ou remède plus prompt et plus efficace, les charmes d'une affection nouvelle, ' reprit le vieillard d'une petite voix douce comme le sifflement d'une couleuvre.

" Le regard d'Eudoxie quitta le plafond, et descendit sur lui aussi doucement que se pose une colombe.

" ' Achevez votre confession, ' lui dit-elle avec un sourire enchanteur : ' répondez moi : est-ce uniquement par intérêt pour M. de Mornac que vous tenez tant à ce mariage ? '

" A-t-elle envie de se moquer de moi, pensa M. de Pomenars, ou bien ai-je tort en refusant de comprendre un langage dont j'aurais terriblement tiré parti il y a seulement cinq ou six ans ? Mais après tout, si c'est un piège, qu'est-ce que je risque ? et si elle est de bonne foi, ce qui est possible à la rigueur, pourquoi feindrais-je une intelligence impolie ?

" ' Si j'avais un autre motif, me le pardonneriez vous ? ' répondit il alors, entraîné hors des limites de sa prudence ordinaire.

" ' Pour pardonner, il faudrait connaître l'offense, ' reprit Eudoxie, en veloutant encore l'aimant de sa prune.

" M. de Pomenars hésita, comme un initié aux mystères de la franc-maçonnerie, à qui l'on ordonne de sauter pieds nus sur un parquet hérissé de clous, sans qu'il sache si ces clous sont de feutre ou de fer. A la fin la vanité l'emporta sur la défiance.

* * * * *

" ' Vous voulez connaître l'offense qui j'ai commise, et je lis dans vos yeux que vous l'avez déjà devinée, ' s'écria-t-il d'une voix pathétique. ' Ma raison pour marier Edouard, c'est que depuis long-temps son bonheur m'importune : c'est que je suis jaloux de lui. '

" ' Jaloux ! ' dit Eudoxie, d'une voix de syrène : ' il me semblait que pour être jaloux, il fallait d'abord être amoureux. '

" ' Et si je l'étais ? '

" ' De moi ? '

" ' De vous. '

" ' Quelle ironie ! '

" ' Dites quelle vérité, ' s'écria le vieillard, exalté par son succès, en faisant vibrer le plus possible sa petite voix fêlée.

" Madame de Flamareil retira sa main, que son nouvel adorateur venait de saisir, et se penchant vers la cheminée elle sonna. A ce geste, M. de Pomenars s'élança de son fauteuil, en se disant avec émotion, ' Va-t-elle me faire jeter par la fenêtre ? '

"Prévenez M. de Flamareil de la visite de M. de Pomenars," dit Eudoxie au domestique ; puis, lorsqu'il eût refermé la porte, elle se leva et contempla un instant le petit vieillard, qui se tenait au milieu du salon immobile et muet, comme si quelque fée malfaisante l'eût frappé de sa baguette.

"Je vous dois des remerciemens," lui dit-elle avec une raillerie d'autant plus poignante, qu'elle semblait chercher à se contenir : "j'étais souffrante : vous êtes venu, et vous m'avez guérie : il y a bien long temps que je n'ai passé une heure aussi amusante. Quant à l'objet de votre visite, voici ma réponse. Puisque vous m'aimez, vous comprendrez qu'un autre puisse avoir aussi de l'attachement pour moi, et vous me pardonnerez mon mauvais goût, si je vous avoue que je tiens plus à une jeune amitié qu'à une passion . . . patriarcale."

"Après avoir coiffé M. de Pomenars de ce dernier mot, propre à lui rappeler l'humble retenue qui sied au vieil âge, Madame de Flamareil lui fit une révérence dont la grace égalait l'ironie, et sortit du salon.

"E'chec et mat!" se dit le vieillard, en se rasseyant tranquillement. "Parbleu! voilà une maîtresse femme. A trente ans, j'en aurais été amoureux fou. Je comprends maintenant que ce pauvre Edouard se soit laissé emmailloter, et que le gros commandant arrive du Havre: mais je lui prouverais qu'on ne vient pas à bout de moi comme de ces deux enfans."

He has a last card to play—the husband. That gentleman has not hitherto appeared to us either in a very important or very favourable light. Nevertheless, he is a man of character and decision, although not over-anxious to interfere in matters, which, he has learnt by degrees, after the true Parisian lesson, concern him less than any man. Enamoured enough of his wife at one time to have risked his life against the military coxcomb at Lyons—enough to have been tempted more than once to kill himself or her—he has been gradually turned, by a course of dexterous and persevering domestic mismanagement, into as complaisant and indifferent a partner as any *femme de quarante ans* could desire. To use his own expression, he has found out, that "to pin his love or his honour to a woman's robe is an inexcusable puerility:" he has therefore taken his honour into his own keeping to be more sure of retaining it, and replaced love by ambition. He has a place under government—whether he shall keep it or not depends on keeping his seat in the chamber—and his seat in the chamber depends on some dozen provincial votes which M. de Pomenars has at his disposal; but this, of course, must be a mere piece of satire, in a country where the im-

penetrable safeguard of the ballot is thrown round the conscience of the elector.

To him; therefore, the uncle addresses himself in such a manner as to be easily understood, and leaves it in his charge to break through whatever obstacles may interfere in the way of his nephew's marriage. Fighting foot by foot against such terrible odds with all the resources of her genius, poor Eudocia, like the great Napoleon, has much ado in resolving on the dignified resource of abdication. It takes many pages to describe her despair, her agitation, her conflicts, subsiding at last into a state of tender, self-satisfied composure; her admirable method of convincing herself that she alone is the injured party, whose misfortune it is never to have been understood by any of the masculine hearts which have at various times been placed in juxtaposition with her's, that of Edouard not excepted.

Her decision is accelerated by the sage conviction that it will be impossible to keep her lover from marrying *some one*, even should she continue to forbid his present engagement; and her chagrin at seeing the aforesaid lover, "par une de ces *réactions familières à son caractère*," dancing, most rebelliously, in the middle of an assembly, where she reads in every eye that malicious commiseration which the world awards to ladies for whom the saddest of coming events—abandonment—already casts its shadow before. Accordingly, she summons him to a last interview, in which she contrives to throw upon *him*, as dexterously as possible under the circumstances, the part of *amant congédié*. She adopts the prudent measure of a temporary retreat, with her husband, to a family chateau in the Pyrenees; and, two months afterwards, Mornac marries Mademoiselle Loidé in the church of Saint Germain des Prés.

A few weeks have passed, and our acquaintances are reassembled in the ball-room of a friend of both the contracting parties, near Paris: Edouard and his pretty bride; M. de Pomenars; and the commandant, on the point of returning to Algiers, without having conquered even the shadow of a duchess or marchioness, and professing the most ferocious atheism in matters of sentiment. The young husband is in a fit of the darkest possible spirits, meditating most unfaith-

fully on his absent love, dying of consumption or *gastrite* at Barèges,—a melancholy increased by the remembrance that this very summer evening is the anniversary of his first introduction to her. Garnier, who continues to receive his confidences on this interesting topic, has his own secret at the very tip of his tongue, requiring the whole effort of his *amour propre* to keep it in proper custody, when both are startled by the announcement of Madame de Flamareil.

“Led by her husband, who seemed to have redoubled his attentions towards her—dressed with that simple and noble elegance, of which the most refined coquetry alone possesses the secret—more beautiful, more seducing, more enchanting than ever—exhibiting, in short, in her whole appearance, a sort of marvellous restoration, fit to render the waters of Barèges as renowned as the fallen Fountain of Youth—Eudocia advanced slowly, receiving with grace the marked attention which greeted her on all sides, and took possession of the room, so to speak, with the majestic ease of a queen ascending her throne. She anticipated the salute of Madame de Passerot, paid Loïde a few easy compliments on her marriage, exchanged a few words of the most exquisite irony with M. de Pomenars, who, unable to keep up a quarrel with so much wit and so much character, had pressed forward among the first to flutter around her: finally, passing by the ottoman on which Garnier and Mornac were seated in a kind of sullen stupefaction, she let one glance fall on them—a single glance for both—but a glance so calm, so cold, so abstracted, so replete with indifference and forgetfulness, that the two men felt oppressed, as if the heavy lid of a coffin had sunk over their foreheads.”

At the moment when Madame de Flamareil makes her triumphal entry, young De Boisgontier, another recent arrival from the Pyrenees, is seen escaping by another door. This excites the suspicions of Pomenars and Garnier, who track the youthful enthusiast to a balcony of the house, where they find him with his arms crossed, his eyes raised in profound contemplation of the starry zone above him.

“The commandant uttered a cry as abrupt as the neighing of a horse. ‘Ah! you love the stars! but there are stars and stars. Tell me first, do you love them all, or one in particular?’

“‘All would be too many,’ answered Boisgontier, in that tone of railery under which exalted spirits seek to protect their enthusiasm from the intrusions of the vulgar. ‘One star is enough for man, as one heaven is enough for earth.’

“‘Peste! what poetry! Is it a strophe of Victor Hugo?’ demanded M. de Pomenars, who, understanding nothing of the officer’s knowing look, fancied that the inquiry was proceeding rather circuitously.

" 'Victor Hugo! a great poet, a very great poet assuredly; and I was long an enthusiastic admirer of him. But now I prefer Lamartine. Lamartine is the poet of the heart,' replied the young Boisgontier, in a dogmatical tone.

" Garnier suffered a long, low whistle to escape between his thick moustaches; then, without more questioning, he turned his back on his astonished companions, and darted through the crowd like a shuttlecock, until he alighted in the ottoman, where Mornac remained seated, as immovable as an Egyptian sphinx.

" 'Brother,' said he, 'give me your hand, and away with your melancholy fit; women are not worth growing thin for: I acted that part too long myself. Come, morbleu! shake yourself, and drink this glass of punch. We were brothers, I tell you, before we were cousins: do you understand me?'

" 'Not the least in the world,' replied Edouard, pushing back the glass.

" 'And at this moment we have both a younger brother, who has paid you back what I owe you. Do you understand?'

" 'Not a bit better.'

" 'Well, then, since you force a man to speak plain, my name is Monday, your name is Tuesday, and little Boisgontier's name is Wednesday. Do you know what I mean now?'

" 'I know that Robinson Crusoe's savage was called Friday. What rigmarole are you repeating there?'

" 'You have reason to flatter yourself that your head is unusually thick. I tell you, since one must explain everything—'

" Garnier emptied his glass of punch at a draught, and bent himself to reach Edouard's ear.

" 'I tell you that Elise and Eudoxie are one and the same woman, and that little Boisgontier is the successor of both of us!.....'

" Edouard, who had become very pale during this awful revelation, staggered, and would have fallen, had it not been for the support of his uncle, who happened to pass behind him.

" 'What is the matter?' asked he.

" 'Nothing! a matter of five minutes,' replied Garnier. 'You feel a sort of strangulation, do you not? I know what it is: drink this glass of lemonade.'

" While Edouard drank with the docility of a patient, the commandant briefly recounted the new kind of trilogy, of which Madame de Flamareil was the heroine.

* * * * *

" 'You are wrong,' said the old man, imposing silence on the commandant, whose history, towards the close of it, began to be vested in rather disrespectful language towards the lady. 'With what do you reproach her? with having forgotten you? But have you been faithful to her? With not having died for you? But have you paid her that compliment?'

.... Je vous dis, moi, que c'est là une femme très aimable, très spirituelle, très distinguée, et qui me rappelle tout à fait cette rose de la fable Persanne,

dont le parfum se communique à tout ce qui en approche C'est de la reconnaissance que vous lui devez tous, et non une rancune brutale. Il est impossible de mieux comprendre la vie qu'elle ne le fait, et je suis sur qu'elle ira ainsi jusqu'à la fin, rattachant courageusement chaque fil qui se brise, se modifiant selon la nécessité, soumise à toutes les lois nouvelles que le progrès de l'âge lui imposera encore. Aujourd'hui elle s'adonne à l'enseignement : que peut faire de mieux une femme de quarante ans ? Plus tard elle s'appliquera à la religion, et nous la verrons dame de charité en 1846. Charinante femme ! je vous le répète, si je n'avais que cinquante ans, moi qui vous parle, je vous jure que je ferais mes efforts pour gagner aussi mon étoile !” — *Vol. i. page 170.*

We retained so agreeable an impression of the pleasure which *La Femme de Quarante Ans* had afforded us, when we met with it by accident some time ago, that we were seduced into making acquaintance with the remainder of the tales which the author has now published together in two volumes, under the title of *Le Naud Gordien*, of which we are not clever enough to conjecture the import. Without expressing ourselves positively disappointed, we cannot think them at all equal to his first performance. They evince talent undoubtedly ; but they border too much on the vulgar style of modern French romance to suit our taste. There is an affectation of causticity running through the whole, which becomes tiresome from its sameness ; and this particularly in the delineation of the female characters, which, without one exception, are worthless and heartless as ever misogynist invented. The heroes, too, have a sameness of physiognomy, being all either gallant and foolish, or sarcastic and misanthropic ; and duels and intrigues, and strange revenges of unimaginable refinement or monstrosity, sum up the contents of each narrative.

M. De Bernard, however, is not at all successful as a caterer of such delicacies ; his attempts in the line of humour are by far his best ; and the most amusing of these stories, after that which we have abridged for the benefit of our readers, and possibly spoilt in the abridgement, is that entitled, “ *Un Acte de Vertu*,” which narrates certain passages in the domestic life of Harmodius Dambergeac, ci-devant republican student and scape-grace, and now, by virtue of the Barricades, sous-préfet in a dull southern department, and married to a silly wife belonging to the provincial nobility of that region : un-

der the influence of which causes, he has mounted a bust of Louis Philippe on his study-table, inserted a portrait of the same gracious sovereign in the lid of his snuff-box, goes to mass with great decency, and is extremely affronted by the negligence of the engraver in forgetting to print his name with a small d and an apostrophe. The following is the account of some of his tribulations from the pride of the neighbouring aristocracy. The relator is an old college companion of the ex-democrat, who has come to pay him a visit for the first time in his new position.

"I had sent my luggage to the Sous-Préfecture, where I was now a visitor; and being in consequence the first comer at the ball, I had the amusement, sometimes diverting enough, of watching the arrival of the guests. I was obliged to confess that the lady of Harmodius had not been too satirical in her descriptions. In this assembly, composed entirely of *employés* of the government, *industriels*, and members of *la petite bourgeoisie*, all in their best or rather their Sunday dresses, for the severity of the Sous-préfet in the matters of etiquette was well known, there was more than one ridiculous physiognomy, unmanageable figure, and monstrous costume; but, after all, where are these not to be found? Madame Dambergeac received and returned the salutations of each visitor with that air of nonchalance and haughtiness which had struck me at first sight in her countenance, and did the honours of her drawing-room as though she would willingly have shut the door in the face of nine-tenths of the people whom she had invited.

" 'Madame Capricard,' announced the servant at the door.

"At this name, and at sight of the huge bedizened Bayadere who wriggled into the room with the most wonderful contortions, by way of saluting her hostess, the eyes of Madame Dambergeac sought for mine, and we exchanged a smile which would have thrown the resplendent notairess into fits, could she by possibility have guessed its meaning.

" 'You will see that they do not intend to come,' said a rough voice at my ear, in a tone of ill-humour.

"I turned round and perceived Harmodius; he was looking towards the door, and, at each fresh arrival, biting his lips with an expression of concentrated spite.

" 'Who do not mean to come?' asked I, innocently.

" 'Their high mightinesses, the Vidames and Barons de C—, the Ginévrys, the Du Dressants, the Malescards, and their dames: they would think it derogation to pay me the honour of a visit; their pride becomes them well! noble and puissant lords, with a vengeance. Because each of them has a pigeon-house and a duck-pond of his own, they set themselves up for Castellans!'

" 'D, apostrophe, Ambergeac,' answered I; 'I thought a reconciliation had been effected between your house and that of Montmorency.'

" 'Here is one at last,' said the Sous-préfet, insensible to my observation; and he pointed out with his eye a fine old man, who was entering at the moment without allowing the servant to announce him. 'The Count de Ginévry; a true nobleman, that: the Ginévrys date from 1300. I have just had the road before his château mended.....But he comes by himself....What? his wife is not with him?'

" M. de Ginévry alid, with the ease of a man of the world, through the crowd which separated us from him, and saluted Dambergeac, who advanced to meet him, with an air at once friendly and polite. 'Shall we not have the honour of seeing Madame la Comtesse?' said Harmodius, looking at him fixedly; 'she gave us reason to hope'.....

" 'Ill,' replied the old gentleman, in an accent of distress; 'really ill, and in despair at being so today. But, you know, my wife's health is so feeble and so capricious! After the dance I shall go and make her excuses to Madame Dambergeac, whom I perceive more lovely and graceful than ever....A toilette of exquisite taste.'

" And the Count went nearer to the quadrille, possibly to contemplate more closely the white shoulders of *la sous-préfète*, which in truth deserved the admiration of an old amateur. Harmodius gave vent to his feelings in a sort of suppressed grunt.

" 'Ill!' said he; 'she was at mass today. Does this old Marquis de Lanturlu fancy me the dupe of all his puts-off? Now that his road is in good order, he thinks to pay me off by a visit! Patience! he is not yet arrived at the age of exemption, and he may rest assured that I will pinch his sides with the national guard.—Ah! his wife is ill; what do you say to that?'

" 'I say that there is no law which obliges a lady to go to a ball, even though it be that of a Sous-préfet.'

* * * * *

" 'M. de Montagnac,' announced the servant, hurling pompously this sonorous Gascon name into the middle of the noise of the ball.

" 'I owe him no thanks for his visit,' said Harmodius; 'he is a sly rascal, who has continued mayor of his village, through fright, since the Revolution, and who enacts loyalty to the present order of things to get situations for his children. But, heaven pardon me, is he not in a black neck-cloth and boots? Easy, upon my honour.'

" Harmodius knit his brows, and assumed an imposing attitude, instead of advancing to meet the new-comer. The marquis was a little man, with a sly and sarcastic expression of face, dressed with that negligence of costume so common among country nobles: he approached, showing his large white teeth by way of smile, and without being the least in the world embarrassed by the stiff and important manner of Dambergeac.

" 'Your ball is charming, M. le Sous-préfet,' said he, accompanying his compliment with an easy bow, to which the master of the house replied, by a very slight inclination of the head; 'I recognized even at the portico the perfect taste of Madame Dambergeac. All that I see here is really so elegant, so distinguished.'

" 'Monsieur le Marquis came on horseback, no doubt,' answered Harmodius, not at all unbending at these praises; and his eyes, taking measure of

the gentleman from head to foot, rested on the boots which had wounded his self-importance as master of the house, and remained fixed there with a gaze of rebuke.

"M. de Montagnac followed with his eye the pantomime of Harmodius, advanced a foot, as if to place the grievance more distinctly in evidence, and said with an affected simplicity,

"I divine the cause of your surprise, M. le Sous-préfet; you are astonished at receiving a visit from a poor village mayor in boots; no doubt you expected to see me in *sabots*!"

"How, Monsieur le Marquis? I shall always feel it an honour—even in *sabots*!" stammered the Sous-préfet, as much out of countenance as a pedagogue might be who should receive on his own hand the *custos* which he intended for his scholar.

"I left my friend engaged in these hostilities with the country Marquis, who was slowly inhaling a pinch of snuff, and smiling a malicious smile."—*Vol. ii. pages 1—12.*

This is characteristic enough; and it is most true that the noblesse de campagne, Carlist almost to a man, have been acquiring of late years, at least in the southern departments, an importance in the *country*, if not the *state*, into which they had long been strangers. Little engaged in public service, unfitted for Paris life, at first by their poverty, and since by dislike to the present state of society, they have been improving their estates, preserving them by eluding in various ways the consequences of the French law of succession, and acquiring, it is said, no small influence among the peasantry, among whom the rancours of the first revolution are wearing out. Here we recognise again the odd coincidence of events which seems to keep up the continued parallel between English and French history in the most critical epochs of each. Will they throw their weight resolutely into the balance, on the next conjuncture at which the destinies of the nation may be weighed? Or will they add another trait to the resemblance, by showing, like the English Jacobite gentry, the white *feather* as soon as a new Pretender displays the white *standard*, and losing for ever the opportunity which *will* arrive? It would be hazardous to conjecture. On the one hand, the French blood is the more inflammable, and the consequences of such daring are somewhat less perilous in our days than those of old; there is a great difference between the spirits with which a rebel embarks in his undertaking, when the probable results of

failure amount only to some inconvenience and a good deal of ridicule, and when "the muffled death-drum" and the "sable bier" are in prospect. On the other, ease and material prosperity are marvellous dampers of enthusiasm, whether royalist or republican; if an enterprise is to succeed *beyond* calculation, it can only be by the devotion of those gallant spirits which will rush into it *without* calculation; the more comfortable part of mankind estimate chances; and many a royalist gentleman, looking out of the window of his repaired "pigeon-house," at his own well-tilled fields, where

"The golden ear
Smiles on the slope, and nods on the parterre"

of what was once a *parc* or a *jardin Anglais*, is contented to repeat with another of our friend M. de Bernard's personages, "Il y a — ans, la Vendée était possible. En ce moment, il est trop tard, et en politique, l'occasion perdue ne se re-
"trouve pas."

ARTICLE IV.

1. *Zapiski Morskako, Oficera R.I.N.* St. Petersburg: 1836. 2nd. ed.
2. *Memoirs of a Naval Officer, during the Campaign in the Mediterranean, 1805-1810, under Admiral Siniavin.* St. Petersburg. 1836.

On the shores of the Adriatic, opposite to the coasts of Italy, between the Austrian and Turkish dominions, lies a little tract of mountainous country inhabited by a Slavonian tribe, which in its warlike spirit, predatory habits, extreme love of independence, and primitive manners, exhibits much greater similarity with the Circassians and other Caucasian highlanders than with the inhabitants of the surrounding provinces, which contain many considerable cities enjoying the advantages of civilized Europe. The inhabitants of Montenegro are, however, distinguished from the Caucasian tribes

by one important circumstance; they are as much attached by feelings of religion and race to Russia as the Caucasians are inimical to her.

The country of Montenegro received this name from the Venetians, who translated the appellation of *Cherna-Gora* or Black Mountain, given to it by the natives on account of the black appearance of its hills covered with pine forests. It is bordered on the north, east and south by the Turkish provinces of Herzegovina and Albania, and on the west it is separated from the Adriatic by a narrow tract of Austrian territory, comprehending the province of *Bocca di Cattaro*. This last-named tract, indented by the gulph of the same name (*Sinus Risonicus* of the ancients), is in some parts, particularly near the town of Cattaro, exceedingly narrow.

Montenegro extends in length from north to south about sixty English miles, and its greatest breadth is about thirty-five English miles. All the country is surrounded and covered with rocky mountains, the number of which may be inferred from a jocular saying of the inhabitants, that when God was sowing stones over the world, the bag which contained them burst in passing over Montenegro. The country is divided into several districts called *Nahie*, and contains no towns, but somewhat more than a hundred villages, of which the largest numbers about a thousand inhabitants. The amount of the whole population is uncertain; but various travellers coincide in stating that it may send into the field about 15,000 armed men, and that twice as many may be raised in case of a defensive war. The villages are generally situated in valleys on banks of rivers which contain excellent water. The common houses are usually built of stones, without any cement, and are covered with thatch. They are divided into two parts, one destined for cattle and the other for men; the latter is very simple; its chief ornaments are arms and the skulls of enemies killed by the master, which are preserved as trophies to remind the young men of the glory of their ancestors, and excite them to emulation. There are a very few private dwelling-houses containing two stories, and, like the monasteries, these are built of solid masonry. Of the latter two only exist in the country.

Cettigne, the chief residence of the Metropolitan, is sur-

rounded with loop-holes, and defended by a few cannons. It is the place where the national diets assemble, and where the diplomas given by the Russian court to each new Metropolitan, as well as other records, are preserved. Another convent, called Stanievichi, which was given to the Montenegrines by the Venetian government, is situated on the frontiers of the country in an impregnable situation, and is defended by a wall with a parapet and cannons. The church of this monastery, built by the Venetians, is adorned with many presents of the Russian monarchs.

The climate of Montenegro is cold, but dry and very healthy, and the longevity of the inhabitants is remarkable. Their agriculture is in a very primitive state; the fields are generally cultivated by the spade, as the hilly nature of the country almost entirely precludes any other mode of husbandry, and there are very few horses or oxen to be seen in Montenegro. The country produces, however, a sufficient quantity of corn for the supply of the inhabitants, and plenty of fruit, and the few valleys furnish the usual productions of southern climates. Burdens are transported on asses and mules; but the chief riches of the inhabitants are sheep and goats, a part of which they sell every winter at Cattaro, for want of food, caused by the deficiency of meadows. The Montenegrines make up this diminution of their flocks in the spring by depredations on their neighbours, particularly the Turks. All their commercial relations are limited to Cattaro, to whose market they bring corn, butter, wool, silk in cocoons, wood, charcoal and a great quantity of cheese and smoked mutton, which are exported to Trieste. They also furnish the market of Cattaro with abundance of poultry, and receive in return arms of every description and ammunition, as well as various articles of furniture and dress, generally of the simplest description; the balance being generally in their favour, it is supposed that a considerable quantity of specie is possessed by them concealed in the earth. The Montenegrines are generally very ignorant, and the knowledge of reading and writing is considered amongst them a high degree of learning; still the higher clergy, and those of the inhabitants who have served in the Russian army, possess considerable information. Their manufacturing industry is in the

most primitive state, each house producing the coarse cloth and linen necessary for the dress of its inmates; they also know sufficient of the blacksmith's craft to repair their guns, pistols and swords. Their language, which is a dialect of the Servian, is, however, more free from the admixture of foreign words; it is considered the nearest of all the Slavonian dialects to the original Slavonic tongue, *i. e.* that into which the Scriptures were translated by St. Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, and which continues still to be the sacred tongue of all the Slavonian nations who follow the eastern church; it is ludicrous enough to see the French colonel Vialla de Sommières, who had learned sufficient of the language to make himself understood, gravely asserting that it is derived from the Greek*. The Montenegrines do not consider as canonical or orthodox any books but such as have been printed at Kioff, and they are furnished with large quantities of them by the Russian government.

The government of Montenegro is perfectly republican. Each village elects its chief, called *Knius* (prince), or *Glavar* (head-man). The affairs of the whole nation are decided by the diet or assembly of all these chiefs, who elect the Metropolitan, the Governor, and the *Serdars* or military commanders. They meet on an extensive meadow where the monastery of *Cettigne* is situated, whenever such a meeting is required by the general affairs of the nation. The Metropolitan presents to them the necessity of beginning war, concluding peace, or any other public business, and asks whether they agree to his proposal or not? The matter is debated for some time by the assembly with great noise and violence, although there is no instance of their coming to blows on such an occasion. When the debates have continued in this manner for a certain time, the sound of the monastery's bell orders silence, which, notwithstanding the most animated discussion, is instantly restored. The Metropolitan asks again what is their decision, and whether they agree to his proposal or

* "La langue Illyrienne est un dialecte du Grec, quoique quelques uns prétendent que c'est l'Esclavon ou l'ancien Sarmate." *Vid.* vol. ii. page 125. of *Voyage historique et politique au Montenegro par le Colonel Vialla de Sommières, Commandant de Castelnuovo, Gouverneur de la province de Cattaro, &c., &c., entreprise en 1810.* Paris, 1820, en 2 tomes.

not? The answer is always the same, "*Budi po tv oyemu Vladika*," ("Let it be as thou wishest, Vladika*"). The dignity of Metropolitan has become hereditary in the family of Petrovich, and that of Governor was so in the family of Radonich; this last dignity was, however, abolished in 1832, when the last governor, accused of an attempt to get all the powers of the state into his hands, was expelled from the country with his whole family. The Metropolitan now possesses not only the spiritual but also the temporal authority, and receives, therefore, frequently the title of ruler, *Upravitel*. In his official acts he takes, moreover, the title of Metropolitan of Skenderia (pashalic of Scutari and the Littoral), over which parts these prelates for a long time exercised a spiritual influence, which has since been restricted to Montenegro. The power which the Vladika possesses over the Montenegrines is, however, simply a moral one; the inhabitants are not bound to pay obedience to him or to any other dignitary; in this country the magistrates have no established power, nor, in fact, are there any laws. The poorest inhabitant may say to any other without exception, 'I am as good as yourself.' If a Montenegrine were to commit ten murders in one day there is no authority to repress him, and the Vladika himself has no right to order anything to be done to anybody. He can only give advice, support it by the authority of religion, and threaten with its penalties; and he is frequently obliged, in order to support his own power, to gain over by presents the most influential inhabitants†.

In this primitive state of society we meet with many interesting illustrations of the habits of periods which have now indeed become matter of history, but which preceded the establishment of the present legal order in many European states. Changes are indeed taking place, but they are submitted to slowly and with evident reluctance. The most important is the abolition of what might be called the right of

* Vladika is the name by which the Greek *Κύριος*, and Latin *Dominus*, are translated in the Slavonian Bible. This title has also been given to the bishops.

† Such was the case previously to the reforms which are now attempted in Montenegro, and which we shall have an opportunity of describing at the end of this article.

private war. Till within two or three years, murder was invariably avenged by the relatives of the victim. Did it happen that the murderer had left the country, this vengeance fell on his nearest relation. He in turn found new avengers, and sometimes whole villages made war in this way, so that neither governor nor Vladika could stop the effusion of blood. Not only were families obliged to avenge the death of their relations, but villages, and even whole districts, must take the part of their inhabitants against those of another village or district. Truces were sometimes established between the hostile parties, as, for instance, when they had common or adjoining fields to cultivate. In cases where one party stood more in need of the truce than the opposite one, it must pay for it. The attack of a foreign enemy established a general truce for all private hostilities. Such cases, however, were not frequent; they were generally prevented in the following manner, which is also employed for the settlement of other quarrels. Each side chooses an equal number of arbiters, amounting from ten to forty. These arbiters, called Kmeti, receive the complaints of both parties, minutely examine all the circumstances of the case, and estimate a gunshot wound or a sabre cut not according to the injury which has been inflicted, but according to that which might have been done; and after mature deliberation they give a verdict, from which there is no appeal. The guilty party is condemned to pay a fine, one wound being generally taxed at 10, two at 20, and a murder at 120 ducats. Any quarrel between individuals, families, or whole communities, however old it may be, can be settled only in this way. It is related, that some years ago such a pacification was brought about between two villages near Cattaro, one of which demanded of the other a fine of fifty ducats, because a girl belonging to it had been insulted by Venetian soldiers in passing through the other village. In order to come at the circumstances of the case, they examined the oldest man in the village, a septuagenarian, who could only answer that he remembered having heard something about it in his early youth. In cases of homicide the guilty person is obliged to beg pardon publicly, with the following ceremonies. The

judges and spectators form a large circle, in the midst of which the murderer, having suspended from his neck a gun, a sword, or a poignard, must creep on his knees to the feet of the offended party, who taking the weapon from his neck, raises him and embraces him, saying, "God pardon you." The spectators congratulate with joyous acclamation the reconciled enemies, who not only forgive their mutual injuries, but often become sincere friends. This ceremony, which is called the *circle of blood*, is concluded by a feast given at the expense of the guilty party, of which all the spectators partake. A husband having proofs of his wife's infidelity may kill her without bringing on himself any consequences, as he might a thief caught in the act of stealing; but if, after an investigation by the family, her innocence should be proved, the husband must pay the fine of murder, or take the consequences. An unmarried woman if got with child is stoned to death, and her father throws the first stone, but the seducer is shot by his own relatives. Cases of such a nature are, however, exceedingly rare, as the Montenegrines bear a high respect to the honour of the fair sex, and treat them accordingly. Theft, according to the customs of the Montenegrines, is mulcted by paying the sevenfold value of the stolen object. They have a curious manner of recovering this, without exposing the guilty person. The individual who has been despoiled publicly announces the thing which has been stolen, together with the sum which he will give for its restoration. If any one happens to know the author of the theft, he does not denounce him, but sends him word by an intermediate person that his crime is detected, and that he should not delay to reconcile himself to the injured party by the restoration of the stolen object. When the thief perceives that he is known, he restores, by means of these goers-between, the stolen thing to its owner, who remains ignorant of his name.

Few travellers have penetrated into the interior of the country, except some Russians, who, from having the same origin and professing the same religion, are considered as their countrymen. A valuable description of Montenegro was given by the French Colonel Vialla de Sommières, who

was governor of the province of Cattaro, and succeeded in gaining detailed information by his courtesy and care not to offend the national pride and prejudices. His narrative, although very instructive, contains many inaccuracies arising from his want of a thorough knowledge of the language: his journey, moreover, being an official visit to the chief authorities of Montenegro, was necessarily accompanied with the ceremony unavoidable in every voyage of state. We shall therefore give our readers the description of a little tour made in the country by Broniewski, the author of the work at the head of this article. Having made several acquaintances amongst the inhabitants of Cattaro, M. Broniewski obtained, by means of a Greek priest of that town, a guide who was to take him safely over Montenegro; and, acting on the advice of his new friends, he provided for his journey about ten pounds of gunpowder, several fire stones, glass beads, a few tumblers and wine glasses of the coarsest description, as well as a small quantity of sugar, in order to make presents to the natives for the hospitality which he was to receive from them. When he was on the point of starting it happened that the Vladika arrived at Cattaro. M. Broniewski applied for his protection on the intended journey, and received from him one of his own guards as a companion. A quarrel ensued between his former guide and the new one, as to who should have the honour of accompanying him; it was however arranged in favour of the new one by the priest who had provided the former. We will now give the relation of the voyage in the words of the author himself.

"In order to have a more warlike appearance I took only a cloak, and girded on an enormously long sabre, having the little dirk of our naval service stuck in my girdle as a poignard. I started on the Thursday in Easter week in company with a sailor, a very clever and handy fellow, and on whose courage I could rely; I say courage, because the Montenegrines welcome and bid farewell to their guests by firing loaded guns, so that bullets are constantly whistling about your ears. I started on foot with a staff in my hand, but at Scagliari, a village lying in a beautiful valley near Cattaro, I obtained a mule, and we began to climb a steep mountain. Following a path winding round the mountain we arrived at the fortress, or rather a square tower, called *Trinita*, standing on the frontier of Montenegro, and defending the road from Cattaro to Boudoa. The mountain

became yet more steep; the sun was setting and it was getting dark; whilst the distance to Cettigne, where I was to spend the night, was still eighteen verstes (twelve English miles). The road was becoming so steep, and we were passing close to such horrid precipices that my head was giddy, and I was obliged to press it to the neck of my mule, requesting the guide to pass the night at the first village. The guide was assuring me that there was no danger, and that I absolutely must pass the night in his house at Cettigne, when suddenly we heard loud piercing cries. These cries were answered in the same manner by my companion, and I could not resist a feeling of terror which was still more increased when we were overtaken by a party of Montenegrines returning from the market of Cattaro. They surrounded me, and began to inquire whether I was really a Russian? whether I was a Christian? and one expressed his suspicions that I was a Roman Catholic. At last, having been convinced by my answers, as well as by the assurances of the Vladika's guard, that I was really what I professed to be, they wanted me to descend from my mule and mount a donkey which they had; they kissed my hands and the skirts of my cloak, whilst they were dragging me from my mule. They began to dispute amongst themselves, and I was afraid that a scuffle would ensue; but finally having put my sailor on their donkey they left me on my mule, and we quietly continued our journey. About ten o'clock my companions fired several shots and uttered a loud cry, which was, as they informed me, on account of our approach to a village called *Mivat*z. On nearing it we heard loud cries expressing alarm, the night was dark, and I was glad to see fires; these were boys holding bundles of burning straw. On entering the village I was closely surrounded by a crowd; my mule was stopped; and the first who accosted me was the Kniaz (the head of the village), who decidedly declared that I was to spend the night at his house.

"I could do nothing better than obey this order, and I followed the Kniaz, who, having stopped me at the gate, entered the house for a moment, and then, when he returned, took me by the hand and led me into it. I was struck with the resemblance which the interior of the house had to the habitations of our peasants. I was seated in the corner under the image^{*}; my sailor was placed near me, and he was much embarrassed by being treated as an equal with his officer; he was constantly rising from his seat, till I told him that he should do all that he was bid. A young woman (the youngest daughter-in-law of the family) entered the room with a wooden bowl filled with water; she bowed with great timidity; kissed the hem of my garment and the hand of my sailor, who jumped up at this mark of respect; she then pulled off my boots, examined them with great curiosity; took off my stockings and washed my feet as well as those of my sailor. After this the Kniaz proposed to me the Pascha

* It is also the custom of the Russians, and some other Slavonian nations, to consider the corner as the place of honour, over which the images of saints, the modern penates, are placed.

(Easter cake*), and all the family gave me and my companion the Eastern salutation. After this water was presented to wash our hands; a candle was lighted before the images; prayers were said; and supper, consisting of a boiled fowl and smoked mutton, was brought. The master of the house alone sat down with us at table; the children served; and several persons who had entered the room stood looking at us and talking. Directly after supper we were led to sleep in a separate room; our beds consisted of boards covered with carpets; the master of the house lay down at our side, and his son stretched himself without undressing and armed at the door; and both sire and son began immediately to snore. I could not sleep for a long time, being agitated by a vague apprehension, although there was not the slightest ground for it, till overcome by fatigue I fell fast asleep. At sunrise I was waked by the loud voice of the Kniaz; and considering his inquiry how I had slept as an order to rise, I did so, and followed him with the project of immediately starting to continue my journey; I was, however, soon convinced that I was to have no will of my own. Several fathers of families were already waiting for me in the yard, and as soon as I made my appearance requested me to honour them with a visit; I followed the first of them who had accosted me, and the sailor joined another; I had great trouble to escape from the washing of my feet, and I was regaled with an omelet and wheaten bread just out of the oven and very good; I was obliged to visit about twenty houses and absolutely take food, or at least taste it, in each of them. On entering, as well as on leaving each house, I was obliged to kiss every member of the family; and whenever I gave a child a little lump of sugar I was kissed again by every one in the house. At last, after having kissed the whole village several times over and over, my mule was brought and I mounted it, accompanied by loud wishes for a happy voyage and amidst firing of muskets. My sailor was made so drunk that it was necessary to stretch him across the donkey. I must not forget, that in passing from one house to another I was formally delivered from one's hands into others, like a chattel, with an injunction to keep me as the apple of their eye."

The road to Cettigne lay between terrible precipices and deep ravines, and here and there were seen vineyards, small orchards and fields of corn. The traveller passed between *Colajoon* and *Loocheen*, the two highest mountains in Montenegro, and arrived at Cettigne, the residence of the Vladika, at noon; here he stopped at the house of his first

* Easter cake is made at that festival by all the Slavonian nations, whether they follow the Eastern or Western church. A great quantity of cold viands are also prepared on the same occasion, and all this is consecrated by the priest with an aspersion of holy water. The Easter salutation is a general custom amongst the Slavonians who follow the Eastern church. All persons without distinction of rank, age or sex, and without any previous acquaintance, may be accosted and embraced with the words *Christes woskress*, "Christ is risen"; the answer is *Woistine woskress*, "he is really risen."

guide. Cettigne is situated in a deep valley covered with meadows and orchards. The monastery is inclosed by turreted walls ; and the church with its five cupolas reminded its Russian visitor of Moscow. He was shown the patents of the Emperors beginning with Peter, and their presents, consisting of rich sacerdotal ornaments, precious vases, and an image of the Panagia or holy virgin, covered with pearls and brilliants of great value, which was presented by the Empress Catherine.

The author bursts out into the following strain of admiration, which sounds a little oddly in a Russian officer whose work is full of sentiments of devotion to the Emperor. He says, in concluding the narrative of his excursion into the interior of Montenegro,—

“ I have seen Sparta ; I have seen a republic in the fullest meaning of that word ; the country of equality and real liberty where customs replace laws, where courage stands guard to liberty, and injustice is restrained by the sword of vengeance ; I have admired the elevation of mind, the pride and courage of that nation whose name inspires terror to all its neighbours. Their mode of living, the purity of their manners, and the absence of every luxury, are indeed deserving of the greatest praise. The three days which I have spent amongst them have transported me, I may say, into quite a new world, and I have become acquainted with my ancestors of the ninth and tenth century. I have seen the simplicity of the patriarchal times, and conversed with Ilia of Murom, Dobrynea*, and other heroes of antiquity. Their ferocity of character and cruelty against their enemies induces them continually to make war against their neighbours, because, being satisfied with their own productions and having no wants, they consider war a useful occupation. This custom, originating in their uncivilized state, is more than compensated by the purity of their manners, obedience to their parents and domestic happiness.”

This sentimental tirade proves that our author had read the works of J. Jacques Rousseau, many of which, like those of Voltaire, were translated into Russian at a time when the monarchs who courted the flatteries of the French philosophers seemed not to be aware that the new doctrines might be applied against their own authority. At present, however, the government of Russia perfectly understands the inconsistency

* Characters belonging to the ninth and tenth century, celebrated in popular story, and having some foundation in history.

of patronizing similar doctrines, and although the sentimental enthusiasm of Broniewski for the charms and advantages of a lawless state passed the censorship of 1836 at its second edition*, the works now published in St. Petersburg display quite a different tendency. This is particularly exemplified by a remarkable article on the celebrated Teutonic hero Arminius, or Herman, who defeated the Roman legions of Varus, inserted in the Russian Encyclopædical Dictionary now in progress of publication at St. Petersburg under the patronage of the Emperor. Speaking of the Teutonic hero, it says,

"University enthusiasm has made that Herman or Arminius the ideal of high-minded patriotism, and proclaimed him the 'saviour of Germany.' Without blaming these sentiments of the present Germans, which are more noble than well-founded, a foreigner will always consider Arminius only as an ungrateful and vile traitor, an ambitious and obstinate barbarian, who if he saved Germany by his perversity from anything, it was only from civilization and good order; indeed Arminius removed for twelve or thirteen centuries the civilization of the North; and having been educated in the centre of the ancient civilization, had neither sufficient elevation of mind to appreciate its advantages, nor so much genius as to introduce its arts into Germany, wrested by his wiles from the Romans. His military abilities are very doubtful; circumstances and superiority of numbers assisted him more than the talents of a general. Tacitus, who was fond of praising the Barbarians in order to reproach the corruption of Rome, made a hero of him; and modern German patriotism has extolled his virtues and personal character above all historical probability."

After having given a few details concerning the birth of Arminius and his education at Rome, the same article continues in the following manner:

"Neither the distinguished favour which was shown him by Augustus, nor the charms of refinement and luxury, could destroy in the young Barbarian the longing after the wild life of his native forests and morasses, and the cunning which is innate in a savage. That which appears to the modern Germans in Arminius to be the acme of the noblest patriotism and self-devotion, we Russians comprehend much better and with more exactness, *compelled as we are to enact the civilizing part of the Romans towards the savages of Asia.* We have witnessed ourselves many times that seeds of civilization reared up with great difficulty in some savage foreigner, have borne fruits entirely opposite to those that were expected. Many a

* The first was published in 1820.

Caucasian highlander educated at St. Petersburg like Arminius, has passed at once from the pleasures of gilded drawing-rooms to the barbarous and predatory life of his fathers."—*Vid. Encyclopædical Dictionary, vol. xiv. page 143. St. Petersburg, 1838.*

This is certainly as candid an admission as we could expect of the fruitless attempts made by the Russian government to convert the free Circassians into willing and useful tools.

We return again to Montenegro, and must conclude the excursion of our author with the following anecdotes related by him with great self-complacency and triumph, and which prove the hold which Russia has taken on its simple-minded inhabitants :—

"I cannot pass over in silence two cases which prove how much the Montenegrines are devoted to their religion and to the Emperor. At the village Bieloskie, the parish priest brought to me a book of prayer, in order that I might tell him whether it was really printed at Kioff. I opened the book and began to read. All that were present in the room rose from their seats, and when I ended they requested me to read still a few prayers. I turned therefore towards the images and began to read; all the company were praying in silence interrupted only by deep sighs, so sincere that I was moved almost to tears. When I had done reading emotion was painted on each countenance, and the conversation ended in their expressions of grief that they were living so far from Russia, and could not see the magnificence of our temples and pray to God in them.

"Another case gave me also great pleasure. I made a present to my first guide of a print of the Emperor. When he was informed whose image he held in his hand he began to tremble with joy, embraced me with ecstasy, kissed my hands, and expressed his thanks in words incoherent from emotion. He pressed the print to his heart; made the sign of the cross; then kissed the print, as also did all his family. After which it was stuck on a little board and placed with the images of the saints."—*Vol. i. page 194.*

Such is the enthusiastic devotion with which Russia has inspired the warlike highlanders of Montenegro; and we shall see in the course of this article, that its policy has understood how to take advantage of that feeling, inspired by community of race and creed,—a feeling which, by adroit management may be easily propagated amongst all the Slavonian nations, who follow the tenets of the Eastern church, and have not personally experienced the sweets of the Autocrat's paternal rule.

We must now say a few words of the history of that remarkable nation, which, sheltered by its native mountains,

succeeded in maintaining its independence against the overwhelming forces of the Ottoman empire, and which attracted the notice of all Europe by the devoted and effective assistance which it gave to the Russians against the French in 1805 and 1806, an event upon which we shall in particular dwell. Montenegro formed a part of the Slavonian empire of Servia, which, having attained during the fourteenth century a momentary grandeur under the reign of Tzar Dushan, was overturned by the Turks in 1389, when Sultan Murad I., having defeated the Servian monarch Lazar, took him prisoner and put him to death. From that time forward Montenegro, with a part of the adjacent country, was ruled by princes of the family Chernoyevich, descendants of a son-in-law of the unfortunate Servian monarch whose tragical end we have noticed. The inhabitants of Montenegro lived alternately in hostility, and temporary submission to the Turks; and their history, contained in tradition and popular songs, is full of romance, by which the truth is somewhat obscured. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, namely in 1516, the sovereign prince of Montenegro, who was married to a Venetian lady of the noble family of Mocenigo, having no children, was persuaded by his wife to leave his native country, in order to spend their remaining days amongst the sweets of civilization which Venice presented. This prince, named George, abdicated his dignity, and with the consent of the nation left the supreme authority in the hands of the Vladika, or Metropolitan, whose successors continue to enjoy it at the present day. From that time the history of Montenegro was that of one continual struggle against the Turks, generally in concert with the Venetians, who found in these highlanders most useful allies. The Turks had nevertheless at one time gained considerable advantages, and established such an authority over the country that many Montenegrines embraced Islamism, and became faithful and devoted servants of the Sultan. These advantages were, however, only of short duration; and the Montenegrines not only recovered their independence, but even compelled such of their countrymen as had embraced Mahomedanism, or their descendants, to return to Christianity; there are still several families in Montenegro whose names denote their Maho-

medan descent, as for instance the Alich, Husseynowich, i. e. the sons of Aly, Husseyn, etc.

Their eternal hostility to the Turks made them naturally seek the alliance of every power that was at war with the Ottoman Porte. Thus they took an active part in all the wars of the Venetian republic against the Turks. It was in order to obtain the protection of Russia, that the Montenegrines in 1712 declared themselves the subjects of Peter the Great, who received their oath of allegiance, and promised to defend them against their constant enemies. This protection remained however entirely nominal, and the Turks invaded Montenegro during the same year with a large force, but were repelled with considerable loss in 1714. They returned under Nuuman Kieperli with a force amounting, it is said, to 120,000 men. The Turkish general, knowing well the desperate valour of the Montenegrines, had recourse to treachery. He made them very favourable proposals, which were listened to, particularly as a report of the immense Turkish armament had spread amongst the Montenegrines, and they were deficient in ammunition. On the solemn faith of a safe conduct thirty-seven Montenegrine chieftains went to the Pasha's camp in order to negotiate the proposed conditions; they were treacherously seized, and the Turkish army immediately invaded the country, whose inhabitants, notwithstanding a most desperate resistance, were defeated, chiefly from want of munitions. The Turks penetrated to Cettigne; burnt the church and convent, and ravaged all the country. The inhabitants fled partly into the mountain fastnesses, and partly to the sea coast, into the Venetian territory, expecting there to find a safe asylum; but they were followed by the Turks, who butchered them without distinction of age or sex, and dragged above 2000 persons into captivity. The Montenegrines accused the Venetians of having connived at this gross violation of their territory, but this suspicion appears to have been ill-founded; in fact the Venetians had not a sufficient force stationed there to prevent the irruption of the Turks; and the same army which had ravaged Montenegro, marched soon afterwards into the Morea to attack the Venetian possessions. It is, moreover, a fact, that amongst the grievances expressed in the manifesto, by which Turkey soon

afterwards declared war against the republic of Venice, that of having granted a refuge to the Montenegrines is also brought forward*. When the Turks had retired from the country the remaining population of Montenegro returned to their habitations, and gradually recovered from the dreadful calamity which had befallen them. In 1718 they again fought the Turks as allies of Venice.

After that time they seem to have remained tranquil for about half a century, and they received on different occasions sums of money and other presents from the monarchs of Russia, but particularly from the Empress Elizabeth. In 1767 the country was disturbed by a very remarkable event. An adventurer called Stephen Mali (the little), who is said to have been a Slavonian native of Croatia or Carinthia, and a deserter from the Austrian army, made a tour through the country as a quack doctor, and settled afterwards as a servant in the house of an individual near Budva in the Venetian territory, where he continued his practice. All at once he imparted to his master under seal of secrecy that he was Peter III., Emperor of Russia. This avowal inspired the credulous master with devotion for his mysterious servant, and he seized every opportunity of expressing that feeling. Once having gone with him to a wedding-feast in Montenegro, he gave him publicly great marks of respect, which however caused only great mirth amongst the guests, who made a joke of the subject. In spite of this first failure the report spread, and began rapidly to gain ground, that the Emperor of Russia was in the country.

Stephen Mali now transferred his residence to Montenegro, where, notwithstanding he was declared by the Vladika to be

* The relation of that event given by Hammer is as follows:—"Naumian, the last of the Cupraglis, attacked the Montenegrines with the Pashas of Bosnia and Hersek. The rebels (Montenegrines) having been defeated at Zoonik fled into caverns situated in the Venetian territory near Cattaro. After a struggle of seven hours they were either destroyed or driven from their caverns; but the leader, the Vladika, who had three years before brought 35,000 ducats from Russia and distributed them amongst his countrymen, fled into Cattaro, and was not delivered by the Venetian authorities to the Vizier, who demanded his extradition; although a promise had been given to him that no asylum should be given to the rebels. This event was afterwards described in the Turkish manifesto as one of the grievances which caused the declaration of war."—*Vid. Hammers Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*, vol. ix.

an impostor, the number of his adherents continued to increase, and he was finally acknowledged the chief of the country. The Servian patriarch sent him a splendid horse as a present. The report of the presence of the Russian emperor in Montenegro produced such a powerful excitement in the Venetian territory of the coast, that the republic was obliged to interfere by an armed force. Peter Djaya, one of the principal inhabitants of Risano, a town not far from Cattaro, and chiefly peopled by members of the Greek church, had sent Stephen Mali a present consisting of arms and articles of dress, accompanied with a respectful letter. This circumstance derived particular importance from the fact that the Peter Djaya had formerly visited Russia. On this account the Venetian authorities thought it necessary to give a reprimand to Djaya and to two capitani (municipal officers) of Risano called Chelovich and Korda, who received the admonition with so bad a grace that a violent altercation ensued between them and the Venetian authorities. They were cited to Cattaro in order to answer for this act of disrespect, and having disregarded a thrice-repeated summons, a major was sent with 40 soldiers to conduct them under escort. The major having arrived at Risano covered his mission with great secrecy, and on leaving the town was reconducted to his vessel by the three individuals in question, who entertained no suspicion of his design against them. When they were close to the shore the major on a sudden ordered them to be seized and thrown into the vessel, but their cries for assistance attracted a large number of inhabitants who are in the habit of going always armed; these immediately rescued their countrymen and drove the Venetian major to his vessel, at which several shots were fired. The Venetian government sent a considerable force to reduce Risano, but it was repulsed with some loss; and the Republic, which was already in a great state of weakness and decline, was fain to content itself with an apology on the part of the inhabitants, and a declaration of fidelity to the Doge and the Republic.

About this time the Russian court sent a prince Dolgorouki to Montenegro to proclaim Stephen Mali an impostor. The Vladika on this occasion invited the chiefs of all the districts to Cettigne, and all came excepting he of Chermnitra, where

Mali was residing at the time. The Vladika and prince Dolgorouki informed them that Peter the Third was dead, and consequently Stephen Mali an impostor; this intelligence was favourably received by the assembly, who declared that they would have nothing more to do with Mali. However, on the following day when the firing of rifles on the adjacent hills announced his arrival, they ran to meet him, exclaiming, "Hail to us this day and ever! our lord is coming!" On his arrival at Cettigne the Vladika and Dolgorouki contrived to incarcerate him in a room of the upper story of the convent. He however did not lose his presence of mind, and said to those who kept guard over him, "You see yourselves that prince Dolgorouki acknowledges me to be the emperor, because otherwise he would not have placed me above himself but under himself." This accidental circumstance confirmed the simple-minded Montenegrines in the belief of his being the true Peter, and Dolgorouki was obliged to leave the country without having attained his object.

The Turks attacked Montenegro about this time, considering Mali, perhaps not without reason, as an agent of Russia, with whom they were then at war*. Nothing is known concerning the part which he took personally during that war, except that he erected several fortifications on the frontier of Herzegovina, which bear his name to the present day.

Stephen Mali ruled Montenegro for about four years, the inhabitants yielding him a willing and unconditional obedience. It is related that he ordered two individuals to be shot for theft, and that having deposed on a stone lying on the

* Hammer, who wrote his history chiefly from Turkish authorities, relates the affair of Stephen Mali in the following manner: "The little (Mali) Stephen, a monk devoted to the Russian interest, put all Montenegro into a state of revolt. He played the part of an inspired prophet, announcing the speedy arrival of Russian armies, and usurped an authority over Montenegro from Niksiehi to Scutari. The governor of Bosnia, Süleiman Mahemet Pacha, and that of Rumelia, Mahemed Pacha, attacked and twice defeated him, but they dared not attempt him in the centre of the mountains in the fortified convent of Cettigne, whence on a former occasion the gallant governor of Bosnia, Koprilisade Nauman Pacha, was obliged to retreat."—*Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs*, vol. viii. page 300. We have extracted the details in the text from the *Reisen und Landbeschreibungen der Aelteren und Neueren Zeit*, 11 Lieferung, 1837, published at Stuttgart by Cotta. Broniewski makes no mention of the history of Stephen Mali; he only says that the Montenegrines made, in 1768, a successful war against the Turks, producing an important diversion in favour of Russia, and that they took an active part in all the wars of Catherine against the Sultan.

road from Montenegro to Cattaro ten ducats and a silver-mounted pistol, they remained safe for several weeks, although a number of people passed daily by. The extraordinary consideration by which he exacted such unlimited submission from a people impatient of every restraint, was however impaired by the Turkish war, in which he seems not to have exhibited any marked proofs of courage, or at least of that desperate valour characteristic of the Montenegrines, and which they naturally expected from one whom they had acknowledged as their leader. His end was wretched: having lost his sight at the springing of a mine, he retired into a convent, where his Greek servant murdered him at the instigation of the Pacha of Scutari.

During the Austro-Russian war of 1789–1791, the Montenegrines rendered important services to the allies by conducting a partizan war on the Turkish borders. Notwithstanding this and their former services, their independence was not secured by the peace of Sistovo in 1791, and they obtained it themselves in 1796, by one of the most brilliant achievements in modern history, and worthy of the best times of ancient Greece. After various fruitless negotiations to induce them to acknowledge the supremacy of the Porte, the Pacha of Scutari received in 1796 an absolute order to unite the troops of all the adjoining Pachalics, and to conquer or exterminate the whole population of Montenegro. He entered the country at the head of a numerous army composed of Albanians, Janissaries, and other chosen troops of the Sultan. The invaders were met by the Montenegrines under the command of their Vladika, Peter Petrovich. Having decided on a general action, he began by making a feigned attack on the Turks, after which he retired to a pass, where he posted 5000 picked men. These he ordered to scatter on the rocks the red skull-caps usually worn by the Montenegrines and to keep watch-fires lighted during the night, to make the enemy believe that he opposed them with all his force. This done, he made a forced march by which he completely turned the invading army and cut off their retreat. The Turks, deceived by the red caps and the watch-fires, believed that they had the whole force of the Montenegrines before them, and in the morning attacked the pass, which was resolutely defended

for several hours by the 5000 Montenegrines left in its guard. About noon the Vladika appeared with his army in the rear of the Turks, who being hemmed in between two assailants, and having their retreat cut off, fought desperately during three days and nights, until they were completely annihilated. About 30,000 enemies were killed, and amongst the rest the Pacha in command, whose head is still preserved as a trophy at Cettigne. All the baggage of the enemy, of great value, became the spoil of the victors. Since that time the Turks have never ventured to attack Montenegro, with which several districts of the enemies' territory united after that glorious feat of arms.

Although the protection of Russia did not shelter the Montenegrines from the attacks of their enemies, they continued to acknowledge it, and to maintain a constant intercourse with the cabinet of St. Petersburg. The emperor Paul sent many rich presents to their churches; he also established there a judicial tribunal called Kuluk, which consisted of sixty chieftains, and assigned a sum of money for their salaries; but as nobody would submit to their authority, the tribunal was abolished after a year's duration.

It was at the beginning of the present century that Montenegro attracted the notice of Europe, although not in a degree commensurate to its importance, by the prominent part it took in the war between France and Russia, and the extraordinary devotion it showed to the last-named power in a quarrel entirely foreign to its own interests. As the details of that remarkable campaign are very little known, we shall give a few of them from an authentic source published in Russian, which to our knowledge has never been touched upon in the literature of any other European country.

It is well known that in 1799 the united forces of Russia and Turkey took the Ionian Islands from the French, and that they remained in the occupation of the first-named power until the treaty of Tilsit in 1807. This circumstance brought the Russians into the vicinity of Montenegro, and gave them additional facilities for increasing their influence over that country, whose chief, the Vladika, having been educated at St. Petersburg, was already devoted to their interest. They maintained a political agent there in the person

of a M. Sankowski, and in 1803 Count Marcus Ivelich, belonging to a distinguished family of Bocca di Cattaro, and a lieutenant-general in the Russian service, was commissioned by the same government to excite the Montenegrines against the French, and to ensure their allegiance to the Russian monarch. He was well acquainted with Montenegro, being a native of the neighbouring country, and having been employed there on a similar errand during the war with Turkey, in 1789-91, he obtained an easy and complete success. In 1805 Russia, being engaged with England and Austria against France, marched an army to Austria, sent a considerable body of troops to Hanover in English vessels, and at the same time despatched from Cronstadt to the Mediterranean a fleet consisting of five ships of the line and one frigate, under admiral Siniavin, an officer who enjoyed the reputation of great professional talent and remarkable decision of character. He was named commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the Mediterranean, the principal station of which was then Corfu. M. Broniewski, whose work we have prefixed to our present article, served in that fleet, and has described all its operations during a campaign of five years, i. e. from 1805 to 1810*. This fleet left Cronstadt in September, and after having remained for a short time at Portsmouth, Gibraltar and Messina, arrived at Corfu on January 8th, 1836. The Russian forces now united under the command of admiral Siniavin amounted to ten ships of the line,

* Vladimir Broniewski was born in 1784, and educated at the naval and military school, which he left in 1802 with the rank of midshipman. After having served three years in the Baltic fleet, he accompanied the expedition of Admiral Siniavin and distinguished himself on several occasions, particularly at the battle of Tenedos, against the Turks, in 1807. He describes the campaign of that fleet in the "Memoirs of a Naval Officer," and completed this description in the "Letters of a Naval Officer," 2 vols. Broniewski returned to Russia from Trieste, 1810, overland with the crews of the ships, which were sold to the French in that part, and published a description of his voyage. He was afterwards employed in the Black Sea till 1816, when he was obliged to leave the service on account of ill health. He was afterwards employed as inspector of some military schools, and died, 1835, with the rank of major-general. He published besides those we have enumerated, a work on the Crimea and a history of the Cossacks of the Don, and made several translations. The family of Broniewski is of Polish descent, and some branches of it are still in existence in Poland. It produced a celebrated author, Martinus Broniewski, known to learned Europe under the name of Bronovius, whose work, *Di Tartarea*, is frequently quoted by our celebrated traveller, Dr. Clarke. He was employed by King Stephen Bathory on diplomatic missions to the Crimea, and made a description of that country for his monarch.

eight frigates, six corvettes, six brigs and twelve gun-boats. This fleet was manned by 9708 sailors and marines, and carried 1154 cannons. There were besides in the Ionian Islands 13,000 troops, consisting of regular Russian infantry, and an Albanian legion. We may also add, that Pozzo de Borgo, who has since become so celebrated in the diplomacy of Europe, accompanied Siniavin as political agent. The position of Siniavin was, however, difficult, because the treaty of Presburg, which followed the defeat of the Austro-Russian army at Austerlitz, put the French in possession of the ancient dominions of Venice extending along the eastern shores of the Adriatic, which Austria was compelled to resign. Receiving no orders from his government how to act under these circumstances, Siniavin decided on his own responsibility to occupy the province of Bocca di Cattaro, and to raise its Slavonian population conjointly with that of Montenegro against the French. These were already in possession of Dalmatia, and on the point of entering Bocca di Cattaro, which had remained under the dominion of Austria ever since the treaty of Campo Formio in 1798. This resolution was executed on the 21st of February, 1806, by a naval squadron under the command of Captain Baylie*. Our author, who served in that expedition, gives the following account of it, as well as of the motives which induced Admiral Siniavin to undertake it.

"When the report that the Emperor of Austria had concluded a peace at Presburg with the French, ceding to them Venice and Dalmatia, was confirmed at Corfu, and when it became known that the French government had communicated with Ali Pacha to induce that insubordinate subject of the Sultan to admit its troops, the situation of the admiral became very difficult, but it gave him the happy idea of taking advantage of the following circumstance. Having formerly served in the Mediterranean, he was acquainted with the devotion of the Slavonian nations to Russia, and particularly of the inhabitants of Cattaro and Montenegro, the latter of whom were already under her protection. Therefore, being now invested with the chief command of the Russian forces in those parts, although he had not received any instructions or even information as to the relations which existed between the French and Russian governments since the return

* Mr. Baylie, a native of this country, entered the Russian service in 1784, and died in 1826, a rear admiral of the Black Sea. He distinguished himself particularly at Naples, in 1799, where he assisted cardinal Ruffo in taking the city from the French.

of the troops of the latter to their own country ; yet, considering the hostile proceedings which were continued by the French, he resolved to secure the command of the Adriatic, and so at once to keep the French from approaching Corfu, and to prevent them from gaining over the Greeks, who looked with great anxiety for any opportunity to throw off the Turkish yoke. Having adopted this resolution, Siniavin determined on acting without any loss of time ; but he met with a new and important difficulty. General Lacy, who commanded before him in the Ionian Islands, had orders to bring back to the ports of the Black Sea all the land forces, leaving only garrisons for the defence of the republic. Siniavin strongly represented to him how important it was for his country to prevent the French from establishing themselves in Dalmatia and Albania, and how difficult it would otherwise become to defend the Ionian republic against them. At last, upon his urgent demand, Lacy resolved to leave the greatest part of the troops to Siniavin, and started for Russia with only the regiment of the grenadiers of Siberia."—*Vol. i. page 137.*

" On the 9th Feb. Captain Baylie received orders to appear with a ship of the line, two frigates and a schooner, off the Gulf of Cattaro, to enter into communication with M. Sankowski, diplomatic agent in Montenegro, and to give hopes to the inhabitants of Cattaro of our protection and assistance ; after this he was to establish a blockade in the canal of Calamotta, between the islands of Meleto and Agosta, in order to prevent the French from arriving at Cattaro. Here he was to await the consequences of these measures ; but should the inhabitants of Bocca di Cattaro manifest a wish to deliver themselves from the enemy, he was forthwith to occupy their country."

" The inhabitants of Bocca di Cattaro formerly constituted an independent republic, as the seventh article of the treaty by which they voluntarily submitted to the protection of the republic of Venice* expressly states, ' that should the republic be unable to defend the territory of Bocca di Cattaro, its inhabitants shall have the right to become again independent,' and in consequence of this they refused to acknowledge the authority of Austria, to whom this province was unjustly ceded by the treaty of Campo Formio. The court of Vienna was therefore obliged to confirm the former rights of the inhabitants, and to receive the province on the same conditions on which it was held by the Venetians. The population of Bocca di Cattaro having now learnt that, contrary to their rights, they were ceded to France, whose domination would destroy their common liberty and welfare, were plunged by that news into great affliction. The Austrian government persecuted the principal citizens on the mere suspicion of their attachment to Russia. One of them resolved to raise his voice, and addressed the people on a Sunday in the following manner : ' Arise from inactivity, my brethren ! this state of despondency is unworthy of you ! we are standing on the brink of destruction, and an abyss is opened under our

* This event took place in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

feet. Our country is in jeopardy, and only one path to liberty still remains to us,—your sword and valour will show it to you.”—*Vol. i. page 140.*

Our author does not give us the name of the individual who addressed his countrymen in this manner, and we will not venture to decide whether he was inspired by feelings of real patriotism, or whether he was a paid agent of Russia, for whose interest he was hurrying the population of Cattaro into a destructive war against the French, to whose vengeance they were soon abandoned by the same Russia in consequence of the treaty of Tilsit. All that we know is, that his speech was not without effect, to describe which we continue the text of our author.

“All who were present in the church (where the speech was delivered), having their hearts filled with despair, and animated by the warmest patriotism, swore either to die or to free themselves from the power of the French. The exclamations ‘Who is a warrior*? to arms, brethren!’ raised their dejected spirits in an instant: it spread like wildfire, and in a few hours all the population was under arms; the alarm-bell was rung even in the fortress of Cattaro, notwithstanding the presence of the Austrian governor, to whom the inhabitants declared that they were ready to shed their blood to the last drop in defence of their liberty. It was not only their attachment to Russia, but also their public and private advantage which produced such a wonderful unanimity; it was enough for the Russian flag to appear in order to arm the whole population, and so that no one remained quiet, and no one was one of a different opinion, or entertained a doubt about the protection of the Russian Emperor. Many inhabitants who had been in our service particularly wished for such a change. The captains of the communitals (chiefs of districts) of Risano and Castel Nuovo, the Counts Sava Ivelich and George Weynowich, showed the most zeal and readiness for the deliverance of their country.

“The chiefs of the nation (captains of the communitals) having assembled, resolved *without any foreign instigation* (?) not only to seek the protection of the orthodox Emperor of Russia, but even to swear to him an unconditional allegiance. In consequence of this resolution a deputation was sent to M. Sankowski and to the Metropolitan of Montenegro. The first of them being certain of the Admiral’s intention to lend assistance for the defence of Bocca di Cattaro, did not reject the petition of its inhabitants who had deserved such favour by their devotion and attachment to us. The Metropolitan, Peter Petrovich, chief of the people of Montenegro, who have acknowledged themselves subjects of Russia for ninety-seven

* *Kto jest vitiaz?* the usual signal to take up arms amongst the Slavonian populations of the Adriatic.

years, decided, with the consent of the heads of his nation assembled in a general diet at Cettigne on the 15th of February, not only to fight the French, but also to expel the Austrian troops. Having assumed the supreme command over the united forces of Bocca di Cattaro and Montenegro, he besieged the fortress of Castel Nuovo. The timely arrival of Captain Baylie's squadron on the 16th prevented the people from exercising a terrible vengeance upon the Austrians. Negotiations were opened between the besiegers and besieged, in consequence of which the Metropolitan declared to the Austrian commander on the 21st of February, that if he did not surrender the fortress he would take it by storm. Captain Baylie, who was requested by the Austrian governor to fire a single gun, upon which he would surrender, proposed that the fortress should be delivered to the captains of the communitals, who then constituted the local authority, and remarked that the Austrians were defending the enemy's territory, as the term of the 19th of January, upon which, according to the treaty, it was to be delivered to the French, was already passed. The imperial commissioner, Marquess de Ghisliè, acceded to this proposal. In this manner the gallant nation recovered its independence, and replaced the Austrian garrisons in all the eight fortresses of its territory without bloodshed.

"At nine o'clock in the morning the Metropolitan, accompanied by the chiefs, arrived on board of the *Asia* (a ship of the line), whence he returned on shore with Captain Baylie and a company of marines. We were received by the clergy bearing the cross, who gave us their benediction, and presented us with bread and salt*, whilst the people joyfully exclaimed 'Vivat Alexander!' At the convent of Savino, where more than 10,000 people were collected, the assembled clergy performed a solemn service, after which the Metropolitan consecrated the standards, and presented them to the captains with the following address: 'Gallant Slavonians, your wishes are now accomplished; you behold now in the midst of you your long-expected brethren! your brethren by race, faith, gallantry and glory! The powerful monarch of Russia receives you into the number of his children. Oh let us bless the providence of the Lord! Oh let this day of joy and happiness remain for ever in your memories! But before I intrust to you these sacred standards, you must swear to defend them to the last extremity.' 'We swear to do so!' was the unanimous answer of the people, and according to the ancient customs of the Slavonians they brandished their naked swords, and swore by the dust of their fathers to be faithful unto the grave. The enthusiasm of the population during our march towards the town was to us a most gratifying spectacle.....The Russian colours were hoisted on the fortresses of Castel Nuovo and Espagnola with loud exclamations: 'Vivat our White Tzar†!' 'May our Alexander

* The usual peace-offerings amongst the Slavonian nations.

† The term of White Monarch, *Ak PadishaA*, is applied throughout all the East to the monarchs of Russia, and is usual amongst the natives of the country, particularly in their old popular songs. It is supposed to have been given to the Grand Dukes of Moscow when they became independent of the Tartar dominion,

live for ages!' The vessels of the squadron as well as the fortresses displayed all their colours and fired salutes. From that moment till late at night the firing of cannons and rifles continued without intermission. The inhabitants knew no bounds to their joy; they regaled the soldiers with the best things they had, and embraced them with tears of joy. Enthusiasm and a sincere emotion were painted on the countenance of every one, and this day presented a most enrapturing solemnity! "—Page 142-144.

Flattering as this enthusiastic reception must have been to the self-love and national vanity of the Russians, the advantages which their forces in the Mediterranean derived from the willing assistance of the Slavonian populations of the Adriatic were even more solid. They are enumerated by our author in the following manner:

"The territories of Cattaro and Montenegro bordering on the Slavonian nations devoted to Russia, separated from Dalmatia by the independent republic of Ragusa, and adjoining Servia through Herzegovina, constituted a most admirable position for our forces, and became, under the political circumstances of that time, a most valuable acquisition. The Herzegovinians and the gallant George Czerny, leader of the Servians, facilitated the arrival of assistance from Russia, and could, in case of need, impede, conjointly with us, all the operations of Bonaparte, *preserving, in that manner, the integrity of our ally, the Ottoman Porte.* Possessing at Cattaro a safe port in the midst of the Adriatic, Siniavin increased his forces by 12,000 gallant warriors from Montenegro and the sea-coast, and transferred the theatre of war from Corfu into Dalmatia. By a strict blockade he cut off the communications between that province and Italy, and compelled the enemy's armies and transports to pass through the Austrian dominions, over mountains without roads, which, added to the indisposition of the inhabitants, placed the French generals in a very difficult situation; so that Napoleon, who had proclaimed his pretensions to several towns of Albania, which had formerly belonged to the Venetian republic (Butrinto, Parga, &c.), saw his schemes upon Greece, and particularly Corfu, destroyed almost as soon as put into execution. The ambitious and greedy Ali Pacha, when informed of the occupation of Cattaro, and of the measures that had been adopted for keeping him within the limits of neutrality, began, after a few manifestations of ill-will, to seek the acquaintance of Siniavin, and having made it, he became a good and friendly neighbour; by which Bonaparte lost his last remaining hope of overthrowing the

from which time they have been called Tzagan Khan in Mongolian, and Ak Padishah in Turkish, both terms having the same signification. The appellation of 'White' is generally used by the Turkish and Mongolian nations to express the condition of free and noble, in contradistinction to 'Black,' which signifies a slave or ignoble. Thus the Calmucs are divided into 'white-bones,' or nobles, and 'black-bones,' or plebeians. In Russia formerly 'to be made white,' signified to be freed from taxes and services.

Turkish empire. The occupation of the republic of Ragusa placed under the protection of the Sultan, the efforts which were made to conquer the territory of Cattaro by force of arms or political intrigues, clearly prove what a point of importance for the future plans of a conqueror was formed by this province, insignificant in other respects. On all these accounts, the occupation of Cattaro produced a great noise. The contact of France with the Ottoman Porte was prevented, and the project of gaining over the Greeks and Slavonians annihilated."—Page 145, etc.

This exposition of the advantages which Russia had acquired by the occupation of Cattaro and Montenegro, sufficiently shows what assistance she may derive from the warlike and devoted inhabitants of these countries in case of a war with Turkey and Austria. It also shows the importance to us of the Ionian Islands, which afford a most advantageous position to counterbalance the influence of Russia in those quarters, and effectually to check her progress in case of war; since the occupation of the important military position of Bocca di Cattaro will always be easy for that power which commands the Adriatic by the superiority of its naval force. The tender care of Russia for the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, descanted so much upon by our author, appears the more amusing, as he mentions amongst the advantages obtained by the occupation of Cattaro and Montenegro, the proximity of the Serbian leader, George Czerny, who was at that moment at the head of an insurrection *against* the Turks.

The Admiral himself arrived with ships and troops on the 13th of March, and was received with the greatest marks of enthusiasm. He began to make immediate preparations for an active war which he intended to carry into Dalmatia. The inhabitants of Bocca di Cattaro furnished, at their own expense, thirty vessels, carrying from eight to ten guns, which were of great service to the Russian fleet. Captain Baylie took, on the 20th of March, the fortified island of Curzola, situated near the Dalmatian coast, and occupied several other islands, whilst the Russian cruizers seized more than a hundred vessels laden with stores and ammunition intended for the French army in Dalmatia, and despatched from various ports of Italy.

All these decisive measures were put in force by Siniavin on

his sole responsibility, and without any instructions from his government. At last he received, in the month of May, a full approbation of his proceedings, which produced a new outburst of enthusiasm amongst the Slavonians, whose devotion to Russia was still increased by the personal conduct of the admiral. Our author gives the following curious illustrations of the manner in which this feeling was propagated.

"I happened to enter a school; all the pupils arose directly, and addressed me simultaneously with a salutation. The teacher asked them the following questions:—'Whom ought we to worship?' 'The only God!' was the answer. 'Whom ought we to serve to the last drop of our blood?' 'Alexander alone!' was the unanimous reply. 'Whom ought we to hate?' &c. &c. This is a catechism worthy of a gallant nation! Children who scarcely begin to speak, learn to pronounce the name of Alexander, and repeat it to every one whom they meet. The boys are constantly firing pistols, exclaiming, 'Long live our Tzar Alexander!'—'Perish the dogs' faith!' (i. e. Roman-catholicism.)"—Page 177.

The French could not remain passive spectators of such events; and a large body of troops, under the command of Generals Marmont and Lauriston, marched through the Austrian territory in order to subdue Cattaro, and expel the Russians and their Montenegrine allies. The republic of Ragusa was occupied, and active hostilities began. But before we proceed to give an account of the campaign, we must present to our readers a sketch of the Montenegrine mode of making war, drawn by our author, who had been himself on many occasions an eye-witness of it.

"A Montenegrine is always armed, and carries about, during his most peaceful occupation, a rifle, pistols, a yatagan, and a cartouch box. The Montenegrines spend their leisure time in firing at a target, and are accustomed to this exercise from their boyish years. Their very games and amusements bear the stamp of a military character, and they are admitted by all to be most skilful shots. Being inured to hardships and privations, they perform, without fatigue and in high spirits, very long and forced marches. They leap over wide ditches, supporting themselves on their long rifles, and pass over precipices where bridges would be absolutely requisite for every other kind of troops, and they climb the steepest rocks with great facility; they also bear, with the greatest patience, hunger, thirst, and every kind of privation. When the enemy is defeated and retreating, they pursue him with such rapidity, that they supply the want of cavalry, which it is impossible to employ in their mountainous country. Like the knights of Malta, they are constantly at war with the Turks. Inhabiting mountains which present at every step passes where a handful of brave

men may arrest the progress of an army, they are not afraid of a surprise, particularly as they have on their frontier a constant guard, and the whole of their force may be collected within twenty-four hours upon the threatened point. When the enemy is in great force, they burn their villages, devastate their fields, and, after having enticed him into the mountains, they surround him, and attack him in a most desperate manner. When the country is in danger, the Montenegrines forget all personal feelings of private advantage and enmity; they obey the orders of their chief, and, like gallant republicans, they consider it a happiness and a grace of God to die in battle. It is in such a case that they appear as real warriors; but beyond the limits of their country they are savage barbarians, who destroy everything with fire and sword. Their ideas about war are entirely different from those which are adopted by civilized nations. They cut off the heads of those enemies whom they take with arms in their hands, and spare only those who surrender before the battle. The property which they take from the enemy is considered by them as their own, and as a reward of courage. They literally defend themselves to the last extremity; a Montenegrine never craves for mercy; and whenever one of them is severely wounded, and it is impossible to save him from the enemy, his own comrades cut off his head. When at the attack of Clobuck, a little detachment of our troops was obliged to retreat, an officer of stout make, and no longer young, fell on the ground from exhaustion. A Montenegrine perceiving it, ran immediately to him, and, having drawn his yatagan, said, 'You are very brave, and must wish that I should cut off your head. Say a prayer, and make the sign of the cross.' The officer, horrified at the proposition, made an effort to rise, and rejoined his comrades with the assistance of the friendly Montenegrine. They consider all those who have been taken by the enemy as killed. They carry out of the battle their wounded comrades on their shoulders; and, be it said to their honour, they acted in the same manner by our officers and soldiers. Like the Circassians, they are constantly making forays in small parties for the plunder of cattle, and consider such expeditions as feats of chivalry. None of their neighbours can equal them in that kind of warfare. Being safe in their habitations, where, since a long time, nobody dares to molest them, they continue their depredations with impunity, disregarding the threats of the Divan, and the hatred of their neighbours; in short, the very name of a Montenegrine spreads terror about. Arms, a small loaf of bread, a cheese, some garlic, a little brandy, an old garment, and two pair of sandals made of raw hide, form all the equipage of the Montenegrines. On their march they do not seek any shelter from rain or cold. In rainy weather the Montenegrine wraps his head with the *strooka* (a shawl of coarse cloth), lies down on the ground where he stood, and, putting his rifle under him, sleeps very comfortably. Three or four hours of repose are quite sufficient for his rest, and the remainder of his time is occupied in constant exertion. It is impossible to retain them in the reserve, and it seems that they cannot calmly bear the view of the enemy. When they have expended all their cartouches, they

humbly request every officer they meet with to give them some ; and as soon as they have received them, they run headlong into the further line, abusing the name of Bonaparte. When there is no enemy in sight they sing and dance, or go on pillaging, in which we must give them the credit of being perfect masters ; although they are not acquainted with the high-sounding names of *contribution, requisition, forced loans, &c.* They call pillage simply pillage, and have no hesitation in confessing it.

"Their usual manner of fighting is as follows :—if they are in great force they conceal themselves in ravines, and send out only a small number of shooters, who, by retreating, lead the enemy into the ambush ; here, after having surrounded him, they attack him, usually preferring on such occasions swords to fire-arms, because they rely on their personal strength and bravery, in which they generally have the advantage over their enemies. When their numbers are inferior, they choose some advantageous position on high rocks, where, pronouncing every kind of abuse against their enemies, they challenge them to combat. Their attacks are mostly made during the night, because their principal system is surprise. However small their force may be, they always try to wear out the enemy by constantly harassing him. The best French *Voltigeurs* on the advanced posts were always destroyed by them ; and the enemy's generals found it more advantageous to remain under the cover of their cannon, of which the Montenegrines were not at all fond. However, they soon became accustomed to them, and, supported by our rifles, they bravely mounted the batteries. The tactics of the Montenegrines are confined to being skilful marksmen. A stone, a hole, a tree, offer them a cover from the enemy. Firing usually in a prostrate position on the ground, they are not easily hit, whilst their rapid and sure shots carry destruction into the closed ranks of a regular army. They have, besides, a very practised eye for judging of distance ; they thoroughly understand how to take advantage of the ground ; and as they usually fight retreating, the French, who took it for a sign of fear, constantly fell into their ambushes ; as for themselves, they are so cautious, that the most skilful manœuvres cannot deceive them. It may be said, that they perceive the enemy by scent, and they discover him at distances when his movements can scarcely be discerned by means of a telescope. Their extraordinary boldness frequently triumphed over the skill of the experienced bands of the French. Attacking the columns of the enemy in front and flank, and acting separately without any other system than the inspirations of personal courage, they were not afraid of the terrible battalion fire of the French infantry. General Lauriston wished to send to Paris two Montenegrines, who were taken prisoners ; but one of them broke his head against a wall, and the other died of voluntary starvation.

"It must therefore be concluded, that the Montenegrines cannot withstand regular troops beyond their mountains, because, destroying everything with fire and sword, they cannot long keep the field. The advantages of their courage in assisting our troops, and the fruits of victory were lost by their want of order. During the siege of Ragusa, it was never

possible to know how many of them were actually under arms, because they were constantly going to their homes with spoil, whilst others joined the army in their places, and after a few days of indefatigable exertion, returned to the mountains, to carry away some insignificant trifle. It is impossible to undertake any distant expedition, and, consequently, to accomplish anything of importance with them. In one respect they have a great advantage over regular troops by their great skill in mountain warfare, although they are completely ignorant of the military art. In the first place, they are very lightly dressed, are exceedingly good marksmen, and reload their rifles with much more rapidity than regular soldiers, who, having straight butts at their musquets, do not always hit their aim. The Montenegrines dispersed, and deliberately firing from a lying position on the closed rank of the enemy, are not afraid to attack columns composed of 1000 men with numbers not exceeding 100 or 150. In a pitched battle their movements can be ascertained only by the direction of their standards. They have certain signal-cries which are uttered when they are to join in a compact body for attacking the weaker points of the enemy. As soon as such a signal is given, they rush furiously onwards, break into the squares, and, at all events, create a great deal of disorder in the enemy's ranks. It was a terrible spectacle to see the Montenegrines rushing forward, with heads of slaughtered enemies suspended from their necks and shoulders, and uttering savage yells. They can be employed by a regular army with great advantage for fighting on the advanced posts, for seizing the enemy's convoys, destroying his magazines, &c. &c."—*Pages 266-272.*

The Russian commander-in-chief had much difficulty in persuading them not to cut off the heads of their prisoners. He finally succeeded not only in this, (chiefly by paying them a ducat for every prisoner,) but, what was more difficult, in persuading them, with the assistance of the Vladika, to embark for an expedition on board ship,—a thing which they had never done before. A number of them went on board the *Moscow*; here they were with great difficulty prevailed upon to put their arms into chests. Notwithstanding that they were treated with the greatest kindness, they proved very troublesome guests. Whenever the captain invited their chiefs to breakfast, they all entered the cabin; and having observed that more dishes were served to officers than to common sailors, they wanted to have a similar fare. When the fortress of Curzola, the object of the expedition, was taken, and the feast of Easter was approaching, they gave the captain no repose, entreating him to accelerate his return to Cattaro; but when it was explained to them that the vessel could not advance against the wind, they fell into great despondency,

and were to be seen sitting on the deck with downcast heads. When at last the ship approached the entrance of Bocca di Cattaro, and they caught a sight of their own black mountains, they uttered joyous exclamations, and began to sing and dance. On taking leave, they affectionately embraced the captain and the officers, and invited those to whom they had taken a liking to pay them a visit. But when the sailors told them that they could not leave the ship without the permission of their superiors, they were much astonished, and said, "If you like to do a thing, what right has another to forbid you?"

Their parochial clergy, who are so ignorant as scarcely to know how to read, always take part in their wars; and, being distinguished by their valour, they generally command their parishioners. A priest deposes his arms on entering the church, but takes them up again after having performed divine service; and he is generally the first at the gathering when the signal cry of "*Kto jest vitiaz?*" "Who is a warrior?" is uttered. The supreme military and spiritual chief of the nation, the Vladika, who at that time ruled Montenegro, and commanded its forces against the French, deserves a particular notice.

Peter Petrovich was born in 1754, at Niegush, a village situated not far from Cattaro. Being destined from his childhood to the dignity of Vladika, held by his family ever since the end of the seventeenth century, he was educated in the Alexandro-Newsky Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg. He passed in 1777 through all the grades of monastic preferment at Vienna, where he was favourably received by the Emperor Joseph, and was consecrated the same year as Metropolitan of Montenegro, at Carlovitz in Hungary. He went from Vienna to St. Petersburg, where his propositions to the Russian court received no attention. He revisited the same capital a second time, and was favourably received by the Empress Catherine. After his return from his second visit to Russia, during the war with Turkey in 1789, he assisted the first of these powers by a diversion which he made in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and for which he received several marks of favour. We have already described his glorious victory over the Turks in 1796. The Emperor Paul created

him knight of the order of Alexander Newsky; and the Emperor Alexander, besides many valuable presents, sent him, for the *distinguished valour* displayed in the defence of Cattaro, a costly episcopal mitre. Our author gives the following description of this remarkable personage.

" Peter Petrovich is of a middle stature, well made, has a fresh complexion, an agreeable countenance, a grave deportment, and eyes full of animation. I had an opportunity of seeing him on his entrance into Cattaro, at church, on the parade, when he was inspecting the fortifications, and in the house of the Governor-General Poushkin. I have seen him in the capacity of a high priest, in that of a sovereign prince, of a general, of an engineer, and of an accomplished courtier, and I can say that he does not at all resemble Peter the hermit who assembled the army of the crusaders; indeed, he is the only bishop in the world who unites in his own person qualities so contrary to those of the pastoral staff. When he occupied the throne which was prepared for him in the church, he appeared like a monarch. At the house of the Governor, his black velvet jacket, girded with a costly sash, to which was appended a sword set with precious stones; his round hat, and the ribbon of St. Alexander across his shoulder, gave him more the appearance of a general than of a Metropolitan; and indeed he seemed to be much more at ease when he commanded the troops and inspected the forts, than when with a slight bow he was giving his benediction to the officers who approached him. He is always surrounded by a numerous retinue, and his guards are real giants, the shortest of them being 2 archines 12 vershoks (6 feet 5 inches) high, whilst one who preceded them was 3 archines (7 feet). Their arms glitter with gold, mother of pearl and coral, and their dress is bordered with golden lace, and covered with silver embroidery. Peter Petrovich speaks Italian, French and Russian as fluently as his own Slavonian tongue; but he considers it more suitable to his dignity to make use, on public occasions, of an interpreter for the two first-named languages. He is free from prejudice and superstition, fond of information, and takes much pleasure in conversing with foreigners; he carefully observes the march of public affairs in Europe; he knows how to take advantage of circumstances, and possesses great skill in getting out of difficult positions. His travels, information and natural wit impart to his conversation great clearness, and render it agreeable, whilst his manners are very refined and dignified. His mind is continually at work; love of power directs all his thoughts and actions; and it appears that he is very much inclined to make conquests. His political as well as military talents, and the spirit which animates his nation, might justify such schemes if he were able to accustom the Montenegrines to subordination, without which their bravery becomes useless. By his superior mind, courage and firmness, he became the absolute ruler of his country. His will is considered law, and the Montenegrines blindly obey him; they are afraid of his glance; and in fulfilling his commands they say, '*Tuko Vladika zapovieda*,'—'Thus the Vladika has ordained.'

Having united in this manner the ecclesiastical and civil authority, he has done much good to his country, and put a stop to the frequent murders and riots. His government is, however, mild, and he punishes the disobedient with the anathema of the church."

The campaign against the French opened with an attack upon the territory of Ragusa by the Russian troops, united with the armed population of Bocca di Cattaro and Montenegro. After some insignificant fighting, in consequence of which the French were obliged to abandon Old Ragusa, a little place lying to the south, and at a distance of about fourteen miles from the town of New Ragusa, the capital of the republic; the allies resolved on an attack upon that city, and the Vladika marched by land with his forces, whilst the Russian fleet acted from the sea. The Montenegrines were strongly excited by their hereditary enmity against the Ragusans, whom they, as well as the other Slavonian populations professing the Greek religion, cordially hate, on account of their belonging to the Roman-catholic Church.

The preparations for this expedition are thus described :

" On the 1st June (1806), all the rowing-boats of the fleet were sent in to effect the passage of the Montenegrines from Cattaro to Castel Nuovo. A great number of people crowded the street. On the esplanade near the guard-house, little flags were distributed to the first division of the Montenegrines, who preferred them to their ordinary standards, on account of the St. Andrew's cross with which they were adorned. Every village formed a company, unequal in numbers, according to its population. Every district formed a division commanded by the serdars, but all the forces of the coast and of Montenegro were under the orders of the Vladika. I think that such an organization promotes emulation and maintains concord, because all the soldiers of a company are for the most part related amongst themselves; whilst the companies and divisions belonging to different villages and districts strive to emulate each other by their deeds. The warriors of every village, having formed a circle, propose the candidates for the command; these candidates address their hearers by turns, the seniors having the preference, their comrades relating their exploits, enumerating the battles where they had fought, and exhibiting the wounds which they received on those occasions, all which does not pass without dispute and noise. When they have finally chosen him whom they consider the most deserving, they swear to obey him, and to lay down their heads where his should fall; after which, the elected chief receives the standard. They then proceed to church, where service is performed, and where they repeat their oath; and having returned to the esplanade,

they again form a circle, and having drawn their swords, brandish them with a simultaneous cry, 'For the cross,' 'For the faith,' 'For the most holy virgin,' 'For the White Tzar and our country,' 'We swear by the bones of our ancestors, and by their glory, to fight to the last drop of blood, neither to take nor give quarter,—to die or to conquer.'"*—Vol. i. p. 326.*

The Montenegrines devastated everything in the Ragusan territory with fire and sword; and Admiral Siniavin, in order to save the inhabitants, who had no time to take refuge within the walls of the city, from his savage allies, was obliged to transfer them to some neighbouring islands, where they were guarded against the Montenegrines, who panted to massacre them.

Whilst military operations were carried on with vigour, a courier arrived with an order to Siniavin to surrender Cattaro to the Austrians. This command, wantonly destroying all the military advantages gained, was given by the Emperor of Russia at the request of the Austrian government, which was bound by treaty to surrender the country to the French. Thus the population of Bocca di Cattaro, which had been so strongly excited against the French, was to be given up to their mercy. Their despair was extreme. Dreading the vengeance of the French, whom they had provoked by their devotion to that very government, which was now about to abandon them, the whole population resolved to emigrate to Russia; and the Deputies of all the districts presented to Siniavin the following affecting address:—

"Having learnt that it has pleased His Majesty the Emperor to give up our territory to the French, we declare, in the name of our whole nation, that wishing not to oppose the will of our monarch, we have unanimously resolved to deliver everything to the flames, and then leaving our native land to follow everywhere thy fleet. Let a desert, covered with cinders, satisfy the greediness of Bonaparte, and let him know that it is much more easy for gallant Slavonians to be deprived of their country, and to wander about the world, than to become his slaves. Thou knowest our love and devotion to our monarch; thou hast seen that we have not spared either our lives or properties for the glory of Russia. We implore thee, our generous and great *Amirante*, in the name of our old men, women and infants, to intercede in our behalf at the footstool of the merciful and compassionate monarch, that he may not reject a nation faithful to him, and which sacrifices property and country; and that he may grant it a little corner in his vast empire. Thus, under his away in a peaceful and safe asylum, we shall be secure, that the sa-

crilegious hand of the pillagers of Europe will not touch the dust of our bones; and there we shall devote ourselves to the service of a new but cognate country; we shall rejoice, be consoled for our losses, and bless his name for ever. If, however, contrary to our expectations and hope, we shall be obliged to submit to our worst enemies,—the enemies of religion and humanity,—if thou canst not permit us to follow thee, then remain here a passive witness to our destruction. We are decided to defend by arms our independence, and lay down, to a man, our heads for our country. Let our blood flow in a stream for its defence, and let the crosses on our graves bear witness to the remotest posterity, that we have preferred a glorious death to an ignominious slavery, and that we would not be subject to any other power than Russia!”

This address proves how strong were the prejudices excited amongst the simple Slavonian population of Bocca di Cattaro. Many families had already embarked for Corfu; others were making preparations for departure and for setting fire to their houses; whilst a number of their vessels projected an attack upon a body of Austrian troops, which had occupied the island of Curzola, in order to wreak their vengeance on them. The situation of Admiral Siniavin was most trying, thus obliged to abandon a devoted population to the enemy against whom he had himself excited them. The allied forces having effected their retreat from Ragusa to Cattaro, the admiral joined them with his fleet. And now having received the address of the inhabitants, he adopted the bold resolution of disobeying his government, and advised them to send a deputation to St. Petersburg in order to represent to the emperor the real state of affairs, and to supplicate him to recall his order. In the meanwhile he occupied the fortresses with Russian troops, stationed his fleet in the gulf, and made every preparation for defence.

The order for evacuating Cattaro was the more extraordinary, as hostilities were still continued with the French. But negotiations were meanwhile being carried on at Paris by the Russian minister Oubril, which ended in a treaty of peace between Russia and France on the 20th of July 1806. A French officer was immediately sent with a letter from Oubril to the Russian commander, containing a copy of the article by which Cattaro was to be surrendered to the French. Siniavin refused, however, to comply until he should receive a direct order from the emperor. On the 9th of August a Russian

officer, who had been a prisoner in France, arrived with a copy of the treaty, and a verbal communication from Oubril to accelerate the surrender of Cattaro: he was accompanied by a French captain, who brought a letter to that effect from the Viceroy of Italy to the Admiral. On the following day another letter was brought from the Viceroy, with a despatch from Oubril confirming the news of the conclusion of the treaty. The Admiral, who could no longer doubt the reality of the peace, still delayed, under different pretences, the surrender of the occupied territory. At length General Lauriston arrived in person at the Russian head-quarters in order to accelerate the evacuation, and Siniavin was finally obliged to fix the 27th of August for it. But on the 26th of August (7th September, N.S.) a feldjäger brought an order from the emperor dated 31st of July (12th August, N.S.), to recommence hostilities, and if Cattaro were surrendered, to retake it, as well as all the positions which the Russian army had occupied previously to the signature of the treaty, which had not been ratified by the emperor.

Hostilities were renewed on the 2nd (14th, N.S.) September, and the Vladika of Montenegro, who had been much courted by the French during the short truce, by which military operations had been suspended, again took the field at the head of his Slavonians. The most remarkable engagements were of the 17th and 20th of the same month, when the French attacked the fortress of Castel Nuovo; this, besides its garrison, was defended by the Russian fleet stationed in the Gulf, which poured a murderous fire on the French columns, whilst the Vladika attacked them in the rear. Marmont, who commanded the French forces, was obliged to retreat to Ragusa. From that time the French remained in possession of Ragusa, and the Russians and Montenegrines in that of Cattaro, till it was delivered to the former at the peace of Tilsit.

By the treaty of Vienna the province of Bocca di Cattaro became a part of the Austrian dominions, but Montenegro remained in its former state of independence, and continues to acknowledge the nominal supremacy of Russia. It does not, however, appear that the Montenegrines took any part in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828 and 1829. The Vladika,

whom we have had so often occasion to mention, ended a long career devoted to the interests of his country on the 18th of October 1830. Feeling that his last moments were approaching, he called together all the heads of his nation to Cettigne, where he was residing. He declared to them that his final hour was come, and recommended them to maintain concord and to establish in the country a legal order. He recommended for his successor one of his nephews, who was then only eighteen years old, and not yet in orders. He also conjured all the inhabitants of Montenegro on that occasion verbally, and repeating the same injunction in his will, to swear over his coffin to preserve a general truce amongst districts, villages, families and individuals for the space of six months, in order that this time might be employed for the organization of a new mode of government. After having prepared himself by fulfilling the duties of his religion, and having received its last consolations, he died without pain, conversing to the last about the affairs of his nation. On the following day the successor he had designated was solemnly dressed in the sacerdotal robes by the chiefs of the nation, and presented, holding the staff of the deceased Vladika in his hand, to the people as their new ruler. As soon as the news of the Vladika's death spread over the country, the inhabitants flocked from all parts to Cettigne, to pay the last tribute of gratitude and affection to one who had ruled them for half a century, and under whose sway the country had enjoyed a comparatively greater degree of prosperity than ever before, and had moreover been illustrated by such glorious deeds, as the defeat of the Turks in 1796. The general peace, to establish which he conjured his nation in his last will, was solemnly confirmed over his coffin by a brotherly salutation mutually given by districts, villages, families and individuals.

A Greek bishop from the adjacent Turkish dominions conferred ecclesiastical orders on the young sovereign, and elevated him to the dignity of an Archimandrite, on which occasion he took the name of his predecessor Peter. He received episcopal consecration at St. Petersburg on the 6th of August 1833. The present Vladika is a well-educated man, possessing considerable talents, and is certainly the best-in-

formed Vladika that Montenegro ever possessed. He has already composed some poetry, which is not inferior to any production of modern Servian literature. He has a very fine appearance, and may be considered as the handsomest and tallest man of Montenegro, the inhabitants of which are remarkable for their high stature. He is a determined reformer, and has taken up with great spirit and resolution the schemes of civilizing his countrymen which had been formed by his predecessor. An important step towards their introduction was made in the spring of 1831. According to the instructions left by the deceased Vladika, a senate, consisting of sixteen principal chiefs of the nation, was established, and invested with supreme authority. An inferior tribunal composed of one hundred and thirty-five persons, called Guardians, was also instituted for the decision of minor affairs, for making reports to the senate concerning those of more importance, and for the execution of the orders and decrees of the senate itself. There was also formed a little body of government guards, composed of fifteen chosen men called Perianichi, (i. e. feather-bearers, probably from feathers in their caps). The salary of the senators was fixed at £8 English money, besides an allowance of flour; that of the members of the guardians or inferior tribunal at £6, without any other addition. The Perianichis, or body guardsmen, being frequently obliged to go from their homes, receive something more than the senators. As appointments to these places are much sought, it has been settled that they shall be held only for one year.

In this manner a kind of government was established, and its first task was to conciliate the existing feuds, and to subject criminals to punishment for the future. In consequence of this new arrangement a murderer was shot and a thief hanged; but although the number of crimes has sensibly diminished through the salutary fear which these acts of justice inspired, there are still great obstacles to the regular administration of justice. Villages and other communities have refused to surrender criminals belonging to them, and they even consider it as a disgrace to them to permit a criminal to be sought for and taken in the midst of them; no less difficulty was presented by the old feuds, as the govern-

ment required that the offended party should resign the *vengeance of blood* without the usual compensation in money, and the ceremony of the culprit's humiliation. This last reform was particularly opposed by the inhabitants of the district of Chermnitra, who by degrees rejected all the innovations, and returned to the ancient order of things, at which the Vladika was so incensed that he excommunicated several families. A German traveller who visited Montenegro in the summer of 1836, spoke with the chiefs of that district, who declared to him that when the Vladika visits them everything will be satisfactorily arranged, and the new institutions extended to their district; so that we hope that by this time the progress of civilization is going on without opposition in all Montenegro.

The following manner of proceeding against murderers has been adopted by the present government. Though the communities refuse to seize and deliver up the culprits, or to permit the senate to pursue and imprison them, the government has at last succeeded in effecting so much, that the communities no longer oppose the burning down the house of the murderer, and the confiscation of his cattle (generally the sole property of the Montenegrines), by which his family become free from the vengeance of blood: the murderer himself is outlawed, and the confiscated cattle divided amongst those who executed the sentence against him: although on account of this share in the confiscated property, many chiefs of villages, as well as other persons, present themselves to assist at the above-mentioned executions, there is always a long hesitation amongst them as to who shall take the lead. It happened once at Cettigne that an execution was delayed from day to day during a whole week; and generally nobody is willing to act until compelled by the authority of the Vladika. The murderer being thus deprived of home and property, generally seeks refuge in some remote cavern, where he leads a robber's life; many emigrate into Turkey, whither they are sometimes followed by their families. In other cases the unfortunate family of a murderer finds an asylum in the house of some relation. Barbarous and cruel as this measure of proceeding is, it is perhaps the only possible means of replacing by a legal order the state of society which still exists

in Montenegro. Whenever there is a possibility of catching the culprit, and of inflicting on him the merited punishment, the property of his family remains untouched. Thus in 1836 two malefactors were executed together at Cettigne, and the manner in which this execution was carried into effect is truly Montenegrine. Several hundred persons belonging to different districts were assembled, and they all fired their rifles together on the culprits, in order that their relations might not say, "Such a one has killed our kinsman": although the Montenegrines are justly celebrated as marksmen, and although they were in great numbers, and fired from a short distance, only one of the culprits was killed and the other wounded; the sentence, however, being considered as executed, he was cured of his wounds and set free.

Notwithstanding the sounding appellation of senate bestowed on the supreme council of Montenegro, a meeting of this illustrious assembly bears a much stronger resemblance to a council of North American Indians than to the house of peers in this country. The palace of the senate, or as it is simply called, "the senate," is an oblong stone building of one story, covered with thatch: it has two doors, one of which leads to an apartment used as a stable for oxen and donkies; the other door leads to two separate apartments: on entering that on the right, you will see it filled with bedsteads covered with straw for the use of the senators, whose rifles hang about the wall: the compartment to the left forms the state room: a stone bench runs along one of its walls, and in the midst there is a fire-place, round which the deliberations of the supreme council are generally held, and the dinner of its members cooked. When the Vladika assists at the deliberation, he usually occupies a seat on the stone bench covered with a rug: the senators sit near him on the same bench; whilst those who cannot find room there, as well as litigant parties, occupy low wooden stools or stones round the fire-place, and carry on their deliberations smoking their pipes. Whenever anything is to be committed to writing, the secretary of the Vladika is called in, and he either composes the necessary document in the convent, or writes it in the assembly, after the Turkish fashion, on his knees.

It is difficult to foresee whether the new reforms will gra-

dually develop themselves, and change the condition of this interesting nation ; or whether their innate love of freedom and aversion to every restraint will set at nought the salutary projects of their present ruler. The general spirit of improvement which is now pervading the world, induces us, however, to think that Montenegro will not resist its all-powerful influence.

We conclude this article with a cordial wish that some of our rambling countrymen would direct their wandering steps towards a country which would amply repay their curiosity, and furnish materials for the pen of the author as well as for the pencil of the artist ;—a country which is, moreover, particularly interesting to the British public by its proximity to the Ionian islands ; which, presenting a camp fortified by nature and occupied by a warlike tribe, may probably be destined to play an important part in some new political combination, which may arise at no distant period, from the present precarious state of the Ottoman Empire.

ARTICLE V.

Notes on Indian Affairs. By the HONOURABLE FREDERICK JOHN SHORE, Judge of the Civil Court and Criminal Sessions of the district of Furrukabad. 2 Vols. London, 1837. J. W. Parker.

SINCE the time when the splendid oratory of Mr. Burke inveighed against the arbitrary and oppressive acts of the British Government of India, there have been found but few who have possessed the moral courage openly to speak or write, what they knew or felt, upon that momentous subject. Of all the civil and military servants of the Honourable East India Company, not one, (talented as they are as a body) except the author of the work we propose to bring under notice in this article, has even hazarded a publication written upon his own experience of the working of the government measures—not one has dared to question the acts of the power he served; and though particular acts of legislation have been assailed, no comprehensive exposition of the whole system has ever been undertaken. Is this because all has been so prosperous that there was no fault to comment upon?—no point upon which blame could attach itself to the Indian government? Even if it were so, why should not the records of such a government have been displayed for the admiration of the world? The perfection of the Indian legislature would have been a proud monument of English ability, philanthropy and justice. Alas! we have too much cause to fear, both from our own personal observation, and Mr. Shore's notes, that it is the very contrary which has caused the silence—that no one possessed moral courage sufficient to drag the crude legislation and unknown acts of the government into public light, and in commenting upon them, and their consequences, to brave the displeasure or provoke the hostility of the body to which he belonged.

A few writers have here and there appeared during the lapse of years, a few biographies and histories have been published, which have served more to illustrate the progress of

acquisition and the triumph of conquest, than their effects in the amelioration or deterioration of the condition of the people. Until 1836 India had no press through which the acts of the government could be known or commented upon, and the arbitrary power which the government possessed of inflicting immediate banishment on the editors, (resorted to in more than one instance,) should any strictures upon its conduct appear in the public journals, was in general sufficient to deter them from attempting any exposition of its enactments or their practical effects. Indeed, in most cases, the editors of the newspapers were the servants of the government, and therefore it is exceedingly unlikely that they should ever have given public expression to their feelings, if they happened to be opposed to its acts.

In a late article in the *Edinburgh Review* upon the subject of India, written to illustrate the life of Lord Clive, the history of that period is exhibited in a powerful and graphic manner; and appears to the reader, as it was in reality, a succession of gorgeous scenes and mighty events, where princes of great power and wealth were set up or overthrown in a day, according to the caprice or necessity of a few, often unscrupulous adventurers, who made tools of them in order to gain their own ends. The history of India might be written as ably, as graphically, as tersely, by the same hand: the chapters would be brilliant and dazzling to the minds of the reader, but they would go far to prevent inquiry beyond the flattering surface. One inevitably rises from the perusal of writings of that character, with feelings of irresistible exultation at national success,—of admiration of national ability, bravery and perseverance,—of pride at the manner in which the splendid commencement of our Indian empire, thus so vividly portrayed, has since been carried out. The shouts of men, the roar of cannon, the onward triumphant march of the victors, are present to our ideal vision, and we are hurried wonderingly on with the crowd, amazed at the power which guides us. All is bright around us, as the sun of the east clothes the glowing scene in splendour. We see elephants, horsemen in gay costumes, and hosts innumerable; armies led by gallant warriors, and fortresses hitherto impregnable, overthrown and despoiled by mere handfuls of British

soldiers,—and we exult, we seem to take a part in the stirring events as we read the descriptions. But we never look behind us at the track of our progress—we see not the dead and dying strewn upon it—we hear not the groans of the writhing and helpless victims—we see not the vultures, the ravens and jackals, that are preying upon the slain. The rapid progress of the British power over the country it has won may be likened to that of the monsoon—terrible and gloomy in its first appearance, and distracting by its awful thunders and lightnings; but gradually passing away, and leaving behind brighter skies, and the means of happiness and fertilization. Is it so in reality? It is to this point we would direct the public inquiry. The paper alluded to was followed by one upon the Revenue System of British India, laudatory of the policy pursued in that department, and was placed in juxtaposition with the former, in order to assure conviction that the effects of conquest had been productive of the highest good to the people.

Unfortunately for the public instruction and the investigation of the subject, the histories of British India give no detailed accounts of the administration of the provinces which have fallen under the sway of England: they are merely records of military operations, and the causes which led to them. Political events are descanted upon with the greatest fidelity, and exhibited in all their wide variety of intrigue, aggression and want of faith on the part of the native princes and their people, in order to make fully apparent the necessity of those wars by which so many provinces have been gained, so many potentates dethroned and deprived of their territories. Nor was it perhaps possible, in the crude and undigested state of Indian legislation, to afford any information on so desirable a point as that of the government of the country, even had the writers desired to do so. The measures which promised fairest, and from which most was hoped, may have been fallacious in practice, and have disappointed those who looked to their operation in confidence; and thus they may have been checked in the very outset, and discouraged from any attempt to illustrate them by a publication of, and comment upon, their effects.

It is not to be wondered at then, that to the public of England—even to the best-informed—the administration of the government of India should be a sealed book, and that general ignorance should prevail ; since to any acquisition of knowledge upon the subject there is absolutely no assistance. Therefore, though a man may make himself thoroughly acquainted with the outlines of Indian history, nay, even its chief events, and the character of the actors in its stirring scenes, he is absolutely ignorant of the system by which the revenue is collected, of the landed tenures, of the administration of justice, of the state of the police, and of the vital point of interest of the whole,—the effect of these upon the condition of the people. Nor can he inform himself in the matter, how much soever he may desire it,—nor make any impartial comparison between the rule of the former and the present possessors of India,—nor estimate whether the people are become more prosperous, more happy, or more enlightened.

The majority of the public know much more of Van Diemen's Land, or any other petty colony, than of vast and gorgeous India, and turn from the subject with a strange aversion, for which there is no accounting, except its cause be in the vast and varied character of the subject. Numerous proofs of this general ignorance and indifference could be brought, were it necessary ; we shall mention but one. We ourselves heard a clever and popular lecturer, in addressing a highly intelligent and respectable audience, after enumerating many enormities committed by the East India Company's Government, declare, that upon taking possession of the countries subdued, it had deprived every landholder of his patrimony ; that it had constituted itself sole proprietor, and continued to be so in spite of the efforts of the people to regain their rights—imposing a heavy and grinding tax upon cultivation, which the people were obliged to pay. This, as may be imagined, produced a murmur of indignation among the audience. It was not a place where we could explain how the matter really stood,—viz. that throughout all India, and the East generally, the government has always been the landed proprietor ; that the tax upon the soil is the main and equitable source of revenue ; that wherever indivi-

duals—nay more, mosques and Hindoo temples—were found to possess estates, they were not interfered with; and that the government took only what, as the successor of the one it had expelled, it was justly entitled to. We could not explain this, nor a host of other equally palpable mistakes, into which the lecturer would not have fallen, had he possessed the means of obtaining correct information upon the subject he intended to illustrate; and if he who, as a lecturer, was supposed to be fully acquainted with his subject, and had evidently studied it, yet committed so many gross and palpable errors, it is no wonder that the general ignorance should be so great, and at present so irremediable.

But it is neither our province to write a history of India, nor to enter at large upon the momentous questions of its various acts of government; to illustrate which, reference to many more works than the one under review would be necessary. In it, however, we find much information of which the public generally cannot be aware, much exposition of the practical working of the vaunted acts of legislation, which the author has had the independent spirit to publish—the result of a long experience in a high judicial situation, which necessarily afforded a very clear insight into the state of the country, the native character, and the effect of the British government upon the people, both as regards their prosperity and moral condition.

The opening of the administration of the late Lord William Bentinck presented a new and most remarkable feature in the annals of British Indian history. Soon after his arrival in Calcutta, his Lordship issued a general notification, through the medium of the newspapers, inviting information (anonymous or open, as the authors pleased) respecting the practical working of the systems in operation in all departments of the government, whether civil or military—inviting also suggestions for improvement, and promising that all communications should be courteously acknowledged, and their subjects considered with attention. That his Lordship acted on but few of these communications, was a matter of subsequent complaint; but passing this, with which we have no concern, there is no doubt that he received much information of a practical description, which, from its desul-

tory nature, could never have been given officially, and which might have led, had its spirit been fully acted upon, to a greater amelioration of the condition of the natives than has since taken place.

Among the rest, the letters of "A Friend to India" early occupied a very remarkable and prominent situation. Their pleasing style,—bold, independent, and uncompromising spirit, in the denunciation of existing abuses, oppression and misgovernment,—excellent remedial suggestions—and above all, the pure and earnest spirit of philanthropy which breathed through them,—caused them to be eagerly looked for, and deservedly appreciated, by those whose prejudices did not pervert their judgement; while the other party, alas! too numerous, denounced them as the outpourings of a discontented spirit, of a man who could see no beauty in the institutions of his own countrymen, and whose whole talents and sympathies had been enlisted on the side of the natives.

There were many too who foresaw, in the free tone of these letters, and the encouragement they received—both from the press generally, and apparently from the government—the direst consequences to the British Indian administration; and in their imaginations a host of insurrections, rebellions and disaffections, were sure to follow the able denunciations of tyranny, bigoted prejudice, or apathy towards the natives. That after many years of habitual indulgence in tirades against them, a man evidently possessing authority, writing from actual daily experience, and with a complete knowledge of his subject, should commence such undeniable expositions of existing abuses,—raised a storm of indignation and mortified vanity, which it was difficult to withstand; but which not only was withstood gallantly, but in proportion to its virulence and want of temper, only called forth bolder assertions and more certain and undeniable proofs. Men in the habitual indulgence not only of the expression of prejudices, but in a most bigoted exercise of them, could not easily bear to be attacked and mercilessly overthrown by an unknown and vigorous assailant, to whom every blow lent fresh energy; and those who were in the habit of calling every native of India, whatever might be his intelligence, education, or rank, "a black fellow," and of treating him in the con-

temptuous manner which the appellation implies, could not quietly submit to hear him written and spoken of as a reasonable, intelligent, and trustworthy person, in many points, perhaps, quite equal to themselves. Accordingly, the "Friend of India" was stigmatized as one, to whom every act of the government must be bad of necessity, because an act of government,—as a man who had so completely identified himself with the natives as to have lost all feeling for his countrymen,—as an obstinate, dissatisfied "Pessimist," who could find no beauty, where to their eyes all was perfection.

No assaults, however, deterred the "Friend of India" from his benevolent and unceasing labour; and he continued for a great length of time, at various intervals, to publish the result of his experience, in the letters which he has since given collectively in the work under our notice: to this he has affixed his name and official designation, as a guarantee of the truth of what he advances. His name is well known, and of high appreciation among the accomplished body to which he belongs, the civil service of Bengal.

To those who take up these volumes, hoping to find in them an unvarying record of British justice, equity, mild government, protection of property and person,—freedom from all the defects, the tyrannies and oppressions which they have been taught to believe that former governments of India exhibited in startling contrast to the present—severe disappointment will ensue. They will see that, though outwardly there is a fair show and great profession of justice, the practice is not adequate to it, owing to the want of means of carrying out efficiently the measures of government; while the high character which the government and its servants have assumed to themselves, and from which no attempt has ever been made to displace them, does not bear that close scrutiny which the subjects and the national honour so imperatively demand. That this is mortifying no one will deny, and few consequently have the courage to look it steadily in the face. We are not, however, to be deterred by this consideration. We have in a previous article upon the Native Princes of India and the Company, quoted the language of Mr. Burke—that "young men govern there without society, and without sympathy with the native.

"An endless, hopeless prospect of birds of prey and passage, is for ever passing before the eyes of the people of India." This we find to be but too strongly confirmed by the perusal of Mr. Shore's book; and though years have passed since Mr. Burke's eloquence aroused the indignation of the people of England, the main facts are only more painfully established. In continuation of his emphatic language, if "the cries of India are given to seas and winds to be blown about over a remote and unhearing ocean," we may assist them with our humble efforts to reach the goal of their desires, the public of England, from whence alone any alleviation of their injuries can spring.

In a work like Mr. Shore's, which, from its epistolary character, embraces a vast variety of subjects, connected not only with the government of India, but with its inhabitants, their manners and customs in connexion with British rule, and also the character of the people itself, it is very difficult to determine where to begin in illustration, what parts to select for quotation, where almost at every page we find such startling facts recorded, such severe and just expositions given of the practice of the administration. Open it where we will, there is matter for reflection, for comment and for extract, which would lead us into discussions for which we have neither time nor space. The principal subjects which present themselves, however, are the Revenue, Police and Judicial Systems of the Administration; on each of these points we may be allowed to make short comments in illustration of the text, leaving the character of the natives, the behaviour of the English to them, and their present condition in contrast to their former, for future comment. But we must refer the reader to the book itself for a fair appreciation of the whole, earnestly recommending it to the perusal and consideration of those who are in any way interested in the welfare of British India. First then in regard to the Revenue.

Whether the Government of India is *de jure* the possessor of the soil, and has the power of assessing the soil for revenue at pleasure, is a question which is disputed by some,—by Mr. Shore among the rest. But as it is unquestionably the possessor of the country by right of conquest, and as the governments it displaced were found in the exercise of those

rights which it now exercises, we ourselves find no cause to dispute the point; the more so since, if there were no land-tax, others must be substituted, in order to provide for the general security of the government and the maintenance of the army and other establishments. The question which naturally arises is, how far this power has been exercised with a view to the prosperity and advantage of both parties. The grand aim of all settlements of revenue in India, throughout all parts of it, has been, and still continues to be, to raise as much money as possible from the cultivators of the soil to meet the public exigencies. Except in Bengal, there is nothing like a permanent assessment of the country, and the people hold the land they cultivate at a *fluctuating* rent from the government, generally settled every year upon the experience of the last and hopes for the future, with such *additional burthens* as good seasons or increased cultivation of waste lands may permit of imposing with a chance of payment: and whenever the deficiency is notoriously great, or the people are unable to meet the increasing demand, it is lowered, or retained at the previous rates.

In the greater part by far of the three Presidencies of India, the government has assumed the power of demanding any sum it pleases from the cultivators of the soil, whether they be the people, the landed proprietors, or the hereditary farmers of large and small tracts; and, in default of payment, the collector has power to sell by auction the estate of the person indebted to the government, for the realization of the balance, on condition that the purchaser engages to pay the government demand. In failure of this by the new purchaser, it is again sold; and this continues, until the people having many of them emigrated to other districts, and the whole having become unsettled, cultivation is suspended, and the property, greatly depreciated in value, falls to the government, and is rented out in small portions by the collector himself, to make the best of the loss. This is the case where the land is in the undisputed possession of hereditary occupants, whether farmers or owners, and where the settlements are made with them, and not with the people, as was the ancient Hindoo and Mahomedan system, under which the country had been managed for centuries,—

a system to which the people had been accustomed, and by which the aristocracy and landed proprietary were preserved in existence, and with them the venerable and useful institutions of the country. It was in full recognition of these classes that the permanent settlements of Bengal were made by Lord Cornwallis, where alone throughout India they are seen to have benefited by the undisturbed firmness of the British rule. The government was not, however, slow to perceive that these landholders derived in many cases a large revenue from the management of their estates, independent of what was paid to the government; and it devised a system, by which the assessment became a matter between the government and the cultivator without the recognition of the Zemindar, who was set aside altogether.

It is difficult to say which of these systems gives the greatest latitude for the exaction of money. In the first, by an over-assessment, the act of any too zealous collector, (and which of them is not anxious to show the highest collection he can on account of government?) or the intrigues of his subordinates, estates may be fearfully rackrented, to the destruction of the prosperity of the people; while there is no redress to be obtained against the excess of demand, except by suits in the courts, which, as we shall show hereafter, from the delay and expense attending them, are only within reach of the rich. In the second, the only bulwark which existed, in the person of the landholders and principal hereditary farmers of the country, is thrown down, and the settlements being made with the people themselves, they fall (as in the case of the landholders) under the direct influence of the same exacting power, without a chance of extrication. As far as theory goes, the latter system is unquestionably inviting; the landholders, or in general terms, the Zemindars, were always represented to be highly exacting and oppressive to the cultivators; and this furnished the government (already jealous of their existence) with a plea to set them entirely aside. The people were to be freed from their exactions—the only check which, it was said, had hitherto prevented their rising to prosperity. They were to have the blessing and privilege of dealing only with the government—they were to reap the benefit of the extinction of the Zemindars, whose

gains were now to be theirs. Did the government, however, carry out the benevolent principle? Was it content with the revenue it had realized from the Zemindars? We fearlessly answer, *never*. The cultivators were in no case less heavily taxed; in many instances—in most—their rates of assessment were raised. If we could see anywhere that the government was not exacting, that its rates of assessment were below those of the previous ones, we might then believe in its professions of disinterestedness; but when it is everywhere notorious that they are infinitely higher, and that the incessant desire and exertion is to raise them, we are bound to examine more deeply than the fair surface would invite us to do.

Under the Zemindars the people had a resource against oppression, a mouth-piece through which their wants and complaints could be made known. The acts of the government collector could, if necessary, be met by remonstrance; their presence was a check upon his conduct, which he could not evade. They were, by their agreement, bound to pay a certain sum which they collected from the Ryuts or cultivators; and, where it became necessary, they had the assistance of the government to compel the Ryut to pay. Having been for centuries the connecting link between the governors and the governed, the people looked up to them with deference; and as, from their earliest age, they were familiar with the intricacy of the land-tenures, they were enabled to make equitable distributions of assessment upon their various villages, and through the head officers of them upon the people. They were in fact the representatives of the people, and an important branch of the Hindoo and Mahomedan constitution of society and government. It was therefore most important for the interests of the people that they should be preserved and raised to their first station. The contrary, however, has been the case; and, as we have shown, the people are now completely at the mercy of the government.

There is another important consideration connected with this subject, which Mr. Shore has noticed at some length, but which may be mentioned in a few words. The cultivators of India are in general so poor, (whether from the oppression of others or their own improvidence, it matters not in this

instance,) that it is impossible for them to undertake their periodical farming operations without advances of money for seed, manure, or for cattle, in case the preceding hot weather should have destroyed any they possessed. To lend these sums is the province of the village Sahoukar or banker, who readily gives them when he has had the security of the Zemindar for the person of the Ryut, and made him a party to the transaction. It is impossible, for it has been tried repeatedly and has failed, that the government agent should be able to keep those minute and troublesome accounts with the people, which they can with their own petty bankers and traders; nor will the Sahoukars lend without the security, always demanded, of the Zemindar. The Ryut is thus cut off from his certain supply, and put to the most serious inconvenience, and loss to the government follows.

"The cultivators go to the money-lender for advances, but being unaccompanied by the head farmer, who formerly stood security for them, he refuses the usual loans; and the Zemindar, or Malgoozar (head-farmer), will no longer give his security, because the cultivation or neglect of the lands is no longer of any consequence to him, beyond his own portion. The Ryuts then look to the collector for advances, which must be made, or the lands would lie waste. He issues an order to the Tahseeldar (subordinate revenue agent) to report what advances are necessary; in some cases this officer will not move without his *douceur*, or very often has really such pressing business to attend to, that he cannot immediately make an inquiry; and frequently before the preliminaries can be gone through and the advance has been granted, the time has passed away when it could be of any use. Should cattle die, the same round must be gone through before they can be replaced. As to any improvements, such as sinking wells, cutting canals, &c., all prospect of such is annihilated—no individual cultivator can afford it. Without a head to whom all look up with deference and respect to guide and advise them, they never will form a combination for this purpose; and the Zemindar, having no particular interest in the matter, will neither do it himself, nor be security to the money-lender for an advance."—*Fol. i. page 185.*

Nor can the minutiae of the personal concerns of the Ryut be entered upon here, nor how impossible it is for him always to pay the government demand in money, which alone is taken in payment of rent. His settlement with the Zemindar and the Sahoukar was partly in money, partly in kind, sometimes wholly in the latter. It might be that they gained enormously

by these transactions, but then the Ryut was protected from personal inconvenience, and was enabled at once to clear himself of his engagements. The evil does not, however, stop here; and it is impossible for us to explain, within our limits, how the society of the country is affected by the non-existence of the Zemindars and heads of families (to whom, in the minute ramifications and subdivisions of property, the head is the same as the Zemindar), those to whom they have been accustomed to look up for generations. They were the arbiters in disputes—the hereditary chroniclers of successions to, and transfers of, landed properties—the leaders in, and promoters of, all religious ceremonies and of all village improvements; they aided reclaiming of waste lands, sinking of wells, constructing canals for irrigation, &c.; in a word, they were the upper class of rural society, without which the whole structure is necessarily inconvenient and incomplete.

The impracticability of our own much-vaunted system will be evident without any comment from the following extract. Mr. Shore is speaking particularly of the north-western provinces of India:—

“ Let us consider for a moment the preliminary investigations, inquiries, surveys, and estimates which would be required in every village before anything like a correct result could be obtained of the share of every individual owner and cultivator, of the nature and value of his land, the productions for which it is best calculated, and the rent that ought to be demanded. The collectors and deputies with independent jurisdictions amount to 62; each has on the average 3548 square miles of territory, or a tract of country very nearly sixty miles square, 3772 towns and villages, and a population of 800,000 souls subject to him—often above a million. A collector who attempts to do his duty, is already overwhelmed with more business than he can possibly perform to the satisfaction of the people; yet it has actually been imagined that a young man, a foreigner selected by chance, who has never received any instruction in surveying or estimating the value of lands, can, with a few native assistants, who are as ignorant as himself, and who, like him, are fully occupied with the current business of these situations; it has, I say, been actually imagined, that, thus employed, he can execute a minute survey over an extent of land nearly 60 miles square, containing 3772 villages, and a population of 800,000 souls; and not only this, but that he can actually manage in detail all the various and intricate transactions which the peculiar nature of landed property in India entails with such an immense population.”—*Fol. i, page 186.*

The tenures and social condition of India differ little any-

where: consequently this system has everywhere the same effect as in these provinces. Where the Ryut-war settlements have been made, the labour of the collector has not only been so increased that one person with his assistants is totally inadequate to it; but, what proves the error of the matter, the revenue has been found to deteriorate. Various remedial systems have followed with various degrees of good and ill success, and the people, never having possessed either the idea or the means of combination for remonstrance, have submitted, if not cheerfully at least apathetically, to the trials of the various theories which have been propounded and put in practice. Look, however, at the effect.

"We may form some idea of the effect of our revenue system in the valuation of lands ordered by government in the suits for estates, with a view to rate the fees for stamps and lawyers. In the upper provinces the land is to be valued at one year's rent; where the permanent settlement exists, at three years; and in rent-free estates, at eighteen years' rent. What would be thought in England of a system of government which should reduce the value of land to one year's purchase, at which even few purchasers were to be found"?—*Ibid.* i. page 272.

Over the greater part of the Bombay Presidency a most minute Ryut-war settlement, carrying out the theoretical principles of that measure to the uttermost, that is, upon a survey of the whole of the village lands, was attempted; these were to be measured, and an assessment made upon the value of the soil, the crop grown on it, and the rate of previous collection. The object intended, or rather set forth, was to protect the people from the supposed extortions of the Zemindars, and to secure to them the blessings of exemption from their interference. It is pretty evident however, that the real object was to secure the uttermost farthing for the government, by the remeasurement and assessment of lands that were undervalued, or supposed to be so. Perhaps, indeed, they were; but did the measure succeed? Certainly not. The revenue fell off in an alarming degree—districts that were flourishing went out of cultivation, and the people soon emigrated in large numbers into H. H. the Nizam's territories; for the means of oppression and exaction given by the system to the native officials were so tempting, that they could not resist the bribes everywhere offered by

the rich for the light assessment of their lands, which had to be made up for, on paper at least, by a heavy rate on those of the poor. The measure was besides ineffectively carried out; its very vastness precluded any hope of completeness; and it is impossible to conceive the misery that many thousands must have suffered, or the wilful waste of revenue which was the result of this experiment. It was abandoned after years of trial and increasing loss; and a modification of the old Hindoo system was adopted, which, if strictly watched, is simple, perfectly adapted to the habits of the country, and by which as much revenue can be collected as the Ryut ought fairly to pay.

Much has been said and written on the extortion of native governments in the collection of their revenues, but we defy any one to prove that their acts have been so systematically and inextricably oppressive as our own. That anywhere in India under British sway, the revenue collected, or demanded, is *less* than that of the preceding native government (we except of course the permanently settled districts of Bengal), no one will assert: the certainty, that it is much greater, is unfortunately too notorious. Everywhere, talent—ingenuity—force—system, have been employed to raise it, and they have succeeded, for a while at least, in some districts; but in none permanently: for the high rates to which the assessment has in some places been brought, have, as might be expected, been of very temporary endurance, and have been abandoned. Every plan which the increasing experience of the country could suggest to increase the revenue has been tried, but, alas! the condition of the people has been a matter of small account. Has however their prosperity increased? are their markets better? is the population greater, the consumption larger? We deny it. If in a few years of abundance the population of some districts has increased from peace and plenty, have there not come famines—epidemics—fevers—cholera—small-pox, which have swept away multitudes? The places of these are *not* filled up even by years of prosperity. Where, then, are the increased means of the people? only in those districts perhaps where articles of demand in the European markets can be grown; and these

are very few indeed, thanks to the oppressive British differential duties on Indian products.

The native governments have never, as in the cases we have mentioned, thrown down the natural and long-existing bounds of society, in order to get fairly at the people without the intervention of any protecting class; they have never resorted to the previously unheard-of measure of selling the lands of proprietors, or the interest of hereditary farmers in those estates, by public auction for the realization of the revenue. To such an extent has this been carried, "that in one year alone," says Mr. Shore, "nearly one tenth of the whole land of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was advertised for sale for government balances." (*Vol. ii. p. 84.*) Is this the paternal government of British India, which is the theme of praise in every mouth which knows not its true character—collecting its revenue by a means which, according to Mr. Shore's able showing and reasoning, has been productive of unheard-of injustice, in consequence of the undue influence exercised by the underlings of the government in the sale of these lands? The very contrary of this system appears in those native governments, where, from the British interference in, and superintendence of the revenue collection, much experience has been gained of the state of this department; and it may with confidence be inferred, from the enormous and long-standing arrears of their revenue, that the cultivators could never have been pressed for money like those in the British territories, while their assessments were certainly lighter. In a native collector under a native government, it is esteemed the greatest tyranny if he seize the cattle and effects of the cultivator to satisfy the demand of the state; yet this is not only resorted to under the English system, but the man himself is liable to imprisonment in failure of other satisfaction.

Where shall we meet with this under the Hindoo or Mahomedan forms of administration?—it is not known. We do not pretend to say that the collectors under the native governments are immaculate, or that there are not tyrants to be found among them; but putting the case of a considerate English collector, and an equally considerate native one, we have no hesitation in saying the Ryut is more happy under the latter

than the former, because he is in the first place more lightly taxed, and because the person with whom he has to deal has more knowledge of him and more sympathy with him than the too frequently supercilious Englishman. He is in the full enjoyment of his property after his own fashion, and has not before him the dread of regulations, broken before he knew of their existence; nor is he at the mercy of prying informers who dispute the land he holds, and which he inherited from his parents, on the plea that he does not possess it under a valid title. The following remarkable passages occur in illustration of the manner in which the revenue is collected, and which we cannot help quoting: the facts need no comment, they are worthy of the worst times of the worst native governments of India, and we trust will rouse the indignation, and awaken the inquiries of our readers.

"The business, i. e. of the collection of the revenue, is now left to the native revenue officers' subordinates, who have ample latitude, and have been armed with the powers of the Police in addition to those they formerly possessed. The modes adopted usually by them are various; *confinement without food*, selecting men of low caste to demand the balances, with a private hint to these to give every annoyance in their power to the family and person of the defaulter, are among the most common. Men who possess money are *forcibly compelled* to buy portions of land or gardens from a defaulter, or to take the same in mortgage at double the value of the property: and some instances of oppression to a much greater pitch might be cited. The custom of the people in marriages as a means of extortion has not been overlooked by the revenue officers. My readers are doubtless aware that each great tribe of Hindoos, whether Brahmin, Rajpoot or others, is separated into numerous subdivisions, of which the caste is considered more or less pure; the people of each are peculiarly careful in forming alliances with families whose caste equals their own. They often endeavour to make a connexion with one of a higher grade, and will occasionally consent to give a daughter in marriage to one who may be a degree lower than themselves, in consideration of pecuniary or other advantages. It is also the usual custom for the father of the bridegroom to pay a sum of money to the father of the bride. *This has been a fertile source of realizing the government revenue.* When a defaulter has a daughter, a person of much lower caste than her family is selected as her husband, provided he be willing to pay a large price; the defaulter is forced to give his daughter's hand to this person, and the money realized from him is immediately seized on account of the government! any overplus that may remain, after liquidating the demand, becomes the perquisite of the revenue officer for his good services. The sale of household property, cooking utensils, and even the spinning-wheels of the women, which are worth only a few

pence, I have already alluded to; these are too common to excite a remark; latterly too, it has not been much resorted to, being found unproductive from the deficiency of purchasers. Such practices will hardly be credited by the public at large, but they exist notwithstanding; and again I repeat, let it be put to the test of impartial inquiry. Some of the collectors are very well aware of it; and all might satisfy themselves of its truth if they had free communication with the people. But they know it is not in their power to prevent it. The revenue must be realized, or their character for efficiency is gone; so that they quiet their consciences by pleading that they are not informed of it officially."—*Ibid.* ii. p. 85—86.

Intimately connected with the revenue questions are those of landed tenures, and the resumption of rent-free lands. It was assumed by the government, that much of the land was held on a rent-free tenure by means of forged deeds, and in many instances under no deeds at all, parties having taken possession during unsettled periods; hence that a strict scrutiny was necessary. It is not to be wondered at, that a very strong party should have been formed against the measure. These argued that the British government had no right to interfere with possessions held antecedently to the conquest of the districts they lay in, and that the title of present occupancy, supported by collateral evidence, was sufficient, especially where no claimant arose. We have neither time nor space to dilate upon either of these positions, which have occupied so much attention in India, and have given rise to so many enactments; some of these, however, are so oppressive, that we cannot pass them by.

The first, is the power of any collector or his deputy to institute a suit in the Collector's Court against any individual, calling on him to prove his right to the land he holds, and which his family may have possessed for generations. Owing to the extreme intricacy of the laws of inheritance, among Hindoos in particular, and to there never having been any occasion under any previous government for a possessor of land to prove his right to it, such things as legal documentary titles are almost unknown; the only ones being grants of land on the part of the government to individuals for any service performed. As far as possible these are preserved in families; but as the families enlarge, and the inheritance is portioned out among them, there being no law of primogeniture, the separate portions frequently have no

titles at all, except what may be called almost traditionary, or such as rest upon the very vague wills and papers of the testators. The laws therefore have been, and still continue to be, a source of great oppression to the people, and a very efficient weapon in the hands of the rapacious subordinate officers of government for extortion. For a man has but to lay an information against any occupant of rent-free land, or land held at a low rate, and he becomes compelled to establish his title in a court of law. This can only be done at a vast expense of trouble, money and loss of time, especially where the court is at a distance perhaps of sixty or eighty miles. The collector being, *ex-officio*, both judge and prosecutor in this instance, the case is generally quickly decided, especially as the native assistant or deputy, who has brought it forward, has most likely been able to organize sufficient evidence to bear out his assertions. True, the poor landholder possesses the power of appeal; but the case having been given against him by the collector, he is summarily ejected from his possession, and becomes involved, if he appeal, in the endless delays and harassing litigations of the Court of Commissioners or the Board of Revenue, ending only perhaps in a reference to England. The wealthy and powerful may possibly after many years of struggle be able to gain the reversion of a decree, but it is only the rich. The poor man goes down at once before the power of the government. It is better far for him to bribe the native revenue officers upon the very first threat—it is no wonder that he does so, and that the law becomes to them everywhere a most fertile source of gain, and enables many who have no titles to hold possession of lands. The oppression does not however cease here. Mr. Shore says, “The climax of this unjust confiscation of free lands is not yet reached; this is to be found in the Regulation III. of 1828, Sect. ii. Clause ii. I quote the words of the enactment, for otherwise I should hardly escape the charge of misstatement.”

*“Persons succeeding to the possession of any lands held free of assessment, or held on a *mocurruree** jumma on the decease of a former occupant, or by*

* *Mocurruree*, land held at a fixed low rent, either in perpetuity or for a long period, or for life.

gift, purchase or other assignment, or transfer of proprietary right, are hereby required immediately to notify the same to the collector, or other officer exercising the powers of collector within the district in which the land may be situated; and any omission to notify such succession or transfer for a period of six months or more, shall subject such land to immediate attachment by the revenue officers. Nor shall land so attached be restored to the party who may claim to hold it, though the validity of the tenure be subsequently established to the satisfaction of the revenue authorities, until such party shall have paid to government a fine equal to one year's rent; and if the revenue derivable from the land be not awarded to be the right of the individual, the party shall be further required to refund the amount of the collections made by him, with interest thereon at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, provided also that the said rent and collections shall be estimated according to the assessment demandable from the Ryats at the time of attachment."

"These are the proceedings of a government whose pleasure it has been to boast of the blessings they have conferred on the people of India, and of their own enlightened superiority over the native barbarians whom they have supplanted. Do not these enactments bear out the severest censures that have ever yet been made upon the extortion of the British Indian Government? The last-quoted is one of the most extraordinary expedients that was ever devised for confiscating rent-free lands; particularly when we reflect how little means the people have of becoming acquainted with our regulations. Land to be confiscated, because when a man has succeeded to his father's estate or bought that of a neighbour, he omitted to register the circumstances in the records of the government office!—What has government to do with the succession or private sale of lands which have been already pronounced to be the hereditary rent-free possessions of individuals? What difference could the change of proprietorship make to the government? If the record of the change were necessary to assist the arrangements of the police, a slight fine for the omission would surely have been a sufficient punishment. If so severe a one as confiscation were really necessary in regard of rent-free lands, it must have been equally so in the case of those which were taxable. Yet the latter were not subjected to any such law. Why? Because government could not gain anything by it. These lands were already taxed to the utmost, leaving only a bare subsistence to their owners; and the mere change of the proprietor or manager afforded no field for demanding a higher rent. It may be here noticed, that in the first instance a proclamation was issued to all possessors of rent-free estates to register their deeds. Great complaints are, however, made, that the authentic documents were kept back, and forged ones brought to be registered. The reason was, that the people believed our object to be to get possession of the real documents under pretence of registration, and then to call upon the proprietors to show the grounds upon which they held their lands. So much for native estimation of British faith and justice!"—*Ibid.* i. p. 483—484.

We feel that it is impossible to say anything which would

add to the effect of the above passage, or which would more earnestly arouse the indignation of every honest heart. What would be said in England upon such an enactment? how could it be tolerated for an instant? Doubtless there are many bad titles to very good estates, but are we therefore to institute a general inquisition into titles? would not such a proceeding be the most monstrous injustice, even were there ten defective titles for one that is supposed to exist? The law of England even protects bad titles, for the sake of guaranteeing the possession of property in general: it repudiates any redress of wrongs incompatible with the general maintenance and stability of rights. In England a title can only be disturbed by a person proving a superior one in a court of justice. Contrast the security of this with the tenure of British India, where the law is directly reversed, the proof of right having to be undertaken by the occupant! But there the people suffer passively what would here cause a revolution: they have no press, no representatives, no mouth-piece of complaint or remonstrance. The isolated petitions of a few, have, even if successful, no general effect of repairing the wrongs of others; and the complaints of thousands are never uttered at all, from the hopelessness and poverty of their condition. And while we see the laws of England protecting even an indifferent title against scrutiny, the enactments of Englishmen in India, to their shame be it spoken, have reversed this free and enlightened principle, and established an overpowering system of inquisition and oppression, which has wrought and is working the ruin of thousands. The convulsions which have taken place in India, the difficulty of preserving documents during wars and the various successions of governments, are taken no account of. Title-deeds must be produced and registered, be the traditionary occupation of the land of ever such long continuance, or confiscation to a government, which has itself no right, except that of recent conquest, follows! We repeat, that, bad as native governments may be, not one of them ever organized a system of oppression so effective;—they dared not. They are said to be rapacious of revenue, and utterly unscrupulous in their measures to obtain it; yet such things as the above are unknown even in Oude, which

has been held up as an example of tyranny to the abhorrence of all men. We know that other native governments have never adopted them; we could mention more than one where they were sought to be introduced by the English Superintendents, and were opposed by the native Ministers as unjust and tyrannical.

It would be a palliative of the iniquity if the regulations of the government, which, as we have shown, so deeply affect all classes, could be understood by the people they were intended for. They are first of all written in English and sent to the collector, who proceeds to act on them. The translation (in Persian) follows at the convenience of the translating secretary,—it may be months afterwards. This, to the people, is what Greek would be to the people of England; its existence is known only to the few officials around the collector—from them to the attorneys and vakeels who thrive by the courts, and who thus become prepared to take advantage of the ignorant transgressions of the multitude. In England every enactment is drawn up in the language of the people. It is discussed and passed by their representatives; it is commented upon by the press; it is universally known. India, in those we have noted, will afford the contrast. Alas! how sad, in effect, to her people! Some improvement has taken place through the partial introduction of the vernacular language into the courts of justice, etc.; but the regulations, which are the laws, are in *Persian*, and any chance of their being made intelligible to the mass is indeed hopeless. Is it possible that the people can look to the past but with regret for the loss of their simple systems of procedure—to the future, save with dismay at the accumulations of enactments totally beyond their comprehension?

"Each revolving day echoes the execrations of thousands, ay, of millions, on the authors of these laws for the misery which they have inflicted on misgoverned and plundered India. So long as they remain in force, no government, whatever may be its professions, can really deserve credit for benevolent and just intentions; and that government will be really entitled to claim the character of enlightened who will abolish the resumption laws, those establishing the two commissions, and those which vest the collectors with judicial powers, and wipe out these foul blots from the British Indian legislation."—*Fol. i. page 489.*

But let us turn to the judicial systems. Here at least we may hope to find purity ; and the necessities of the government no longer interfering between its good intentions and the performance of them, we may behold the people in the enjoyment of every civil right, and of the perfect opportunity which every subject of England enjoys of gaining redress for injury of every kind. We shall find the venerable, and in many points admirable institutions of the country, improved by the talent and experience of her present legislators, and a system in force which connects upon a common ground the simple codes of the East with the science of Western jurisprudence. Unquestionably, with a few exceptions, this is the case. There is nothing more calculated to fulfil all that could be hoped for in the protection of the people, than the British *Indian code of laws*, the result of so much patient investigation and experience. But here the griping character of the government meets us again ; there are not means sufficient for the administration of the law ; the practice of the courts is at variance with the spirit of the law and the habits of the people ; and thus the good intentions of the government are once more frustrated.

From the time of Lord Cornwallis until the administration of Lord William Bentinck, the people of India suffered the extremities of hardship from the imperfect machinery of the courts. What was one man, with the charge of a district seventy miles long and sixty broad, with a population of upwards of a million of souls, and with the aid of two or three English assistants, whose powers were much confined, to do towards the administration of justice to the inhabitants, himself being judge of criminal as well as civil causes of all descriptions ? Suppose the county of York to have had but one court and one judge for the trial of all offences and suits, and that this state of things had continued for the space of forty years, what would be the condition of that county ? Yet even this is not a parallel case ; for the intricacies of Indian society, the land-tenures, inheritances, etc., would give rise to an infinitely greater number of causes in a given time than in England, without the people being charged any more than the English with litigiousness. It is no wonder that arrears accumulated to such a degree as virtually to amount to a total

denial of justice, or that ultimately the absolute inefficiency of the system became apparent. In vain was it that the litigious character of the natives in civil suits, the frequency of perjury, the difficulty of estimating the value of native evidence, all tending to criminate the native and exculpate the European, were stated both in India and to the authorities in England—the facts could not be denied.

Yet upon this, instead of redress or alleviation, followed arbitrary impositions of fines to check litigiousness, penalties against perjury, and other enactments,—with additional forms for law papers and expensive stamps, to throw difficulties in the way of justice to the people, all which increased the delay and inefficiency of the machine to that degree, that reform was loudly called for even by the government itself: Reform, after forty years increasing experience of the wretched working of the system, and conviction that the means were totally inadequate to the end!

Forty years! What wrong, what injustice, what disappointment, what ruin, must not thousands of the people have suffered in forty years!—enough to have driven them into rebellion again and again! Yet all was quiet; having no common bond of union or of interest—no means collectively of representing their injuries,—individual wrongs passed unheeded, and the mass suffered on without a murmur. The injury was so palpable, that in 1812 the Committee of the House of Commons could not shut their eyes to it, nay, made a tacit admission of it.

“An augmentation of the number of European judges *adequate to the purposes required*, would be attended with an augmentation of charge which the state of the finances is not able to bear.”

Ay! there was the rub; any augmentation of charge was an evil not to be thought of; any diminution of surplus revenue, or of dividends upon stock, was so appalling, that though the necessities of the people urged reform—though the groan of India had even then reached England—it was turned back upon the winds of ocean unheeded, and the people were left to struggle on with their despair. Therefore from 1812, till the administration of Lord William Bentinck, the injustice continued increasing with time in a fearful proportion, till the arrears of suits to be decided in civil cases—the appeals

from those decided—the non-execution of the decrees of the courts, had grown to such an extent, that the eyes of the government could no longer remain shut to the measure of reform, which at last was wrung from it by its own necessities. In criminal cases too, the limited number of judges caused such delay in holding sessions, that upwards of a year commonly elapsed between gaol deliveries, when persons who had been committed immediately after the first, were often sentenced only to a few months' imprisonment, or perhaps discharged, their punishment having been effected before they were tried. The evil of this led to the separation of the judge's and magistrate's duties in some cases, the latter of which were transferred to the already overburthened collector, while the judge was left at liberty to pursue his own business. The appointment of some native judges to inferior courts followed; which courts, though operating as certain incentives to litigation, from the right of appeal to which they are universally subject, have, however, been of some assistance in lightening the overburthened machine, and have enabled the natives to be employed in situations, which, as the government progresses in liberal sentiment, may lead to their advancement to higher functions.

A glance at what has been is, however, absolutely necessary to convey an impression of the foregoing remarks: the following extract needs no comment from us.

“What attempts have been made to diminish the evils complained of? three or four additional courts, in which judge magistrates preside; about a dozen joint magistrates, who only attend to the police duties; a few deputy collectorships; and since the year 1814 a few native judges, denominated Sudder Ameen, have been until the last two years the only additional establishments which have been made—a mere drop in the ocean with what was required.”

* * * * *

See, also, the circular orders of the chief court, dated March 10, 1820, enclosing a copy of a letter from the secretary to government, dated February 14, 1820, and an extract from the proceedings of the Governor-General in council of the same date, relative to the non-execution of the decrees of the civil courts. This production is enough to make one's hair stand on end. It is stated that in the four provinces *alone*—“during the last three years, scarcely any decrees

"which have been passed, either for real or personal property, have been carried into execution."

"From these statements it appears that about *seventy thousand* decrees have been passed since February 1815, for execution of which no application has been made; and it concludes with appointing an office to inquire into this intolerable delay. The answer was obvious enough. The judges, who were expected to do all this work (for they alone could execute decrees), could not possibly get through the business of the police and miscellaneous criminal department in an efficient manner. Their own share of the regular civil business in deciding causes, to say nothing of the miscellaneous civil and criminal cases, and the appeals from the inferior tribunals, was almost neglected; yet they were expected to execute decrees decided by their registrars, Sudder Ameen, and Moonsiffs, amounting on an average to from five to fifteen hundred a year in each district, which would require about as much time as half that number of original and civil suits! Allah Kureem! as the Turk says, when he fires his gun at twice the distance from the enemy which it is possible for it to carry—'Allah Kureem! if it be the will of God, the ball will hit them. If not, I am helpless.' 'Issue the orders,' say the judges; 'Providence will possibly execute them.'"—*Vol. i. pages 252-3.*

The truest possible inference from the foregoing is contained in the words of the Sudder Dewanee Adalat, the chief court itself: "That execution is not sued out, because the creditors despair of getting their decrees enforced!" Well might they despair, indeed! Here again are tables drawn up from the actual records of the courts which we cannot pass by; nor the summary of a large number of suits instituted by a merchant in one court, which may be taken fairly as a sample of the rest:

"Between the 1st of January 1824, and 21st of March 1828, he had to file 119 suits against cultivators to whom he had advanced money for indigo and other produce. Two of these were still undecided, two dismissed in default. Ten were adjusted by agreement. Of the remaining 105 is the following detail. Forty-two were filed in 1824; fifteen in 1825; twenty-nine in 1826; sixteen in 1827; and three in 1828. In all these decrees were given; the average time which each lay on the file before decision was one year, nine months and twenty-five days. The shortest period in which any cause was decided was two months and thirteen days; the longest four years, five months and a half. In only seven was the execution of the decrees delayed by appeals; the amount claimed by these was 11,709 rupees. The total amount sued for of the 105 suits was 99,091 rupees. The total legal costs of suits to the plaintiff, exclusive of dooneers and other extra expenses, was 9550 rupees, or not quite 10 per cent. The total amount realized out of these 105 causes, was 27,908 rupees up to the close of 1830."

Now a little examination will show that applying to the British courts is only one degree better than at once submitting to the loss of one's money. The greater part of the costs is the price of the stamp paper, and the lawyer's fees must be incurred at the commencement of a suit. On the average it was about four years after the institution of a suit that the plaintiff realized what money he did receive. The sum he had expended in stamps and fees, with the ordinary interest at twelve per cent., would amount in four years to about 15,000 rupees; yet the whole he was able to recover was 27,908, and the court was in such a state that he had little hope of obtaining any more. The inference is, he was enabled to do so much only by paying *douceurs* to the officers of the court, the amount of which is not included in the sum above given as costs. "He had an equal number of suits in other courts," Mr. Shore says, "and the result was the same."

The following is an abstract of the execution of the decisions, both original and on appeal, of the judge of one court. It has been made up to the end of May 1834.

During the Year.	No. of Executions applied for.	Completed by May 1834.	Remaining on the file.
1824	52	48	4
1825	35	28	7
1826	317	202	115
1827	143	75	68
1828	54	18	36
1829	48	24	24
1830	63	38	25
1831	36	15	21
1832	60	15	45
1833	125	77	48
Total	933	540	393

"Yet the new system has been introduced into the district to which this alluded for two years, and nearly half of the 540 have been completed within the last six months. Let those who so loudly extol the excellence of the system of justice which we have established, ponder well on the facts detailed in this and other numbers of these papers. Until the voice of the people is heard, and their statements compared with our own, no one who is sincerely desirous of learning the truth can be satisfied that he is in possession of it: but in the meantime much may be done if individuals will come forward and give to the public similar accounts of suits in which they are concerned, and of the proceedings of the courts. I can answer for six dis-

tricts in which the business is carried on in the same mode as that represented in this paper."—*Vol. ii. page 20.*

Let any one contrast this fairly with native justice, or injustice, and see how it bears the comparison. The natives have a familiar proverb, that speedy injustice is better than delayed justice; and indeed, when they have the truth before them in the manner we have shown,—when, according to the table we have given, in one court upon 317 executions of decrees given, 115 still remain to be carried into effect after a lapse of six years, while each of these suits may have been for years before the courts ere any decision was given,—it is no wonder that the people feel what they have expressed by their proverb, though they do not openly manifest their discontent. Let us take, however, according to Mr. Shore, the worst description of native justice.

"A creditor for 1000 rupees goes into the corrupt native court (as we choose to call them), and prefers his complaint. Granting that things are at the worst, the judge, having taken a bribe from the opposite party, at once dismisses the complaint. This is lamentable, but at least the injured party sees at once the extent of the injustice, and, being helpless, makes up his mind to submit. Another, who has a similar demand, goes to the upright British judge, and is delighted to hear that he has found a tribunal where equal justice is administered to rich and poor. He accordingly gains a decree for his 1000 rupees, and to a certain extent causes it to be executed; but at the conclusion what is the result? why, that after dancing attendance and spending 400 or 500 rupees in fees, costs, and the expenses of travelling backwards and forwards (the last of which are never included in the sum awarded), to say nothing of the loss of time and vexation entailed upon him, he realizes about 300 rupees, often not so much; while the defendant, who is well able to pay, is laughing at him, and boasting of the means by which he has defeated a just demand."

We have instanced only the worst kind of native justice, and it is fair to show the old and simple system under equitable governments, a system which yet exists, and has continued from the earliest times,—which the Mahomedan conquerors of India saw no cause to alter, and which suited them equally well with the Hindoos. A creditor A. prefers his complaint to the Aumil, or governor of the district. The Aumil summons the debtor B., who denies the whole amount, but admits part. "I cannot spare the time to investigate the whole affair," says the Aumil, "therefore betake yourselves to a

Punchayet," or arbitration. A. selects two friends, so does B.; these four select a fifth as president, or, as is often the case, he is appointed by the Aumil. A warrant is then made out for this court by the Aumil, and both parties give in sealed papers, agreeing to abide by the decision it may come to. When the inquiry is completed, the decision is written and given to the Aumil, who confirms it, and the decree and execution instantly follow. There are no delays, no expenses, no fees, no lawyers, no stamps. The members of the Punchayet are perhaps paid a trifling sum each for their attendance and loss of time; but this is rarely accepted, as the office is always voluntary, and undertaken with a seeming perception of its necessity. There is no litigation for years; no incitements to fraudulent debtors to drag cases through court after court in appeals, to avoid payment. Whether people quarrel about money or land, it is the same; there is infinitely less heart-burning, infinitely less litigation; while the members of the Punchayet, being chosen from those classes to whom the subject of dispute is most familiar, are perfectly able to understand the merits of the question. In cases where parties would not agree to refer them to a Punchayet, there were courts, easy of access, in which there were few forms and no lawyers. The defendant and plaintiff pleaded their own causes, and a simple decision was given at once upon the evidence.

We do not presume to set up the system as a perfect one, or assert that it would suit any other than a primitive state of society; but as that of India throughout the rural districts is essentially primitive, is the same as it was a thousand years ago, it suits it perfectly; it is simple, effective, and above all *local*. It was capable of very great enlargement and improvement, but it has been thrown by as utterly contemptible.

Some years ago we were on the borders of a native state and the Honourable Company's territories, where the English systems of justice, with their courts, forms, stamps and lawyers had been recently admitted, and speaking to a very influential and intelligent landholder, who with most of the gentry of his district had paid us a visit. The conversation turned upon the merits of the native and English rule; and we heard there, (for to us he could speak their sentiments freely)

the sadness with which they deprecated the introduction of the new systems, though they had hailed their first institution with joy as full of promise. They described the numberless instances of endless and destructive litigation in which families and even whole villages had become involved,—how ruin had ensued to individuals against whom false suits had been instituted in the courts, at the instance of designing low attorneys, which, from their very vague character, could never have been brought before a Panchayet; and how, after some years of experience, all the best-disposed of the community longed for a restitution of their old system. “But you still have it,” we said; “the government surely does not interfere with your arbitrations.” “Certainly not,” was the reply; “but it will not take any cognizance of them. The court “is not constituted as it used to be when the government was “a party to the matter, authorized its sitting, and interfered “at once to execute its decrees. If a decree is now given by “a Panchayet, no one is legally bound by it. Therefore all are “driven to the English courts, where a suit, which could be “decided in a day or two by a Panchayet without expense “or litigation so productive of ill feeling, is now not settled “for years, during which the enmity between the parties necessarily increases; and those who are poor cannot seek “justice on account of the expense of stamps and lawyers’ “fees.”

Yet the natives of India are called litigious. Every one who pretends to know anything about them, says that they are so; and this has so often been stated to be the cause of the overwhelming business of the Indian courts, that it has come at last to be almost universally believed. Granting that they are so now, it will hardly be denied that the English system of dispensing justice has made them so. In the new courts—with their many and weary delays, their endless forms, their low and *entirely* uneducated lawyers, their distance from the bounds of the districts they are placed in, their uncertainties of decision, and endless powers of appeal—there are too many temptations for the litigiously disposed to gratify their favourite passion, and it flourishes most richly, thanks to the easy means of attainment. Under the old, simple, strict

system—rude, if you will—there was but little hope of such a spirit being gratified ; therefore, as it had no opportunity of exercise, it did not exist.

But if we assert that the natives of India are not naturally a litigious people, but the contrary, how many of those who have heard and credited the very opposite all their lives, will now believe us ? Few perhaps, or none. Mill speaks of that litigiousness of character which almost all writers have ascribed to this most ancient race ; and he quotes in support two passages, one from Orme, who alludes to the people on the Madras coast, one from Mr. Rouse, who speaks of the people of Dacca. So it is : an observation made at two corners of an immense tract of country passes current for a delineation of a whole people ; just as a custom prevalent in Portugal or Naples might be pronounced to be common to the whole European continent !

Yet if Yorkshire had but one court and one judge, and he a foreigner, (as we have instanced before) for the trial of all causes civil and criminal, with a minor tribunal or two for petty causes and debts, and the business were to accumulate, as it would necessarily do, beyond all power of the judge to get through it, and to effect the execution of his own decrees—would it be possible for him to hear even a tithe of the matters brought forward, and would an accusation of litigiousness be just against the people of Yorkshire ? Would it not rather be said, that there were not courts enough to inquire into the grievances of the people ? It would be no proof, we think, of a litigious spirit, but a very convincing one of neglect on the part of the administration. This supposed case is exactly similar to that of the people of India—of one district in which Yorkshire is a fair representative in extent and population,—except that, as we before remarked, the peculiarly intricate nature of that society, from its minute divisions, its various customs, and its landed tenures and laws of inheritance, increases the difficulties and multiplies the business which occupies the tribunals.

“ It is at the same time rather amusing to perceive how we have contrived to turn this state of things into nourishment for our own national vanity. As soon as the British authority has been established, the country divided into districts, and judges appointed, who usually respectively

reside in the chief town of each division, it has been observed that ten, twenty, fifty, or a hundred times the number of suits have been preferred to the English functionary that were ever brought before the native officer who formerly presided in the same town. This has been trumpeted forth as a proof of the greater confidence which is reposed in the British judge; and it has been gravely and repeatedly asserted, that the people, finding an uncorrupt tribunal to which they could appeal, now brought forward their grievances instead of patiently submitting to them as they were obliged to do, from the impossibility of obtaining justice under their former rulers; it was, in short, one of the blessings conferred upon them by the English. The simple facts, that in every town there existed under the native governments two, three, or even four native officers, for the administration of civil or criminal justice, either solely within its limits or in addition over a small tract of neighbouring country;—that there were perhaps two or three towns in the district in which were established similar authorities;—that in the country many of the large landholders had previously not only exercised powers greater than our English justices of the peace in criminal matters, but possessed some authority in civil jurisdiction;—that all these authorities had been abolished at a blow, and their several powers and duties concentrated in one office under a single functionary;—were overlooked, and the mere increase of business in the single office has been brought forward to demonstrate in how much higher estimation we are held by the people than that which they bestowed upon their own countrymen.”—*Vol. ii. page 189.*

The facts recorded in the pages which follow this quotation are so striking, that we regret that our limits preclude our giving longer extracts: they tend to absolve the natives from the character of litigiousness, and give many tabular proofs of facts from cases decided in the courts. We shall give but one, taken from two courts, with the author's remarks appended to it.

Total number of suits.	Decreed in full for plaintiff, with costs.	Adjusted by agreement.	Partially decreed.	Nonsuited.	Dismissed: costs to be paid by plaintiff.	Number appealed.
1228	702	327	57	31	61	
1932	1081	291	262	102	196	101

“ From these we see that in the first example the number of suits dismissed is barely 5 per cent, and in the second 9 per cent. But it does not at all follow that all suits dismissed are false or litigious; many of them may have been just demands, but which failed in proof from death of witnesses, loss of documents, or other causes. Those non-suited are probably all just demands; in some a private arrangement has been made between

the parties, but the plaintiffs refrain from registering the same in court to avoid the delay and extortion of illegal fees, to which they would be subjected but too often, and which would more than compensate for the value of the stamp paper to be refunded; some are dismissed in default, from neglect on part of plaintiffs, whose patience has become exhausted, and others have had business of greater importance which caused their absence. The second line also gives a criterion to enable us to judge of the litigiousness of the natives in the proportion of decisions appealed; this appears to be 101 out of 1932, or little more than 10 per cent."—*Vol. ii. page 191.*

More need not be quoted on this subject. The natives of India lie under one sweeping accusation, which as yet has screened the true state of the administration of justice from inquiry. We leave the bare facts for consideration, only remarking that if the people are naturally litigious, they have every encouragement in the constitution and practice of the courts. We cannot condemn laws, which, were they administered in their true spirit, and with a sufficiency of means equal to their earnestness of purpose, would, without doubt, secure the well-being of the people. Yet they could be much simplified, or a code drawn up from the best Hindoo and Mahomedan practice, to which the judges themselves might refer, instead of being guided by "a native, styled a law officer, who from education and fitness for his situation is about "upon a par with an attorney's clerk." Legal technicalities, of which the people of India were utterly ignorant until the British rule was introduced, should be avoided as much as possible. The forms of the courts, of which the people have a dread which it is difficult to convey to our readers, should be simplified, and rendered more generally intelligible. Lawyers and attorneys, if there need be such persons at all, should be men of education in their profession, and not as now, mostly low intriguing Brahmins and Khayets, who thrive only by exciting the litigious passions of the multitude.

The regulations of the government which provide for the administration of the laws should be made more accessible to the people, and translated into the vernacular tongues; for since the government expect the people to be guided by them, it is hardly just that they should be promulgated in foreign languages, Persian or English, of which not one in many

hundreds, perhaps thousands, understands a word. There should be as little of *law* and as much of equity as possible in the courts ; for this reason, that the natives of India, never having had any of the former, cannot discern its beauties, so apparent to Englishmen ; they are perplexed and troubled with it more than we are, because its technicalities, if they are really litigious, give them an incentive to the indulgence of this destructive vice ; and as their moral code is less strict than ours, we should beware of arousing a new passion, to which our own enactments supply food for gratification. The business of the courts should be lightened by the establishment of others, held by natives, and the jurisdiction of those already in operation extended ; this would not only raise the characters of those now employed, by inciting them to upright conduct in the exercise of their functions ; but would give them an honourable ambition to qualify themselves by study for a higher sphere of employment : for we trust the time is approaching, in which a spirit of bigoted dislike and distrust of the natives will give place to one more enlightened and more calculated to raise them in moral and intellectual acquirement. That regeneration can be effected at once from the degraded state into which our denial of any participation in the government has for years plunged them, is too much to hope. Bribery, corruption, peculation, incompetency, will here and there appear ; but they are becoming less every day, and will fast disappear before the rising spread of intelligence.

Execution ought to follow upon award, leaving of course the right of appeal ; were it so, though some hardship might ensue, it would be trifling when compared to that which now exists. Above all, the intolerable and oppressive taxes on justice, in the shape of stamps and fees, should be utterly abolished ; both are of large amount, and operate most prejudicially, amounting almost to a denial of justice, and a stain upon the purity of the English character. Justice is, in fact, sold for stamps ! no one being able to obtain it unless he purchase it with this coin. In England these restrictions are bad enough, where they have been the silent growth of years, and are the results of the laws and states of society. In India they

were imposed suddenly upon a people, who had no precedent for them in any previous government, and who felt them at once to be a dreadful evil.

We must cease to make the people of India the sport of crude legislative or fiscal theories, created and abandoned at the caprice of every new Secretary of Government, or Governor-General. The result of what is past we hope we have stated plainly enough, yet we could extract page after page of Mr. Shore's work, in confirmation of what we have advanced; for these we refer to the work itself. Yet there is a comment upon the acts of the legislature, in a minute by the chief secretary to government, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, one of the ablest public men Bengal has ever seen, the result of his own personal observation, which is too precious to be omitted; nor can we doubt its truth, when already we have seen so much to confirm it.

"But on this, the eastern side of the Jumma, quite a different state of things presents itself; for there the Omlah* are comparatively everything—the English gentlemen, little—the people, nothing. Regulations are enforced, and forms observed, but no one can say with what practical result. The real is often quite opposite to the apparent result. Many thousand villages were alienated under all the modes of fraud and folly set forth in Regulation I. of 1821, and large communities sold, as if they had been cattle, in default of their directors; no one, from government downwards, being able to say precisely what was sold. Instead of taking the people as they existed, we forced them into all sorts of incongruous positions to meet inapplicable laws; and their properties were necessarily thrown into a state of indescribable confusion from a system of revenue management, conducted without judicial investigation, and of judicial decision without revenue knowledge. Every district consequently presents a great number of wrongs, which every one sees ought to be redressed, but for which the most skilful regulationists can scarcely tell the injured in what shape they are to seek redress; and the people are bewildered amongst the various opinions and principles of the public officers."—*Vol. ii. pages 361-362.*

Again, we quote from the same minute:

"We are everywhere met by people complaining of the authorities, and the authorities of the people. *The longer we have had the districts the more apparently do lying and litigation prevail; the more are morals vitiated; the more are rights involved in doubt; the more are the foundations of society*

* Native officials.

shaken; the more has the work of civil government become a hopeless, thankless toil; unsatisfactory as to its immediate results, hopeless as to its future effects."—*Fol. ii. page 96.*

And further, in the words of a famous despatch, by the Directors of the East India Company:

"We apprehend that it would be better to have left the people to decide their causes themselves by any arbitrary methods they chose, than to harass their feelings and ruin their property, by establishing courts where justice is sought for in vain."—*Fol. ii. page 88.*

But to turn to the police. Our readers will most probably be aware that the people of India live in small communities, each governed by certain laws and offices, hereditary in the possessors; this was the case universally, and still exists unimpaired in all native states. In the British provinces, however, it has in some places almost disappeared, in others it is fast fading before our levelling regulations and interference. Among these hereditary offices was a very admirable police, which the British Government might have drawn forth from the desuetude into which it fell through the neglect of the native governments, and the unsettled state of India during the wars. By the ancient Hindoo system, certain parts of the village lands were bestowed in perpetuity, rent-free, on individuals for the performance of certain duties; among them were those appropriated to the village police. These were quite adequate to their comfortable support, their duties were defined very clearly and were perfectly understood. To have reorganized this police would have been a task of trifling difficulty. To have restored the property which had been usurped from them—to have given them land where none was found to be in their possession—to have drawn up simple rules for their guidance—and to have appointed from among the inhabitants of each village a subordinate officer upon a small salary, the whole to be superintended, first, by natives in grades, and above them by European magistrates,—would have been simple, economical and effective; most effective, indeed;—for that organized crime should exist when the person and employment of every man in the village would be well known to the local police, would be next to impossible. Was this done, therefore? Alas, no! As in other matters, the *cacothetes scribendi* of rules and regulations possessed the theoretical legis-

lators of the government, and the result has been a system of police which has to this day afforded no protection to the people; under which crime has increased, thuggee and gang robbery flourished, and those who were the real police, have everywhere been converted into the most daring and expert thieves.

The present system is to divide each revenue district, (as before stated, of about 4000 square miles, one with another,) into divisions of about sixteen miles square. Each of these contains, according to Mr. Shore, about 253 villages and towns, and perhaps 56,000 inhabitants. To each district there is a thanna or station, consisting of a thanadar, or officer equal to a serjeant, and from ten to fifteen men. Along some of the high roads, which are more notoriously infested with robbers than others, there are stations every two miles, wherein one or two policemen remain to patrol the intervening distances; there are besides, a few horsemen to every large district, to assist, in a general manner, the operations of the foot police. The regulations for the guidance of this body, which Mr. Shore has stated at some length, comprise the cognizance of all crimes of great extent—murders, gang robberies, theft—and burglary (if attended with wounding, or other aggravating circumstances), coining, homicide, actual affray, &c. Formerly the police might make inquiry into all simple thefts and burglaries; but by Regulation II. of 1832 this was prohibited, unless the injured person made a petition to that effect to a magistrate, or unless an order for investigation were received from a magistrate.

The darogha, or police inspector, of every small district, is obliged to go to the spot where the crime has been committed, to make personal inquiries, to take depositions, to arrest offenders, should they be known, etc.; these depositions are forwarded direct to the magistrate, and are attested by three or more of the principal inhabitants of the village.

In cases of sudden or suspicious death, the body of the person is sent to the magistrate for inspection, sometimes a great distance. This is attended with vast inconvenience; first to the relations of the deceased, who must accompany the body, if they wish to give it the rites of decent burial

(and the natives of India of all sects are most particular in this respect); and to the people, the lower classes of whom are seized indiscriminately, to carry these dead bodies from village to village on the road to the place where the magistrate may chance to be, forty or fifty miles distant perhaps.

"Stolen property, wounded men, sick or infirm witnesses, dead bodies, all are sent to the magistrates by carts, porters, or bearers seized for the occasion, who are forced to serve for the public good. These people are consequently relieved from village to village, in which a delay of several hours takes place, as those who are subject to such oppressions, as soon as they perceive the approach of a *cortège*, accompanied by a police officer, run and hide themselves; you may sometimes see half a village scampering over the fields, pursued by one or more police officers in full hue and cry; and the matter often ends in some *poor old women* being pressed for the service, who could not run fast enough to escape. Oh that we had a Cruickshank to illustrate this and other scenes consequent on the purveyance system of the British Indian Government! Occasionally you may see a sick witness, a wounded man, or the body of a man who has been killed in an affray, lying on a bedstead, which, without having been paid for, has been taken from some one to carry the body, and will never be returned, by the road side, surrounded by a body-guard of crows and vultures. The accompanying police officer has remained behind to smoke his hookah, after ordering the bearers to proceed; and these, after advancing a little way, finding themselves unguarded, have deposited their burthen and decamped. The body and its accompaniments serve (like the yellow flag on a ship with the plague on board) to warn all within sight to abscond; so that when the police officer arrives on the spot, he will be detained some hours before he can get some *more* old women to proceed with the charge, and away he starts, with one hand holding his nose, afraid again of losing sight of the body till it is deposited in the next station-house. Under this mode of proceeding, which is universal, a body, which, by the proper arrangements of taking fresh bearers from stage to stage, who should be paid for their labour, might easily be conveyed to the magistrate from a distance of forty or fifty miles in one night, is often three or four days in reaching the office, and is then sent to the civil surgeon for examination, in such a state of putrefaction that no one feature or cause of death is discernible."—*Ibid.* i. page 311.

The darogha has the power of apprehending all vagrants and others who cannot give a good account of themselves; to attend all fairs and other assemblies of the people, and meetings upon disputed lands, which are fertile subjects of quarrel. There are many other regulations, in general very admirable, which are adapted to every possible contingency, and in which clear instructions are given for general guidance. Mr.

Shore describes the system to be in some respects on the same plan as that established in London. But while that has proved adequate to its intention, he says of the Indian—

"Our police in India has been productive, on the whole, of far more evil than benefit to the people. The reason is simply this; that in England the police officers are well paid, and there is a sufficiency of magistrates to keep a strict surveillance over the police; while in India the oft-repeated tale must here be related, the inadequate number of magistrates; the immense size of the districts, which renders any proper surveillance perfectly out of the question; while the small payment of the police officers, insufficient to cover the expenses of the situations, prevents any respectable persons from accepting them; and those who do so, as a matter of course, intend to make the most of their appointment."—*Vol. ii. page 338.*

It is truly impossible that any darogha should be able, effectively, to discharge the duties of his office. To investigate crime—to hold inquests—to attend fairs and markets—all in a jurisdiction sixteen miles or so square, sometimes straggling for more than twenty, while the police-station may be at one end, intersected perhaps by several rivers, over which there are no bridges, and with roads little better than foot-paths, quite impassable in rainy weather,—are duties which, in connexion with the physical difficulties, present obstacles to authority, and consequent opportunities of organization to thieves, banditti, thugs, etc. etc., which they have not been slow to take advantage of, as the discoveries of late years, and the present state of undiscovered crime, too distinctly prove.

Local authority there is none. The darogha, or thannadar, has no power to give redress for any trifling injury, a hundred possible descriptions, all of which may be trifling, it is true, but still excessively annoying to those who suffer from them. Does a trespass occur in which damage is done to growing crops—is a traveller cheated by the man from whom, after his day's weary journey, he buys his materials for dinner—should any one become drunken and riotous, and commit aggression—any scoundrels go about hustling and abusing people in the bazaars, in order to provoke a quarrel, and then lay a complaint; or sing indecent songs; or make use of ribald language within the hearing of the females of a family in order to extort money before they will cease, a very com-

mon offence; the police have no authority to interfere; the person aggrieved must prefer his complaint to the magistrate. This magistrate is not, as in England, perhaps on or near the spot, in no case more distant than a mile or two; but most probably fifty—nay, one hundred miles off. He must take all his witnesses to the court, go to the expense of summonses, and other stamped papers, perhaps after all have to wait in attendance a week or more before his petition is read, much less redressed; and the expense of his travelling—of his delay—and the *douceurs* to the officers cannot be considered.

What license therefore is given for oppression in the absence of any local authority, may well be imagined; and it is in these, trifling matters if you will, that the people feel themselves aggrieved more than we have the power of conveying any adequate impression; for though every individual instance may be of no great consequence, yet the aggregate evil is intolerable, and is productive of infinite discredit to the English Government. The natives constantly contrast the state of this branch of the administration, with that of the native governments, under which the police of every village was complete in itself; and the authority, whether vested in the *Patél* or other functionary, was enough to dispose of all petty matters, and to give instant and effectual redress. The village watchman did not only protect the property of the traveller, but he was in general attendance upon him, at no charge, except an optional very trifling gratuity. At night, all the travellers who might have halted at the village were collected together, and a watch was kept: in disturbed times, they were often escorted beyond the confines of the village lands. Any losses that occurred, upon complaint to the authorities of the district, were made good by the village where the robbery had taken place; or if a charge of neglect on the part of the watchmen was made, the offenders were punished. This is still the case throughout the territories of H.H. the Nizam, and other native princes; whereas, in the Company's districts, there is no protection afforded, and it is refused if requested.

To the village police was committed the state of the village, and if held strictly responsible by the dread of losing their lands, they performed their duty admirably well. There was

not one person, nor two, nor four, to each village ; but every member of the families of those who held the lands was alike employed in the duty, while the heads were alone responsible. They existed, proportionately to its size, in every village in the country, whether on a high road or not, and in every large town there was a town police in addition. As far as the foundation went, therefore, the native system was excellent, and perfectly adapted to the purpose ; where it was deficient, was in the ability and method to carry it out, by the superintendence of efficient superior officers, so as to make the minute detail of every village applicable to districts and provinces.

The British government possessed the power of perfecting the machine, but it passed it by altogether,—made new rules of its own, admirable on paper, it is true, but totally inefficient in practice ; and instead of possessing a police in *every village*, varying in number according to size, from four to twelve, or even more, they have but twelve or fifteen men, say twenty with the horsemen, *to each district of 253 towns and villages*. Mr. Shore thus describes the present state of the watchmen of Bengal and the upper provinces ; and in the rest of India, with the exception perhaps of the Mahratta provinces where some good old customs are still preserved, though they are passing away fast, it is much the same.

“The provisions regarding all the village watchmen are theoretically good ; but what is the true state of the case ? That a real watchman scarcely exists in the Upper Provinces. Under the Native Governments, the village watchman, and some of the public village servants had each a portion of land, rent-free, as a payment for their duties ; under our system of extortion this has in some instances been taken from them, not directly by the government officers,—but the head farmer of the village has been forced to do so, and cultivate the land himself to pay the exorbitant demand. Complaints were often made by the poor watchmen ; and under the old system the magistrates would occasionally (he had not time to attend to more than a few) send an order to the local police officer to restore the watchman his land : this, however, usually proved a dead letter ; and, as to the collector-magistrates, they think it much better that government should obtain a little extra revenue, and they leave the police to shift for itself. The consequences, as might be expected, are, that as they receive no pay, the watchmen have endeavoured to throw up the employment, while the police still attempt to force it on them ; they are still

expected to keep a watch all night, and report occurrences to the police during the day,—that, too, in villages where there were never more than one; and, until flogging was abolished two years ago, a poor wretch, forcibly dubbed a village watchman, without getting any pay, was often *flogged* because a theft was committed in the village in which he resided as a matter of course, by some magistrates, without any inquiry whether he had been negligent or not.”—*Fol.* ii. page 384.

What protection can the number of men we have mentioned afford to the people? What is it possible they can do towards the prevention or detection of crime? As we before said, the question must be answered in the words of the Turk. “I have given you rules and regulations, and “some men to execute them,—*Ul-humd-ul-illa!* If it is the “will of Providence, there will be no robberies and murders; “if there are any, Allah Kereem! there are the regulations “and the policemen!”

Supposing, however, that the police is effective, and answers the purpose, which it does not,—can the magistrate, the only one in the district, attend to all the cases, to all the reports, to all the petitions of the people, which are brought to him by hundreds?

“A regulation man works the prescribed number of hours in each day, gets through what business can be done in that time, and leaves the rest to its fate. The poor people are, in the end, no worse off than if no extra exertion had been made. Their hopes are disappointed; and many who had been induced to bring forward well-founded accusations against the police and court officers, are abandoned to the vindictive measures of those people. Often have I known the petitions to accumulate for a fortnight or three weeks, and then one half to be referred for investigation to the subordinate officers, although many of these were complaints against the acts of these very officers, and the other half consigned to the record-office.”—*Fol.* i. page 247.

One magistrate, one would think, in a district the area of which is 4000 square miles, would have enough to do to attend to this alone. But how is it possible? he is the collector besides: he has all the revenue settlements to make, the accounts to render, the landed interests of the government and the people to look after, the taxes to collect: he is the sole agent for this enormous estate, of which he has the sole management—or else he is the judge, who is distracted by the already overpowering quantity of his judicial business!

Will any one in his senses pretend that either collector or magistrate can attend to one tithe of the subjects which are daily brought before him? Can they have any knowledge of how the people are satisfied with the system?—whether they have any redress for injury,—whether the regulations of government are obeyed by the police,—whether they are alert and vigilant, or do not themselves oppress the people, which persons of low degree having authority are very apt to do? Impossible! their whole energies, their time, their anxieties are absorbed in their particular objects,—the collection of the revenue, and the prevention of its decline,—or the adjudication of the numberless suits. Upon these their characters for efficiency depend, not upon the state of the police in their districts; therefore it is to them that their labour is given; and their object becomes to arrange the police affairs so as to occasion as little trouble as possible. “The readiest mode of effecting this,” says Mr. Shore, “is by restricting the powers of the police; they are accordingly ordered not to send in any cases in which the prisoners are apprehended, unless the proof is so strong as not to admit of doubt, so that numerous felons escape whose guilt would have been proved before the magistrate. These and many other restrictions considerably lessen the magistrate’s business.” No doubt they do; but who suffer?—that, indeed, appears to be a matter of no consequence whatever.

We could pursue this subject in illustration, from our own observation and experience, into a separate article, of which indeed it is worthy; but our limits are prescribed, and we shall therefore only glance at another evil of enormous magnitude which presses heavily upon the people, and is connected intimately with the police: this is the system of purveyance and forced labour, the title of one of Mr. Shore’s most interesting chapters. He thus introduces it:—

“This is one of the most crying evils in the country, and loudly calls for the early attention of those in authority. It is to be feared that few people have any idea of the extent to which it is carried, both for the service of government and that of individuals connected with it. In procuring supplies for camps, carriage for troops, or for the civil functionaries; provisions for the gaols, tools for the convicts, hire of workmen, either for government or private individuals; purchase of cattle and sheep for the European soldiers; in short, in almost every possible way is this baneful

system in full operation, to the disgrace of the government and its officers, and the intolerable oppression of the people.

"The mode of procuring carriage for the troops or the civil functionaries, or indeed any one in the service of government, is the following. Application is made to the collector of the district, who issues an order to the native officers to procure what is required. The order is gladly hailed by those to whom it is addressed, as an opportunity for realizing a golden harvest; men are sent out in every direction to seize indiscriminately every article of carriage they can lay their hands on; carts, camels, packhorses, and bullocks with their owners and drivers, are brought in by scores, or even hundreds, and are driven to the native officer's residence, or police-office, and are there detained for one or more days *without any pay*.

"Then comes the harvest for those employed in collecting them; all who can pay a *douceur* are released and allowed to go home, while those who are too poor to do so are sent to the collector, to be made over to the party for whom the carriage is required. Nor is this all; carts and other carriages from a distant place, which may chance to be passing by laden with merchants' goods, are seized equally with those who reside on the spot; the goods often thrown out on the road, and the carriage driven off to the counting-house, unless the agent or his servant will pay a considerable sum to purchase immunity, and be allowed to proceed on his way. Many a merchant of my acquaintance has before now more than once, had his bags of indigo seed, which he was under an engagement to deliver by a certain time, (under a penalty if not fulfilled,) thrown on the road, and the carts on which it was laden carried off by the collector's myrmidons. I have known even respectable native travellers journeying in *hyllies*, (native carts,) treated in the same way. This is the mode of collecting carriages in the first instance. But it is only a part of the oppression; the owners of the carts, &c., who, from being unable to pay a *douceur*, are destined for the service required, are often detained several days before they proceed on the march, during all which time they are not allowed any pay, and consequently they and their cattle are half-starved, which is one cause of the almost invariable complaints of the inefficiency of the carriage which is furnished in these forced requisitions."—*Vol. i. page 308.*

The supply of sheep for the European troops and the cantonments is also maintained on the same system—force. The commissariat officer requests an order for sheep from the magistrate; and having received it, does not entrust its execution to his own people, but to a butcher, who sends his men out into the country to collect sheep; all they can find are driven to the camp, or seized. Whether the owner desires to sell his property is never asked; and if a man wishes to redeem any of his flocks, such as the breeding ewes, etc., he is obliged to pay heavy *douceurs*; the consequence is that the breed of sheep has been almost annihilated in the Doab, and

other British provinces. "I once heard a magistrate say," writes Mr. Shore, "I am obliged to pay from fifteen to twenty rupees a score for sheep for my own use, this being the fair market price, at which the owners are willing to give them; and yet I am forced to issue an order to a scoundrel commissariat butcher, to plunder the people of their sheep at ten* rupees a score, while I know he never pays more than seven, and commits all sorts of oppression besides." The result is, that the breeding of sheep has been discontinued in a very great degree; but it has increased in Oude, Bhurt-poor, and other native territories, where the breeders are subject to no oppression, and from whence the British cantonments are now almost entirely supplied.

The system is the same in every case; there seems to be no end to it, nor to the oppression which it causes. In the purveyance of carriage for treasure—in the repairs of police-houses and stations—the supplying of marching camps with forage and grain—the provisions for convicts and gaols,—the hiring of workmen for public works—the march of European officers and their dependents—in short, in everything connected with the government or its servants, it seems to be the same from first to last. To give any idea of the extent to which it is daily carried, we should have to extract the whole of the chapter; but it will be believed to be strong indeed, when Mr. Shore thinks it necessary to introduce a paragraph like the following; and there is a regulation, No. XI. of 1806, which especially provides for the subject.

"It is probable that many of our readers, particularly those resident at Calcutta, will imagine that all this must be exaggeration, or, at least, that it alludes to the country during a period of warfare, when armies are moving in every direction, at which times considerable oppression and ill treatment of the people is unfortunately unavoidable. No such thing! I am describing the ordinary transactions of the government, the common mode of procuring what is requisite for the public service, and the practices adopted by individuals in authority for their private benefit and convenience, and this, too, at a period of profound peace, when no emergency of any kind exists. Had I authority for so doing, I would engage to produce written orders, bearing the official seal and signature of the respective functionaries, sufficient to support every statement I have made."—*Fol. I. page 321.*

* Twenty shillings for twenty sheep.

If fair payment were ensured for articles or labour given—if there were any authority extant to whom the people could look for protection—if government were obliged, like the *natives themselves*, to take the articles they require at the market price, or, as they are obliged to do at the presidencies, to offer for tenders of the supplies required,—confidence would naturally ensue on both sides; and, as is the case when large bodies of pilgrims unite at any place—two or three hundred thousand, or even more, at Hurdwar or Juggunath,—the supply would be quite equal to the demand; for the people can derive no possible benefit from withholding either the productions of their fields or their labour, provided there is adequate remuneration for it. Multitudes of persons travel to Hurdwar, to Juggunath, to Benares, to Punderpoor, and other places of pilgrimage, every year without trouble, and with plentiful supplies of food. Yet not even a wing of a regiment, a troop, or even a company, can move through the most populous and constantly travelled roads without requisitions being made upon the collectors, which lead to the abuses noticed already. “Can any other reason,” says Mr. Shore, “be given for the difference but this,—that unofficial native travellers are willing to give a fair rate of hire for their carriage, and a fair price for what they buy, and that they refrain from abusing or ill-treating those who serve them?”

There is another police in existence, which, in the form of chuprassies, or messengers wearing badges, is attached to the commissariat, artillery, engineer, clothing agency, timber agency departments, and a host of others, which are under no general control, except the heads of their own departments. These are in general *lent out* by them to any persons who may have taken low contracts under the general market rates, who must purchase per force at prices under those again, in order to make any profit. To aid them in this iniquity, these government chuprassies are allowed to be employed, who, as might be expected, having the temptation, make their profit also, not only from the contractor, but from the people. And when the enormous departments of India are considered, the number of men employed in this unjust and improper manner is enormous too, and the

oppression with it. What matter, however? If it were *not done*, the government contracts could not be executed *so low* as they are at present, and the contingent bills of all departments would naturally rise with its discontinuance; therefore it is persevered in all over India.

There is no need to multiply examples, though it would be very easy to do so, *ad infinitum*. Quite sufficient has been stated to prove that the police of India,—essential as it is, in a country which gives more natural opportunities, in the mode of life of its inhabitants, and their varied manners and customs, for the commission of fraud and crime than any other perhaps in the world,—should be of an efficient and extremely minute character. But not only is it not that, from its limited extent, but it is in many respects positively oppressive to the inhabitants, by allowing its members opportunities of extortion, connivance at the existence of crime, and combination for iniquitous purposes, from the sheer want of adequate superintendence. Would the appointment of a rural police in England be attempted without inspectors, who should not only keep their subordinates to their duties, but protect the people from their aggressions? Would the people bear the existence of a force so constituted? Would there not be an outcry from one end of the land to the other upon its bare proposal? There is no difference whatever between England and India, except that India has the greater necessity of the two for its existence, and that its superintendence requires far greater application and attention.

Great as is the expense of the present police establishment, and impossible, as it is said to be, to increase it on this account, the rates of pay to the men, and particularly to the officers, are notoriously too little to allow of their retaining their situations without recurring to other means. From the most minute inquiries, made by Mr. Shore, it appears that no officer can, considering the extent of the district under him, do without two horses; so also with his deputy and his clerk. The expenses of these exceed their pay, consequently they must look to other sources to live; and many are detailed most circumstantially by Mr. Shore (*vol. ii. pages 388-389*), in which considerable sums may be realized

without a chance of detection. We have not space to extract them all, and refer our readers to the work itself.

"Numbers of people who have even been robbed, will rather put up with their loss than proceed to the magistrates' office, and they will willingly pay considerable sums to the police to hush up the affair, and say nothing about it, rather than become involved in the expenses and delays of a prosecution; while to screen the latter, and shelter him from blame, should it be discovered, they readily sign papers, declaring they have not been robbed. So different are the opinions of the people from those which we entertain respecting the courts, which we choose to pronounce a blessing to the inhabitants, and so superior to the corrupt tribunals of the old native rule! The British Government may, in the abstract, be better than those of the native chiefs; the only misfortune is, that neither in abstract or in practice have we ever been able to persuade our native subjects to be of the same opinion, and they would not be slow to acknowledge it if they really found it so.*"

With this we shall close our remarks upon the police system; let those who can discover its efficiency and adaptation prove it satisfactorily; we should be glad to see it defined. The native systems which existed before our rule might have been bad from the neglect of the previous governments; but wherever they have been continued efficiently, and we could mention many places—they have been found to answer well, and to satisfy the people. In part of the territories of His Highness the Nizam, for instance, where, under the direction of Major Sutherland, the village police was reformed, and aided by a few mounted and foot police along the great lines of road,—whole districts, which were before full of gang robbers and banditti, the result of the Mahratta war and bad government, were cleared, and travelling and property rendered perfectly secure. The crime of the country was reduced to a rate below that of the neighbouring districts of the British terri-

* With respect to the natives being unable to perceive the numerous blessings which we are pleased to assert have been bestowed upon them by the British Government, which of course they therefore could not acknowledge, I have frequently heard civil and military officers account for it by the horrible ingratitude of the natives, and assert that they were such abominable wretches, that although they plainly felt the benefit of our rule, they would not acknowledge it! Strange ignorance of the native character! and so difficult is it to mortify our vanity by owning itself in the wrong! When the natives meet a functionary who, by labouring day and night, contrives to give justice to applicants, his praises are blazed forth for a hundred miles round.

tories, and protection and redress was afforded to the inhabitants, first by their own local authorities, and when they failed to give it, by the European officers. But these had this department alone to manage, and therefore could give their whole time and attention to it*. Bad as the present Indian establishment is, it would be at once made more effectual by the superintendence of officers, whether civil or military, who would relieve the judges and collectors of a heavy load of business with which they have no concern; they would materially tend to the security and happiness of the people in many ways; but then they would cost money, though the individual stipend might be small, and at the sound of that awful word the British Indian Government buttons up its pocket, and puts its fingers into its ears, lest any cry of the people should enter therein, and disturb its long-constituted and undisturbed complacency.

What does a summary of the foregoing facts give us? a mass, indeed, of injustice and tyrannous oppression, of total want of sympathy for the natives of India, hideous to contemplate, and from which we turn away with abhorrence. Is there, then, no good thing to be found in the British Indian administration? Has no advantage accrued to the natives of India from nearly a hundred years of English rule, either in their persons or their properties? Do they love and respect us more now that they have had a generation's experience of our rule and the fulfilment of our promises, than they did when the glories of our conquests dazzled their perceptions, and they hailed our approach as deliverers from the state of tyrannous thralldom in which their degenerate Mahomedan conquerors had held them so long? Have we improved their ancient institutions, fostered their literature—or if not that, assisted them to a knowledge of our own? Have we diffused among them the blessings of English advancement in knowledge and science—taxed them more lightly—and collected that tax with the humanity and philanthropy of which we have arrogated to ourselves the exclusive possession? Have our systems of revenue, judicial and police management, ensured the

* So also is it at present throughout the territories of the Rajah of Nagpore, where the old native system of police is carried out under efficient superintendence.

happiness of the people which a mighty Providence has confided to our care? Who will say so, or if he does, where are the proofs? They exist, if there are any, in the dogmatical assertions of the government, and of those implicated in its acts. They have not, however, dared to expose them to the scrutiny of the world—have not dared to tell how they had performed their own functions; and when pressed to the point, can only answer that the natives must of necessity be better under the administration of upright, enlightened and honourable Englishmen, than of unprincipled natives. First, however, it is necessary to prove that all natives are as bad as they are said to be; and next, that every Englishman is upright, honourable and enlightened.

Our self-love and vanity readily help us to the first conclusion, our national pride and intolerance—everywhere most remarkable out of England—to the second. All that could possibly be done to vilify the characters of the natives of India, from the administration of Clive down to the present time, has been done with success. Each future legislator for India had early been taught to believe that he was going to assist in the government of a people, most corrupt—most licentious—most idolatrous—whose characteristics were lying and dishonesty, ingratitude and litigiousness.

Prejudices were thus imbibed, which he was strong-minded, indeed, if he was able to throw off. On his arrival the natives sunk even lower in his opinion from the manner in which he heard them spoken of: “Black fellows,” or “fellows,”—the most common expressions used towards men of rank, wealth and education, with others much more contemptuous and degrading. He saw them, whatever their rank and station, admitted to the society of his countrymen only upon sufferance, and every one behaving with that hauteur and superciliousness, which he was not slow to imitate, because it readily fell in with his self-love, and ministered to his vanity. When he came to take a part in the affairs of government, he saw its regulations tending to the same end—an abasement of the native population, prostration of the landed interest—levelling of all ancient forms and institutions;—why should he not follow the same course?—why should he singly oppose the government and the tone of so-

ciety?—and if a few compunctions arose now and then, they were drowned by the general cry of abuse of the native, till he himself joined in it as loudly as any one else. Who can wonder at it, when the feeling was fostered by the atmosphere it was born in; while the more liberal one, the weakly exotic of a cooler climate, and a free land, withered at its birth under the fierce sun of bigotry and intolerance?

We have shown the state of the judicial departments to be bad: unquestionably they are defective; but as far as it is possible for the judges to try the cases which come before them, they do so. Yet it is impossible for all to be attended to; impossible to prevent the accumulation of arrears to an enormous amount, while the people are debarred access to the fountains of justice by the demands for fees, stamps, agency of lawyers, etc., this, too, in a country which has never known any tax whatever upon justice, from the earliest ages! The people compare the existing system with their ancient unrestricted intercourse with their local judicial officers, and their simple courts, of which only the simple purity exists in tradition; and it is not wonderful if the contrast be unfavourable to the British rule. Under their own governments the decree followed the inquiry, and the execution the decree. In the British court a petition may be months, nay, years upon the judge's file;—if the petitioner be a poor man, he may have begged his way fifty miles on foot to present it; may have lingered around the court-house for weeks, unable to effect his object; and, reduced to his last penny, he at last abandons it in despair. How many thousands of such cases occur every year in every court! Mr. Shore plainly shows how even the more wealthy suitor feels the difficulties of obtaining justice, and experiences that, from the decree to the execution, setting aside the unlimited power of appeal, the delays are most vexatious and harassing.

Groaning as India was under the judicial system of the last forty years, it was impossible that it could be longer persevered in without reform; and at length, after much discussion, and during the administration of India's hitherto most liberal ruler, the natives were admitted to a share in the administration of justice. This has succeeded, contrary to the prognostications of many, and we trust to see the time

when it shall be extended in the same liberal spirit with which it commenced ; it will prove to the people of India that their welfare, and not their oppression, is sought by their governors. The natives have hitherto not deceived the trust reposed in them, and increased confidence may well be put in the future, the result alike of education and increasing moral culture.

Let the government, as we would fain hope is now the case, adhere to fixed and uniform principles of administration, and let its acts proceed truly from them, instead of constantly changing in character at the caprice of suggestors, whose crude ideas have so often been tried upon the people, to their great damage and perplexity. The legislature of India is not arrayed in parties like that of England ; consequently there is little inducement to propound changes to suit mere party purposes. It is only too evident that those which have occurred have proceeded in a great measure from the restless spirit of alteration, which seems to afflict all Indian regulationists and lawgivers. Accustomed as European countries are to perpetual and decisive changes, which are inevitable from the intelligence of the people and the construction of society, changes and anomalies in their laws and the constitution of their government, such as are exhibited in the Indian legislature, might not have been borne temperately ;—how much less easily then by a people whose society has not altered for centuries, and in whom intelligence or cultivation was not, until very lately, sought, even remotely, to be advanced by the government, which was legislating for them with a knowledge that the great majority of the people was utterly unable to appreciate its acts ! The government of India has had to do however with a people which possessed no national character, feeling, or bond of union ; and well has it taken advantage of this !

We would here approach a consideration which presses on us with great force—with delicacy however ; for the talent of the body to whom the executive government is confided, is beyond cavil or question. Nevertheless, it is worthy of the highest consideration, whether some test should be applied as to the qualifications of the officers for the various duties in which they are to be employed in the civil administration of India. At present, beyond an examination in the native lan-

guages, no other inquiry takes place as to the fitness of the person for the office he is to fill. He is appointed to the judicial or revenue department, and has to learn his duties in the best manner he can. As he advances in rank he may be transferred to another department, the very opposite of that he had before experience of, and he has a new course of study to begin and perfect. He may be a revenue collector one day and a judge the next, with abstruse cases of Hindoo and Mahomedan law, inheritances, divisions of property, estates, etc., before him for decision; or in the other, all the perplexing minutiae of revenue settlements, assessments of lands, rights of Zemindars, etc., without end. How is this to be done? Suppose the collector of the London Customs, or what would be a nearer comparison, the agent of any large landed property, and the judge of the Queen's Bench, or any other court, were to be severally ordered to perform each other's functions unassisted, what would be the result?—how many errors! how much misapprehension! what dire confusion! Yet these are not parallel cases, inasmuch as the intricacy in Indian matters is greater.

It is hardly possible to say what situations a man of talent may not be called upon to fill successively. He may be a revenue collector, then a judicial officer; he may go back to the revenue, then become a political agent or resident; then a commissioner, next a secretary in any of the departments. These cases are far from uncommon; and is a man expected to be equally expert in all, each one of which is a study for a life, and embraces extensive reading, accurate habits of observation, and knowledge of character? It is nearly impossible to think so; and we can only be the more deeply impressed with admiration of those, and there are many, who have been distinguished in all they have undertaken. Yet the failures must have been very numerous, and to these may be attributed much of the crude legislation of India. If men were retained in the departments in which they began their career, and certain studies for each were defined, their talents would be condensed upon one point,—there would be less indecision and anomaly in their acts—fewer appeals from court to court in consequence of erroneous decisions, the

result of ignorance of Hindoo and Mahomedan law ;—fewer litigations upon inheritances, and better because more permanent revenue settlements. The people would have more confidence in those set over them, and they would govern with more knowledge of, and sympathy with the natives, than they do at present, or ever have done. A few, in critical periods, have at once risen superior to their fellows ; and India will long remember the names of Munro, Elphinstone, Malcolm, Metcalfe, and many others, whose prejudices, if they ever possessed any, were early broken down, and whose voices have been heard in alleviation of the condition of the people.

Dark, however, as the past has been, there is hope in the future ; their voice is heard in England, if not within the walls of Parliament, at least abroad among her people. Societies have been formed which have the welfare of India at heart, though necessarily they are led into many errors, from the want of practical knowledge of their subject. They are aware that there are mighty reforms which press urgently for completion, but they know not where the main oppression rests, and waste their best energies in mere general declamations against the government, without statements of facts, or suggestions for the remedy of existing abuses. Accusing the government of India, for instance, of causing famine, when the very accusation exposes its author's total ignorance of the subject, is ridiculous ; the only possible cause of such a calamity being a failure of the usual quantity of rain to moisten the earth, or to fill the tanks where there happens to be rice cultivation. It is absurd, too, to say that the government has neglected the canals and other means of artificial irrigation—far from it—these have been improved whenever it was practicable to do so, and the navigation of many rivers assisted by the science of able engineer officers. Roads, too, have been made through some parts ; and though these are by no means so extensive as they might be, especially in Bengal, yet there, as well as in the Madras and Bombay presidencies, much has been done, and is still doing in this respect.

No,—government has not neglected these undertakings, because they are the direct aids to the increase of revenue, by affording greater certainties of artificial irrigation for the

higher descriptions of produce than have heretofore existed, increasing thereby the rent of lands situated near them, and affording facilities of transmission and sale by the roads made between the great marts of the country. It is not on these points, fertile as they may be in themes for declamation, that the government can be attacked. The evil lies deeper, it is felt in all the direct dealings of the people with the government, in a great degree proceeding from want of sympathy with them, and in a greater still from the inadequate manner in which the regulations of the government are carried out in the several departments. In all of these, the inherent evils strike deeply at the happiness and comfort of the people; not of the higher classes so much, perhaps, for they are few and wealthy; but of the middle and lower, who compose by far the greater part of the population, and from whom the revenue is derived. In attempting to establish a new condition of society, the Indian Government appears not to have sought to do so by means of education, but by fiscal regulations and judicial enactments foreign to the habits and understandings of the people, who after years of experience of them, groan beneath the vexatious interference and oppression which they cause.

The state of the police, so eminently defective in its constitution and in the exercise of its functions, is an evil which presses frightfully upon the people; so far from its being a means of protection, it is directly the contrary, as we have shown, and its effect in the prevention of crime absolutely nothing. This cannot be remedied by additional regulations, however skilful, nor by theories (however inviting) upon paper. Energetic exertion must speedily follow, and increased means to carry out even the present regulations, which, though arbitrary perhaps, in some instances, are yet not wholly objectionable. Appointments of magistrates, distinct from collectors or judges, of superintendents of police, both native and European, should be made forthwith. The organization of the too-long neglected village police should speedily be undertaken. The districts should be smaller, the forms connected with the police department simplified as much as possible. These and other reforms, which are loudly called for by the people, and are imperatively necessary, should be undertaken without delay;

for it is a bitter mockery to say that property and person are protected, and they are saved from what we call the anarchy and oppression of native governments, so long as the police affords the little protection and does the positive evil that at present exists. Upon the state of the police of every community much of its prosperity and comfort, not to speak of its moral condition, depends; and where the tenant sees the landlord, especially in a case like that of India, affording him ample protection, he is not only more willing to bear the additional strain of increased rent, from the feeling of perfect security, but is satisfied that the money he contributes to the general purposes of the state is properly applied. But, when additional burthens are imposed, and no corresponding benefit ensues, it is no wonder if they are felt as intolerable, and bitterly complained of.

Fervently do we hope that the days are passing fast, when bigoted dislike and narrow prejudice against the natives of India shall exist to blight every liberal sentiment in those who govern them; for under the administration of Lord William Bentinck, faulty as it may have been in many particulars, a new tone was given to the society of that vast country more favourable to the people than any of the previous ones, however brilliant; and from that period India may trace her emancipation from the gloomy thralldom of ignorance, superstition and tyranny. We know that the same spirit is fostered by the present Governor-General; that the intentions of the government are pure, and eminently characterized by liberality and philanthropy; and with no party spirit to turn these good intentions into other channels,—to cause public good to be forgotten in individual aggrandizement,—what may not be done to afford permanent relief and happiness to those millions of people!

Energy, and a proper determination to inquire into the real grievances of the people, are only wanted; advocates for them will appear more frequently as their voice begins to be heard, and will plead their cause as boldly, as truthfully, as indefatigably as Mr. Shore has done; for, by the character of the political events progressing there, India has at last awakened an interest, extending, we would fain hope, beyond those whose connexions are present in the country, or the proprietors of

East India stock. Able advocates of the education of the people have arisen in India, and are increasing in influence and weight, and this hitherto shamefully neglected question has of late years engaged the attention of government. One of them now holds a high official situation in England; and while he gives his talents and time to the cause of her people, he should not forget those for whom in a far distant land they were so early and so beneficially exercised;—he should not be unmindful of that country whose claims to be enlightened he used so warmly to advocate—and to which, from his position and complete knowledge of the subject, he can give so much and such effectual aid.

It will be asked, has India then benefited in nothing by the rule of England? have years of government of the most free and enlightened people upon the earth passed away, and left no trace of their existence in the amelioration of the people? Is their condition, then, no better than it was under their despotic native governors?

It would be impossible that such could be the case. It is impossible that enlightenment on many points should not have followed the mere association with so many highly-educated and intelligent persons as exist in India. It is impossible that the natives, or those who know us, should not have caught some of the tone of freedom which we as a nation possess; and that this will spread, aided by education and the dissemination of useful knowledge, no one will be found to deny. To go further back: India was under the rule of a set of potentates, whose government could never, humanly speaking, have been productive of any mental improvement to the people. Their growing power and rivalry would have plunged them into unceasing war; the systems of their governments were becoming day by day more disorganized; and there is little doubt that India would have become ere long the arena of contending parties for the supremacy. Now that is gone; the people for the most part own one lord and law, and are at least protected from the violence attendant upon wars, and the marches of rude and undisciplined soldiery. The horrible rites of Suttee and infanticide have been interdicted; Thuggee has been in some degree suppressed; education has

commenced, and though in its absolute infancy, is yet exerting a perceptible influence.

But when we look at this summary, is it worthy of the most enlightened rule that India ever possessed? Could nothing more have been done for the advancement of her condition and the happiness of her inhabitants during the last half century of our possession? Alas! how much more, had the government been actuated by a liberal spirit, and sought, instead of pressing down the people, by exclusion from all participation in the government except in filling situations as clerks, to raise them by a generous confidence! Had it early attended to education, and spread the knowledge it possessed among them, it is not too much to say that a deep blow would have been struck at Hindooism. Had it followed the example of its predecessors, both Mahomedan and Hindoo, in establishing colleges, everywhere endowing village schools, and affording the people the means of rising from their state of superstition and ignorance,—we might have arrogated to ourselves with some justice the proud station we assume, of being the saviours and regenerators of India. At present, whatever we have done and are doing, only serves but slowly to efface the memory of the past; and the generation has been lost in whom the seed of cultivation rested, which, by common care and protection, might by this time have borne good fruit.

The present is a fit time to consider the matters we have already touched upon in this article, and the others we purposed to illustrate must stand over for future comment, as we have long since exceeded our allotted space. India has just passed a crisis of much excitement, which has not yet entirely subsided. The valour of the British arms—the prompt and signal punishment of those native princes whose disaffected spirit could not be concealed—the vigour and perfect readiness with which the government has met all emergencies—has for the time overawed and tranquillized the people, and restored their confidence in the ability of their rulers. Why not follow up this spirit by a determined exertion to redress existing abuses?—why not extend education,—reorganize the police,—make further reforms in the system, and take away the hateful tax upon the administration of justice? Link the

people by some bond of interest with the government, and their gratitude will surely follow. It is idle to expect the natives of India to be grateful to foreigners, not only for no benefits done, but for positive injuries inflicted, and for a line of conduct which daily proves to them how meanly, how despicably they are esteemed. A very little local excitement anywhere, a year ago, would have caused many outbreaks which might have extended rapidly throughout the country; that spirit has given way however, to better thoughts, and it is fervently to be hoped for the future, that in the conciliating tenor of its enactments, its extended operations of education and benevolent care, and its improved legislation, the government will take warning by the past, and find in similar periods of excitement instead of murmured disaffection, that there exists in truth a pure spirit of cooperation and satisfaction. Great reforms are undoubtedly called for in all departments; and these, if undertaken in a good spirit, will work their due effects with the mass. Even a spirit of good avowed openly, satisfies and consoles till it is acted upon, and among the people would be hailed as a joyful omen of eventual regeneration. Suppose that Russia, in her spirit of restless intrigue, were in the present state of affairs to proclaim to the people of India a return to their own systems of government in case of aid in her schemes; a perfect non-interference in local habits, laws and usages—a system of plain and cheap law—a general light assessment of the lands, not to exceed the ancient rates:—what might not be the effect? That she has the power of disseminating such promises, is doubtful, but it would not be well to trust to this alone; for if disseminated, that they would have a bad effect upon the people, few will doubt. The best remedy against them is in speedy and effectual reforms, which the times loudly admonish to be granted.

In conclusion, for the present we bid farewell to the work from which we have been enabled to draw such authentic pictures of existing evils; and we wish heartily that it belonged to the library of every young man whose future destination is India; well convinced that no unprejudiced person could rise from its perusal without having imbibed a spirit of charity and benevolence towards the people of that country, which would

be his best guide to a correct estimate of their characters and qualifications; and that an impression would be made upon his young mind which would ensure to him a gratifying intercourse with them, entered upon, as it would be, in a spirit of conciliation and benevolence, instead of the usual haughtiness and superciliousness of demeanour, added to contempt. To the public we recommend these interesting volumes, we fear not generally known, not only for their pleasant, eloquent and convincing style, which render it impossible to open the work anywhere without finding matter for amusement and instruction, but for those deep considerations of every topic connected with the welfare and happiness of the people of India, with which it abounds.

ARTICLE VI.

Medical Reform.

THE subject of reform in the medical institutions of this country having at last assumed a more tangible shape than heretofore, we hasten to lay before our readers a statement of some facts connected with it. Since the opening of the present session of parliament a number of petitions have been presented in the House of Commons, and Mr. Warburton has promised to move for the re-appointment of the Medical Committee, which sat in 1834. Mr. French, the member for Roscommon, is also taking an active part on the subject; and Mr. Hawes has offered his assistance to carry through a bill to remedy the grievances complained of. In the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquises of Lansdowne and Normanby, the Earls of Durham and Ripon, Lord Brougham and other noble lords, have admitted the necessity of some legislative measure on the subject. We observe from the public papers and other sources, that petitions continue to be poured in from all parts of the country, particularly from the numerous and influential members of the medical asso-

ciations which exist in England, Ireland and Scotland, the members of which are nearly unanimous in their views as to the objects to be attained.

As the medical institutions and governing bodies of the three portions of the United Kingdom are of different kinds and differ even among themselves in their forms and regulations of study, examinations, etc., it may be as well to point out in the first place some of the anomalies and absurdities which exist.

A graduate from Oxford or Cambridge looks down with contempt upon a graduate from Edinburgh or Glasgow; but go to India, or any other portion of our colonial empire, and you never hear of such a thing as an English physician—they are all *Scotch doctors*. By the term *Scotch doctors* it is not to be understood that all or even the majority of those who possess degrees or diplomas from Scotland are natives of that part of the kingdom; on the contrary, we are led to believe it to be an established fact, that the majority of gentlemen who graduate at Edinburgh, are from England, Ireland and other parts of the world. For a similar reason, by English physician we do not mean natives of England exclusively, but the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge.

With regard to surgeons, to all intents and purposes the diplomas in surgery from London, Edinburgh and Dublin are equal. They are considered so in the army and navy and all over our colonies, to which, be it borne in mind, nearly three-fourths of our medical men find their way. How absurd, therefore, is it that the person qualified to practise medicine and surgery on this side the Tweed is by law prevented from doing so on the other side and *vice versa*! Every person possessed of the least degree of reasoning power will at once be able to understand the necessity to the nation at large of having as good doctors in India, Canada, Australia and the West Indies, as in England and Wales; and that the grossest of all monopolies would be that of keeping all the virtuous and *moral* doctors at home in England, and sending the *low fellows* abroad where the presence and moral influence of the best-educated and highest principled would be likely to be most wanted. Strange to say, the arrogance and ignorance of English practitioners in general till within the last few years,

have been the cause of producing a greater amount of successful quacks than ever existed in any other civilized country; while in the despised portions of the United Kingdom, called Scotland and Ireland, the name of quack is scarcely known. Yet in England we have graduates in medicine from Oxford and Cambridge; fellows and licentiates of the Royal College of Physicians; graduates of the London University; members of the Royal College of Surgeons; and licentiates of the Apothecaries' Company. The last-mentioned company, which every person will be free to admit ought to be the lowest and least important, assumes more power, founded on an Act of Parliament passed in 1815, than all the others put together. It insists upon the right to punish Scotch or Irish medical men for practising their profession in England and Wales, while it has not the means of preventing the chemist and druggist, or mere buyer and seller of medicine, from practising *all the branches* of the profession.

In Scotland there are five Universities, one College of Surgeons and a Faculty of Surgeons, in Glasgow. They have no apothecaries' company, as they wisely consider that a physician or surgeon should know all the branches of his profession; that the physician, in case of necessity, ought to be able to either bleed a patient or make up a draught for him; that the medical profession, like the army and navy, will be best manned and officered by obliging every candidate to go through all the lower ranks previous to his assuming that of major or captain. They therefore in their curricula of the studies required, and at their examinations, lay as much stress upon proficiency in chemistry, pharmacy and midwifery, as they do upon the knowledge requisite for being able to prescribe for apoplexy, or operate for stone or hernia.

The graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, and the fellows of the College of Physicians, Dublin, are in a precisely similar situation with those of England. The Apothecaries' Company of Ireland is more like what it ought to be than that of England, in so far as its power merely extends over sellers and compounders of medicine; but strange also to say, in its desire for absolute monopoly, it has frequently attempted to prevent regularly educated surgeons and physicians from making up medicine and prescriptions for their own patients.

Stranger still, it appears, that although all these bodies profess and pretend to so much superiority over each other, the medical student, whether he come forward with a view to practice as a physician, a surgeon, or an apothecary, must dissect in the same way, attend lectures at the same time, walk the hospitals in the same manner, read the same works upon the various subjects connected with the profession, and undergo an equally severe examination;—the only difference being, that by paying thirty or forty pounds he can be a physician; if he pays about twenty pounds he can be a surgeon, and if six or ten pounds he can be an apothecary. From the above we of course except the candidates for medical honours at Oxford and Cambridge, it having been admitted by Sir Henry Hallford, when examined before the Medical Committee, that the only reason why Oxford and Cambridge ought to be supported was—the superiority of the *moral* and classical education which the members had to go through. He also admitted, that for such graduates to be able to practise successfully it would be necessary (*after having received the degree of M.D.*) for them to go to Edinburgh, Paris, or some university on the continent, to learn their profession*. When did we ever hear of a pure English physician being at the head of the medical departments of the army or navy? Was Sir Gilbert Blaine one of the morally educated pupils of Oxford or Cambridge? Is Sir James MacGregor one of them? Is Sir William Burnet one of them? Is Dr. Hume, the friend and companion of the illustrious and sagacious Duke of Wellington, one of them? Is Sir James Clarke one of them? Or was their venerable and adopted Dr. Babington one of them? When did we ever hear of one of them being at the head of the medical departments in Russia? When did we ever hear of one of them being the most eminent physician in Constantinople? Or when did we ever hear of one of them finding favour in the intellectual eyes of the Pacha of Egypt? When did we ever hear of them risking their lives in wandering over deserts and climbing mountains, in the hope of discovering some herb or medicine that might be useful to the human

* Query. Do all the graduates at the above places undergo the same moral and intellectual training, or do some of them merely show their faces from time to time, like law-students before being called to the bar?

race, or exposing themselves to the black vomit of the West India, or the plague spots of Egypt?

In France, Prussia, Germany and America, things are done in a different way. The medical corporations of Great Britain and Ireland are more like the discordant cantons of Switzerland, than the consolidated and intellectual systems (so far as extends to the medical profession) of France or Prussia. America in her medical institutions is in perfect keeping with the principles on which the nation itself is governed; eminence is to be acquired solely by superior knowledge, talent, industry and perseverance.

In an oration delivered at the second anniversary of the British Medical Association, Dr. Granville thus happily illustrated the difference between the universities of Germany and our own:—

“According to the most recent of the published statistical calculations there are not fewer than 1050 professors attached to the present universities of Germany. They lecture to about 16,500 students who cannot matriculate for medicine or surgery without having taken either the degree of doctor of philosophy or that of bachelor of letters, each of which involves preliminary studies of four years at least; after which the student is as many years more removed from the degree of doctor of medicine or surgery. It is worthy of remark, that this large number of professors, dependent on the very necessity of a varied and long preliminary education in the universities of Germany, involves, according to the same statistical accounts, an annual expenditure of money of not less than 600,000*l.* sterling, which circulates within the precincts of these universities: an expenditure which arises from the income paid to the professors and the money expended by the pupils. Is this an evidence of inferiority in preliminary intellectual knowledge on the part of foreign universities, as compared with those of Oxford or Cambridge? Not to multiply examples, and taking them rather from the smaller than the larger universities in Germany, at which medicine is taught, we find that in five of them alone, namely, Heidelberg, Freiberg, Würzburg, Erlangen, and Marburg, 37,950*l.* sterling, which is equivalent to at least double that sum in England, is granted by their respective governments every year for the purpose of instruction. In what corner of Great Britain are there five public schools granting degrees in arts and sciences which receive from government the quarter of that sum of money? or what proportion of money equivalent to the same sum (75,000*l.*) is expended by the colleges of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge and from their own funds, purely for the preliminary and medical education of students?”

Is it not then our duty to compare ourselves with our

neighbours, and if we find them right and ourselves wrong should we not proceed forthwith to remodel our medical corporations and institutions according to the dictates of reason, experience and common sense? Every candid man will answer in the affirmative; and what is there to prevent such a desirable consummation of this long-agitated question? We tell him, 'It is nothing but the self-interest of self-elected and self-perpetuating presidents and councils, who have the power of making bye-laws to suit their own purposes, and who exclude the great body of the profession from having any voice or interest in the proceedings of the colleges to which they belong.' In an excellent oration delivered last year to the British Medical Association, and published in the *Lancet* for October 19, 1839, it was truly stated by Mr. Farr*, that,

"More than 17,000 members are excluded from all power in the medical corporations. They are deprived of large sums of money by self-election and irresponsible councils; unjust distinctions are maintained; degrees, titles, and licences are conferred upon no uniform principle; and notwithstanding the companies which profess to repress quackery and unlicensed practitioners, there never was a time when a greater number of lives were sacrificed by patent medicines and ignorant empirics."

Again he says,

"The medical corporations retain all the worst features of the corrupt municipal corporations which have been effectually reformed by government. The councils are self-elective and irresponsible; the members are taxed by an admission fee, to the amount of perhaps 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.* a-year; and regulations are made, which confer exclusive privileges, honours, and pecuniary monopolies upon the corporators and their satellites."

Free and fair elections and equal representation would not suit the purposes of such bodies. Elections so conducted might, and in all probability would, give them officers less warmly attached to the interests of monopolizing bodies than those of science in general. Against this danger they have adopted the plan but too common in such cases. They have raised a semi-religious cry, only not libelling the characters of

* It is to the pen of this gentleman that we are indebted for the weekly and other statements of the health of the metropolis, and the records of diseases most prevalent during the same periods.

those whom it has been found expedient to attack. They have practised on the alarms of the timid, and the prejudices of the weak ; and having nicknamed their opponents "Radicals and Destructives," they trust to the support of the large acquiescent class with whom these terms are necessarily unpopular, however indiscriminately applied. That the public at large can be hoodwinked by such means we of course do not imagine ; but artifices of this description have already been more successful than they ought, with men, whose lofty station, by rendering their actions more than commonly important, should render them more than commonly cautious as to the grounds upon which they act.

We now turn our attention to what has been going on during the last few years about these matters, and it is but right that those individuals who have struggled and done service in the cause should have due acknowledgement.

Dr. James Johnson, the eminent physician and founder of the *Medico-Chirurgical Review*, has at all times been a sincere and ardent advocate for reform, and a determined enemy to all abuses, no matter where to be found, in the medical profession. Long may he live to adorn the profession by his talents, and enlighten the public by his writings.

Mr. Wakley, the editor of the *Lancet*, coroner for Middlesex, and member of parliament for the important borough of Finsbury, has gained himself honour in the eyes of the majority of medical men by his unceasing and determined hostility to abuses and monopolies, some of which he has so ably exposed and lashed, that their very supporters are now ashamed of their by-gone practices. To the talented writers of the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, and also of the *London Medical and Surgical Journal*, great credit is due for the fair and candid manner in which the subject has been discussed. The *Dublin Medical Press*, during the short period it has existed, has done great good in the cause ; and to Dr. Maunsell, its editor and founder, and its other able contributors, the hearty thanks of the profession are due : we sincerely hope that no difference of opinion on mere matters of detail will at any time disturb the harmony which now reigns among these gentlemen as to the necessity of some organic change.

The *British and Foreign Medical Review*, conducted by

the able and experienced Drs. Forbes and Conolly, has also contributed much to the elucidation of the subject. And where can we find names of greater respectability either in or out of the profession? They at least cannot be accused of sinister motives! Among the rest, must not be forgotten the eminent and patriotic Carmichael of Dublin, who, for a long series of years, stood alone in opposition to the selfish practices of the Dublin College of Surgeons, but who has had the rare felicity of living to see the former defendants of these abuses come round to his opinions, and advocate them publicly with as much zeal and ability as they had previously opposed them.

Great praise is also due to Dr. Webster of Dulwich, the indefatigable President of the British Medical Association, whose services during the last three or four years have been unceasing.

Mr. Wood of Edinburgh, formerly President of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons, has also taken a great deal of trouble in bringing the conflicting interests of medical men in Edinburgh together; but hitherto they have not entertained such enlarged views upon the subject as we were entitled to expect. With such representatives in parliament as Mr. Macaulay and Sir J. Campbell, we are surprised to find so little done by them.

After having thus stated some of the principal facts and grievances connected with the present and past state of the profession, we now come to the most important and difficult part of the subject (but which fortunately has not escaped the attention and deep consideration of the gentlemen already mentioned); we mean,—What is the remedy? That remedy must be a legislative enactment of so comprehensive a nature, as not only to eradicate but also to prevent for the future all those abuses which have been shown to exist at the present moment. In approaching this point, we again avail ourselves of Mr. Farr's able and philosophic oration.

"The science of medicine is the science of human health; it comprises a knowledge of the structure, functions and history of the organisation; and a knowledge of the diseases to which it is subject, as well as the influences of the atmosphere, the earth, the food, and the remedies which have been supplied by nature or by art. Medical science averts disease,

calms suffering, prolongs existence. Mankind agree in considering it the oracle of life; in sickness and anguish they believe in its resources; and only bow the head, satisfied in death, when it abandons hope. The members of the medical profession are the agents by which the principles of medical science are applied practically, and brought home in the hour of need, to individuals and to families. Now, who will deny, that so long as sickness prevails, and death threatens, and man exists, the office of physician must remain of insurpassable importance? and that medical education, the examinations to which candidates are bound to submit, the medical police, and the construction of the medical institutions of the country, should command the attention of a wise national legislature, which, like the legislators of antiquity, deems the physical perfection of the people the sole basis of their moral and intellectual greatness?"

"In history many national disasters are recorded, which may be traced to violations of the laws of health. Athens, the first state of Greece, was paralysed at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war by the plague which was introduced or aggravated by the leader of the people, Pericles. The plague had been hovering around the shores of the Mediterranean, in Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Persian empire, when Sparta and its allies approached Attica. Upon the advice of Pericles, the ardent Athenians, who lived in country houses scattered over Attica, instead of fighting the enemy in the open field, retired within the walls of Athens, where they were crowded in ill-constructed, ill-ventilated dwellings, or lodged in caves or miserable huts. The plague, as might have been foreseen, swooped upon the city, carried off the flower of the citizens, and shattered their armies. Athens never recovered this stroke in war; her most illustrious chiefs fell; Pericles placed the funeral wreath upon the grave of his last legitimate son, and perished a victim of his ill-judged policy. The depopulation of the cities of England in the middle ages, the direct result of their ill-construction, retarded the progress of civilization in this country. Several military expeditions have failed; for instance, that of Walcheren; and a fourth of the strength of our armies has remained disabled in recent campaigns, through ignorance of the simple laws of hygeiology. A considerable amount of the pauperism which pervades the population may be traced to sickness, the result of a neglect of medical police, as its natural cause."

"Nevertheless medical art is but in its infancy; the laws of vitality, the principles of disease, and therapeutics, have been but imperfectly explored. Physiology has some of its highest problems reserved for solution. The generation and history of morbid products; the duration and fatality of diseases at all ages, and in different periods of their progress; the specific influence of remedies and the relative value of methods of treatment, have yet to be accurately determined. In some localities, plague, remittent fever, ague, typhus, dysentery, are generated. In one set of circumstances 100 places will suffer 50, in others 100, in others 150 attacks of disease

annually. The causes of disease, then, are a highly important subject of inquiry, for the prevention of disease falls within the province of medicine. People live 20, or 30, or 40, or 50 years upon an average in different places. Is it not possible to extend the term of life of the entire population, until they number the days of the years of life decreed by nature, and are gathered like a shock of corn, ripe, to the home of their fathers? Is the child, the brother, the wife, the friend, to be carried away in all the freshness of youth, before your eyes, for ever, in the triumphant arms of death? The hopes and the agonies of humanity answer, No." * * *

"Man may, perhaps, approach organic perfection; the body can never attain immortality or live to the age of Methuselah; but is it agreeable to the analogies and laws of nature that it should perish so near the period of its origin?—This opens a wide field to the champions of our art; and the laurels that they win will be spotted neither with blood nor tears, but will remain green for ever, in the dews of heaven.—But alas! this prospect is overclouded. No assistance is afforded to the enterprising discoverer; endless obstacles are thrown in the way; and the means of bringing the present advantages of medical skill within the reach of the entire population are withheld.—You find hindrances where you looked for help.—The public are left without a guide; are actually misled by innumerable licensing bodies in different parts of the kingdom; or are left at the mercy of quacks and prescribing druggists, by the laws and corporations which promised them protection."

Without taking upon ourselves the responsibility of recommending any one particular plan that would meet all the emergencies of the case, and at the same time be satisfactory to all the parties who are advocating the same principles; we consider we cannot do better than repeat the substance and prayer of various memorials and petitions which have been presented to various members of the government and by various members to the House of Commons. In a memorial from the Council of the Medical Association of Ireland to the Marquis of Normanby, Secretary of State for the Home Department, signed by R. Carmichael, President, and H. Maunsell, Secretary, we find the following:—

"The first and most essential step then we believe to be the adoption of means for securing a body of educated and well-ordered men for the public and private service.—Until this be done no improvement can be effected; and we beg leave respectfully to submit, that there does not now exist any machinery for its accomplishment.—We have already reminded Your Lordship, that no legal definition of the medical character is in use, and it will cease to be matter of surprise that such should be the case, when it is further considered that there are in the three Kingdoms no fewer than seventeen bodies claiming chartered or statutory rights to confer this character, and

that all of them differ from each other in their constitutions, all possess the power of making bye-laws for their own governance,—and all impose different tests of the fitness of those whom they profess to admit into the medical profession. It is an additional fact, that all these bodies are dependent for their support upon the fees paid for these admissions, and the practical result, as might naturally be expected, has been a competition as to which should draw the greatest number of customers, by offering their goods upon the lowest terms.—Thus instead of protecting the public, and providing for their service a supply of well-educated men, the actual working of these corporations has been to overload the profession with a vast number of competitors, without affording any security as to their competency for the safe exercise of their calling.—

“ We would therefore respectfully suggest, that a legislative enactment should be adopted, establishing one responsible and competent tribunal in each of the Three Kingdoms, without whose licence and enrolment no person should be legally acknowledged as a medical man;—that such licence should be granted in every case upon precisely similar exercises, examinations and fees, to be specified by law, and that it should confer equal privileges throughout the British dominions. With respect to the formation of such a tribunal, we conceive that there is a choice of three plans:—1st, the members of it might be nominated and controlled by the crown: or 2nd. *elected by, and made responsible to, the profession*: or 3rd. they might be appointed by a mixed mode, the profession returning a number of names from which the crown might select.—It would be for the wisdom of government to choose one of these plans.—The expenditure of such a machinery need not increase the burthens of the country, as it would be more than defrayed by the fees for licensing and registration, care being taken of course to remunerate the members of the licensing board by salaries, and not by any direct interest in the number of persons licensed.—Such an arrangement we conceive could be effected without interfering with existing medical institutions, which it is not our desire to destroy; and we think it would be reasonable and just to allot to each, a portion of the licence and registration fund, as compensation for their probable loss of income, and to enable them to maintain their position as educational and scientific establishments.—This we are also of opinion is the utmost that these bodies have a right to expect, their claims to support being grounded solely on their capability of promoting the public good, to which they unquestionably do not contribute by their present indiscriminate sale of medical titles, even though they may honestly and faithfully administer the money thus acquired. The advantages immediate and remote, which must flow from a simple measure, such as we have suggested, cannot fail to strike Your Lordship. The licensing and registration, by an authorised and responsible board, of all persons acknowledged by law as medical practitioners, would effectually remedy those evils in the administration of the civil and criminal law, which we have already pointed out. Medical evidence would then become an instrument of justice, and not, as at present it too often is, a mere matter of form, or a contrivance for shielding the guilty, or, as in the case of alleged lunatics, for oppressing the innocent. Real not nominal medical relief would be provided for the

poor. The public would be enabled to discriminate between those qualified (by education and character) to take charge of their health, and the ignorant pretender. The government would be empowered to avail itself of the assistance of a competent medical department, under its own protection and control, and might even derive considerable revenue from the surplus receipts of a well-managed registration.—Lastly, the profession itself would lose its uncertain and empirical character, and be acknowledged as a useful and efficient portion of the social system, while the medical corporations being released from their present disgraceful traffic in diploma paper, would have leisure to attend to medical education, and the advancement of the scientific and social interests of the profession.”

At a Meeting of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, held on the 26th of October 1839, it was unanimously resolved :—

1st. That a memorial on the subject of medical reform be forwarded, without delay, to her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department.

2nd. That the committee be authorised to forward petitions of a similar import to both Houses of Parliament at the commencement of next session.

3rd. That all parties interested in this important matter be invited to co-operate with the College, in endeavouring to impress on the government and the legislature the necessity of some effectual steps being taken for remedying the grievances under which the profession at present labours—grievances which affect injuriously the interest of the public, by depriving them in particular situations of the professional services of the best-qualified practitioners.

A very excellent petition was presented to the House of Commons on January 31st, by Mr. French, from Mr. Dermott, lecturer on anatomy. It was received with great attention by the House, and ordered to be printed. After stating the grievances from which the medical profession suffers, it concluded by praying

“ that the report upon the evidence taken on the subject of medical reform in 1834, be printed, and that a measure of reform for the benefit of the public, and the relief of the medical profession from the grievances under which it has been permitted so long and so sorely to labour, may not be any longer delayed.”

Mr. Macaulay, the Secretary at War and one of the Cabinet Ministers, also presented a petition from the Royal Col-

lege of Physicians of Edinburgh, on nearly the same subject. A petition from the Northern Medical Association concludes with praying

" that Your Honourable House will adopt such measures as will confer upon the medical profession a sound and efficient legal constitution, and place it under a system of government based upon such principles as shall protect the interests alike of its members and the public—enforce uniformity of education and examination for all who enter it—prevent illegal practice—and confer uniformity of privilege upon practitioners throughout England, Scotland and Ireland".

The petition of the British Medical Association presented by the Marquis of Normanby in the House of Lords, and the Solicitor-General in the House of Commons, among other lucid and well-considered paragraphs, concludes as follows:—

" That however well the existing corporations may have been adapted to the times and circumstances from which many of them date their origin, they are utterly inconsistent with the progress of science, and inadequate to the wants and intelligence of the public in the present day.

" That from the defective constitution of the licensing bodies, none of them have the power of conferring the right to practise in every part of the Empire, however qualified the candidates may be; while there is no legislative enactment to prevent the most ignorant pretender and empiric from practising all or any of the departments of medicine in any part of Her Majesty's dominions.

" That it is the opinion of Your Petitioners, founded upon reflection and experience, that medicine and surgery, now exercised as distinct branches of the profession in this country, constitute in reality but one science; and that therefore the existence of eighteen or nineteen licensing and graduating bodies in the United Kingdom, differing widely from each other in their requirements of qualifications from candidates, as well as in their power of conferring titles and licenses to practise (a state of things unknown in any other civilized country in the world), must be and is found to act injuriously to the best interests of the public, and only serves to create jealousies and dissensions among the members of the profession.

" That the obvious as well as the most effectual remedy for all the evils alluded to by Your Petitioners, would be the establishment of a single Representative Corporation or Faculty of Medicine for the general government of the profession, and the admission to the privileges of practising in the British dominions as the result only of an effectual education and examinations.

" Your Petitioners therefore earnestly implore Your Honourable House to take this important question into your most serious consideration, and to direct that a Bill may be passed as speedily as possible for the consolida-

tion of the medical profession into one faculty, having full power to regulate the examination and government of the whole body, and to confer equal rights and privileges upon all its members."

The Medical Associations existing in the north of Ireland, Glasgow and other parts of Scotland (separate from the Colleges and Schools of Edinburgh), are almost completely of the same opinion with regard to the remedy required. We thus have the great body of the profession in England, who have formed themselves into five or six associations in different parts of England; the great body of the profession in Scotland, who have formed themselves into four or five associations in various parts of Scotland, such as Glasgow, Aberdeen, etc. and the same in Ireland;—all complaining of the same grievances, all pointing out the same absurdities, all desiring the same remedies, and all petitioning for the same redress. How then does it happen that nothing is done? There are various reasons; such as opposition from interested parties, to which we have alluded; but still more the state of political parties in the House of Commons, from which it results that the ministers and their dependents are more attentive to, and occupied by manœuvres to defeat their adversaries, than in getting rid of public and private grievances and oppressions. Yet on this point, the *Reforming* Ministry must not stop. Lord John Russell must, as a matter of course, follow up his principles in reforming such abuses as exist in the medical corporations; and of obstruction, this not being a party matter, his supporters cannot throw the whole onus on the House of Lords, whom they have been so willing to censure but so loth to combat. Let him not then stand any longer in the way of a needful reform in a respectable and honourable profession, in forwarding which there is not the least danger of his favourite views being affected; perhaps his showing some ardour in such a cause might help to make up for his unpopular doctrines on other subjects. Let him not leave too many such questions to be taken up by his expectant successors, by which they would be able to make themselves popular with a set of gentlemen who are not few in number, not without interest in the community, who are scattered over every county and borough in the United Kingdom, who can and will act on election committees, and

who can and if necessary will assist in the putting out of any member of parliament, who refuses the justice which they demand. If the present ministry wish to stand well with the great body of the medical profession, let them do something, or let them pledge themselves to do something, which may justify their friends and supporters in giving them time. Above all, let them not allow it to appear as if indolence of their own, or flattery of interested parties, weighed more with them than the almost unanimous opinion of those who are best qualified to judge, in every part of the United Kingdom.

ARTICLE VII.

Hindu Fiction.

1. *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes.* Par M.-LOISELEUR DES LONGCHAMPS. Paris. 1838.
2. *Somadevas Märchensammlung, Sanskrit und Deutsch.* Von Dr. HERMANN. Brockhaus. Leipzig. 1839.

THE controversy that was carried on towards the end of the last century between the advocates of the eastern or of the northern origin of European fiction, had reference especially to a particular class of creations,—to those of chivalric romance,—to the marvellous exploits that were magnified out of the traditional achievements which might possibly have been wrought by the companions in arms of Arthur and Charlemagne, elevated to the rank of knights of the round table, or Paladins of France. These narrations, although they no doubt derived much of their martial fierceness from the songs of the bards and scalds, and much of their machinery from the more graceful and inventive fancy of the Arabs, yet took their peculiar character from the people for whom they were composed, and were moulded into the forms in which they were popular, in unison with the temper and tone of the times in which they were written, until they presented but few and uncertain vestiges of their foreign original.

This was not the case with the different class of fictions

which, at a somewhat later date, formed an important accession to the literature of Europe, and which can most confidently be traced to the East. Belief in the Asiatic origin of many of the fables and tales of domestic life, which afforded instruction and entertainment to the Middle Ages, has for some time prevailed, and of late years the proofs have been multiplied by the industry of Oriental scholars. The evidence adduced has been of the most positive description. It is not built on probabilities, upon general and indefinite analogies, or on partial and accidental resemblances, but upon actual identities. Although modifications have been practised, names altered, scenes changed, circumstances added or omitted, we can still discover the sameness of the fundamental outline; and amidst all the mystifications of the masquerade, lay our hands, without hesitation, upon the authentic individual. We can also, in many instances, follow the steps of the migration which the narratives have undergone, and determine when and by what means these Asiatic adventurers were naturalized in the different countries of Europe in which they are found. The inquiry, however, is yet in its commencement, and it seems highly probable that its further prosecution will very extensively add to the testimonies of the Eastern origin of many of the inventions, which, as *Contes*, *Fabliaux* and *Novelle*, constituted the light reading of the more civilized nations of the West in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Sir William Jones, in his *Discourse on the Hindus*, observes that they are said to have boasted of three inventions,—the game of chess, the decimal scale, and the mode of instructing by apologues. He does not cite his authority, and it may be doubted if the Hindus ever boasted of any such discoveries. As far as relates to teaching by apologues, although there can be no doubt that it was a national contrivance, devised by them for their own use, and not borrowed from their neighbours, yet there is no sufficient reason to suppose that it was originally confined to them, or first communicated by them to other nations. It has been urged with some plausibility, that the universal prevalence amongst the Hindus of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, was calculated to recommend to their belief the notion that beasts and birds might reason

and converse, and that consequently the plan of such dialogues probably originated with them; but the notion is one that readily suggests itself to the imagination, and an inventive fancy was quite as likely as a psychological dogma to have gifted mute creatures with intelligence, and supplied them with a tongue. At any rate, we know that, as an article of poetical and almost of religious faith, it was known to the Greeks at an early date, for Homer is authority for the speech of horses. Without affirming the apocryphal existence of *Æsop*, we cannot doubt that fables, such as are ascribed to him, were current even prior to his supposed date; and we have an instance of the fact in the story of the Hawk and Nightingale of Hesiod. Other specimens of the same class of compositions are afforded by the fable of the Fox and Ape of Archilochus, of which a fragment is preserved by Eustathius; and by that of the Eagle and the Fox, which is attributed to the same writer, and is an established member of all collections of fables, both in Asia and in Europe. Roman tradition,—it would once have been called history,—furnishes at least one well-known instance of popular instruction by fable, which Menenius was not likely to have learnt from the Hindus; and various examples of this style of composition are familiarly known as occurring in Scripture. Although the invention was very probably of Eastern origin, we cannot admit that it was in any exclusive degree a contrivance of the Hindus, or that it was imparted originally by them to other Asiatic nations. If such a communication ever did take place, it must have occurred at a period anterior even to Hindu tradition.

Although, however, instruction by apologues cannot, strictly speaking, be regarded as originally or exclusively a Hindu device, yet the purposes to which the Hindus directed it, and the mode in which they employed it, seem to be peculiarly their own. Fable constitutes with them practical ethics—the science of ‘*Niti*’ or Polity—the system of rules necessary for the good government of society in all matters not of a religious nature—the reciprocal duties of the members of an organized body either in their private or public relations: hence it is especially intended for the education of princes, and proposes to instruct them both in those ob-

ligations which are common to them and their subjects, and those which are appropriate to their princely office; not only in regard to those over whom they rule, but in respect to other princes, under the contingencies of peace or war. Each fable is designed to illustrate and exemplify some reflection on worldly vicissitudes, or some precept for human conduct; and the illustration is as frequently drawn from the intercourse of human beings, as from any imaginary adventure of animal existence; and this mixture is in some degree a peculiarity of the Hindu plan of fabling or story-telling. Again, these stories are not aggregated promiscuously, and without method, but they are strung together upon some one connected thread, and arranged in the frame-work of some continuous narrative, out of which they successively spring; a sort of machinery to which there is no parallel in the fabling literature of Greece or Rome. As far, therefore, as regards the objects for which the apologues or stories are designed, and the mode in which they are brought together, this branch of literary composition may be considered as original with the Hindus; and it was the form of their fabling that served as a model, whilst at the same time the subjects of their tales afforded materials, to the storytellers of Europe in the Middle Ages.

That the fables of Pilpay were of Indian extraction was known to the orientalists of Europe in the latter part of the last century. They are so described by Assemanus, Fabricius, Schultens, and other scholars. Acquaintance with Sanscrit literature had not then been attempted, and the orientalists alluded to were therefore unaware that the Indian original, in one of its forms at least, was still in existence, and was still as popular in its native country as it had been for some fifteen centuries at least. The translation of the Sanscrit work, entitled *Hitopadesa*, or *Friendly Instruction*, by Mr. Wilkins and Sir William Jones, first added this fact to the history of Pilpay's fables, and it was confirmed by the publication of the text at Serampore, in 1804, with an interesting preface by Mr. Colebrooke, in which its relations to its Asiatic and European imitations are circumstantially particularized. The text has been twice reprinted; in London in 1810, and at Bonn in 1829. The history has been further

investigated, and a very ample and interesting detail of the different translations and imitations of the Indian original is prefixed to the late Sylvestre de Sacy's excellent edition of its Arabic version, the *Calila et Dimna, ou Fables de Bidpai*, published at Paris in 1816. The subject has been resumed in the *Essais sur les Fables Indiennes* of the late M. Loiseleur des Longchamps; and all that is known respecting it has been collected by him with most commendable industry, extent of erudition and accuracy of research. His premature death has deprived not only this department, but other branches of Sanscrit literature, of a zealous and talented scholar.

The *Hitopadesa*, although in much of its contents the same as the prototype of Pilpay's fables, is not in all respects the original. It is avowedly a compilation, and the compiler in the introductory lines specifies his having collected his materials from the *Pancha Tantra* and other books. He therefore apprises us of at least a nearer approximation to the original, if not of the title of the original. In all works of this nature, however,—in all miscellaneous collections of stories, interspersed with passages which are in most instances, and may be possibly in all, citations from other works, great liberties have always been taken, both in the East and West, by transcribers and translators, with regard to the contents of the original compilation. The outline has usually been preserved, the most striking stories have been repeated, and in general a similar succession has been followed; but new stories have been inserted, old ones omitted or remodelled, and the intervening remarks and precepts diversified at pleasure, so as to produce infinite variety in the copies of a work nominally the same, and to render it a matter of almost insuperable difficulty to determine the priority of any particular version, in composition or in date. It would be rash, therefore, to affirm of the *Pancha Tantra* that it is the very work that was translated by order of Noushirvan, the king of Persia, into Pehlevi in the sixth century, although there is reason to believe that it is of high antiquity, even as now current. An analysis of its contents has been published in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*; and from various considerations there specified, it may be reasonably inferred that in the condition in which it is still met with, it is an ancient

work. In the arrangement of the chapters it conforms with the Arabic *Kalila and Dimna* more exactly than the *Hitopadesa*; and this is one argument in favour of its approaching more nearly to the assigned date of the original, as the Arabic translation is itself a work of the ninth century. The correspondence, however, is not complete; and as far as any inference may be drawn from its greater or less exactness, there is reason to believe, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show, that we have in the Sanscrit language another form of part of Pilpay's fables, which claims precedence even of the *Pancha Tantra*.

A version of the *Pancha Tantra*, as current in the South of India, has been published in French by the Abbé Dubois, but not entire. He has given only a selection of the stories, taken from three different copies, written one in Canard, one in Telugu, and one in Tamil. It may be doubted if his principle of selection is the most judicious that could have been adopted. "Nous avons tiré de cet ouvrage tous les apologues qui peuvent intéresser un lecteur Européen, et nous avons omis plusieurs autres, dont le sens et la morale ne pouvaient être entendus que par le très petit nombre de personnes versées dans les usages et les coutumes indiennes auxquelles ces fables font allusion." This is in fact to omit all that is most characteristic. Enough, however, is given to show that the vernacular representatives of the *Pancha Tantra* in the Peninsula correspond in plan, and in most of their many details, with the Sanscrit original. Some of the stories are additions: they are classed, like the original, in five books, whence the name of the work, *Pancha Tantra*, meaning 'The Five Chapters;' not, as M. Dubois explains it, 'Les Cinq Ruses.'

The earliest date at which we have evidence of the existence of this collection of fables is in the middle of the sixth century. Noushirvan, who reigned from A.D. 531 to A.D. 579, having heard of the work, sent his physician Barzuya to India on purpose to procure it. He brought it back, and by the king's command translated it into Pehlevi. He gave it the name of the Book of *Kalila and Dimna*, from the names of the two Jackals, who are interlocutors in the first book of the collection. The fact of the translation of an Indian

collection of fables into the language of Persia, at the period spoken of, rests upon the authority of a number of Mohammedan writers, some of whom were so near to the time at which the occurrence is said to have taken place, that they cannot be very far wrong in their chronology. The story is told by Firdusi in the *Shah Nama*, and by Masudi in his history called the 'Golden Meadows,' who both wrote in the tenth century of our era; and a similar account is given in the preface of the Arabic translation, which was made in the eighth. M. De Sacy, therefore, is fully justified in asserting, "s'il est un fait que la critique la plus rigoureuse ne puisse contester ce seroit assurément celui-là, quand même on n'auroit à faire valoir en sa faveur que cette imposante réunion de témoignages." (*Calila et Dimna, Mémoire Historique*, 2.)

A difficulty that has sometimes puzzled even those who feel little doubt of the Indian origin of the *Kalila and Dimna*, or of Pilpay's fables, is the name of the author, which, according to the Mohammedan writers, was Bidpai, of which Pilpay is the European corruption. In the Sanscrit works, the *Pancha Tantra* and *Hitopadesa*, the author is not named. The stories are ascribed to a Brahman denominated Vishnu Sarman, who repeats them for the instruction of the sons of the king; but this is merely a part of the machinery, a dramatic impersonation. No satisfactory Indian original has been conjectured for the term Bidpai. As Sir William Jones observes, Bid-pai in Persian means willow-footed, which is mere nonsense if applicable to a man; and Pil-pai elephant-footed, which is not much better. He is disposed, upon the authority of the author of the *Anwari Soheili*, to resolve it into Baidya-priya, said by that writer, and by Abulfazl, to denote 'friendly physician.' The character of 'physician' attributed to the first translator of the work Barzurya, is in favour of some such etymology, and possibly the original term was merely the Sanscrit word Vaidya or Baidya, physician, or with the additional final vowel, which in Persian converts a definite into an indefinite noun, Baidya-i, a physician. It is easy to understand how this became Baidpai, for the only distinction between the two consonants is in the dots underneath them, a *y* having two dots, and a *p* three: the accidental addition of a third dot would therefore at once

have changed Baidyai into Baidpai, and the mistake of a copyist will have been the source of the perplexity. According to M. De Sacy, the original Arabic reads the name Baidaba, which he conjectures may be derived from the Sanscrit Vidvân or Bidbân, a learned man. The common attribution of the character of physician to Bidpai is however in favour of Vaidya.

The Mohammedan conquest of Persia in the seventh century was the era of the destruction of the literature as well as of the religion and independence of the country. That the Persians had a literature is undeniable, as it is repeatedly alluded to by the earliest Mohammedan writers; and besides the reputed version of the Pancha Tantra into Pehlevi, both Tabari and Firdusi affirm that they derived their accounts, historical and poetical, of the kings of Persia from Pehlevi (that is, from Persian) records. The total disappearance of the national compositions and popular literature of Persia prior to the Mohammedan invasion is a remarkable circumstance, and one not easily to be explained; but it is sufficient to refer to it in this place as the occasion of a very inconvenient chasm in the history of fiction. It is now impossible to determine how far the literature of the Persians was the fountain of that fabling which the Arabs transmitted, or how far it was itself merely the channel by which a stream, originally springing up in India, was conveyed to the Mohammedans, and by them to the people of the farther west. The tradition that an envoy was sent to India to procure a collection of fables, intimates, however, that the Persians were rather the importers than the fabricators of such wares. The destruction, although rapid, was not immediate, and at any rate the Book of Kalila and Dimna was spared for a season. About a century after the subjugation of Persia it was translated from Pehlevi into Arabic by a native Persian, a convert to Mohammedanism, Abdallah Ibn Mokaffa, in the reign of Al Mansur, the second khalif of the house of Abbas, who reigned from A.D. 754 to A.D. 775, the first khalif, according to Masudi, who ordered translations of Persian and Greek works into Arabic to be made; amongst these was the 'Calila et Dimna.' The Pehlevi text then shared the fate of the other writings in the same

language. The Arabic version still exists, and is the work which M. De Sacy published.

The Arabic prose translation of Ibn Mokaffa was put into verse at the end of the same century, under the patronage of Yahya, son of Jaffir the Barmekide; and another metrical version was subsequently composed. In the tenth century it was translated into modern Persian verse by Rudeki, a celebrated poet at the court of Nasr, one of the Samani princes; and in the twelfth century, or A.D. 1121, a Persian prose translation was made by Abdul Mali Nasr-ullah, who wrote under the patronage of one of the last kings of Ghizni, Behram Shah. This work is still extant, and a detailed account of it is given by M. De Sacy in the tenth volume of the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*. It has been eclipsed, however, in the estimation of the Mohammedans, by a more modern version of the Kalila and Dimna, composed about A.D. 1494 by Hosein Bin Ali, surnamed Al Waez, who was patronized by Amir Sheikh Ahmed, surnamed Sohail, a chieftain commanding under Hosein Mirza, one of the last princes of the family of Timur, who held his court at Herat. In honour of his patron, Al Waez changed the name of his work to that of Anwari Soheili, under which it is well known, and is deservedly popular. It has been printed repeatedly in India, and portions of it have been occasionally translated. Much of the work very faithfully translates both the tales and the moral precepts and remarks of the Sanscrit original; and it is evident that the author must have had the original Sanscrit under his eye, for the moral and practical observations of the Hitopadesa reappear in the Anwari Soheili, much more literally rendered than in the Arabic version of Ibn Mokaffa. The translator has, however, reset the whole in a frame of his own devising, and has made many additions to the narratives from the general mass of Mohammedan and Hindu fiction, which, at the time and in the country in which he wrote, and under the political relations that had then long subsisted between Khorasan and India, had no doubt become intimately, and in many cases undistinguishably intermixed.

At a period long antecedent to the composition of the Anwari Soheili in the East, the Kalila and Dimna had performed

the first stage of its journey westward. It was translated from Arabic into Greek by Simeon Seth, towards the end of the eleventh century. Syriac and Hebrew versions were made probably about the same date, and from other copies of the original, as they offer discrepancies, which, although of little moment, show that different manuscripts must have been employed. From the Hebrew translation, John of Capua, a converted Jew, executed, some time between 1262 and 1278, a version into Latin; it was printed in 1480, under the title of *Directorium humane vite, alias Parabole antiquorum sapientum*. This translation, as M. De Sacy remarks, is of the greatest importance in the history of the Kalila and Dimna, as it is the source from which, directly or indirectly, the translations and imitations in Spanish, German, Italian, French, and perhaps other languages, are derived, and is probably the channel by which the narratives and apologues originating with the Kalila and Dimna have passed into those collections of tales which became popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Europe. An interesting specification of the different European versions, up to the latest date, is given by M. Des Longchamps.

In his *résumé* of the contents of the Pancha Tantra, which he has taken from the analysis of that work in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions, M. Des Longchamps has repeated, with several interesting additions, the identifications there intimated between the Hindu stories and their European reiterations. For these, however, we must be content to refer to his pages, and must pass to what constitutes a greater novelty in his dissertation, his account of 'Le Livre de Sendabad.'

The Book of Sendebad, according to M. Des Longchamps, is an oriental romance, of which translations or imitations exist in various European and Asiatic languages. Of these he specifies three as likely to be in an especial degree derived from the original. The Arabic story of a king, his son, his favourite, and seven vizirs; the Hebrew romance of the Parables of Sendebad, and the Greek romance of Syntipas; and from one of the two last, but more particularly from the Hebrew, M. Des Longchamps derives the History of the Seven Sages of Rome, *Historia Septem Sapientum Romæ*, which was composed by Dam Jehans, a monk of the abbey of Haute

Selve, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and enjoyed extensive popularity in Europe for three centuries afterwards. In confirmation of his view it may be remarked, that in a MS. of the Parables of Sendebâr, which exists in the British Museum, it is repeatedly asserted in anonymous Latin notes, that the work was translated out of the Indian language into Persian and Arabic, and from one of them into Hebrew. Sendebâr is also described as a chief of Indian Brahmans, and Biebar, the king, as a king of India.—*Ellis, Metrical Romances, vol. iii.*

There is no doubt that the scheme of these different works is the same. In each, a young prince is falsely accused by the wife of the king to his father, who determines thereupon to put him to death. The king, however, has seven ministers, and each of them in succession undertakes to defend the prince against the unfounded accusations of the queen. The charge and defence are both supported by a variety of stories, related alternately by the queen and one of the seven ministers or sages; and in the end the innocence of the prince is established. The stories vary to a greater or lesser extent in the several compilations, but many of them agree, and are traceable to Indian sources. Many of them differ; but the identity of the general plan cannot be an accidental occurrence, and it is quite sufficient to place beyond reasonable disbelief the existence of some common original. That the native country of that original was India, appears, from the circumstances above referred to, to have been matter of tradition; and that the tradition was not unfounded there is further evidence to substantiate.

The Arabic writer Masudi has already been adverted to as evidence for the history of the *Kalila and Dimna*; he is likewise available for that of the work in question. In his *Golden Meadows* (*Muruj-al-zcheb*), in the chapter on the ancient kings of India, he speaks of an Indian philosopher named Sendebad, who was cotemporary with king Kuru, and was the author of a work entitled, 'The story of the seven vizirs, the tutor, the young man, and the wife of the king.' "This is the work," he adds, "which is called the Book of Sendebad." Masudi died A.D. 956. It is clear from his description, brief as it is, that the main subject of the Book

of Sendebad was the same as that of the Parables of Sendebad, in which the name also is preserved, and with the *Historia Septem Sapientum*, where it is omitted. The Book of Sendebad, according to a more modern Persian writer, the author of the 'Majmu al Tawarikh,' as quoted by M. Langlès, was written in Persia under the Arsacidan kings, and his account is confirmed by an Arabic historian, Hamza Isfahani; but they probably allude to a different work, the Adventures of Sindbad, which, although known to us as part of the Thousand and One Nights, does not properly constitute a member of that collection. However this may be, the testimony of Masudi is quite sufficient for the determination of the Indian origin of this Book of Sendebad, in which we have no fabulous voyages or adventures, but a series of amusing illustrations of domestic manners, tending mostly to a calumnious depreciation of the female character.

The analysis which M. Des Longchamps offers of the Greek romance of Syntipas, compared with the Parables of Sendebad and the romance of the Seven Vizirs, affords several instances of narratives familiar to Indian fiction. One of the stories of the first sage, related in Syntipas and the Parables of Sendebad, the trick practised upon the parrot by the wife, that its information of her misdeeds may not be credited by her husband, and which is repeated in the Arabian Nights, the Seven Vizirs, the *Directorium humane vite*, *Discorsi degli Animalì*, *Giorni of Sansovino*, is of Indian currency, and no doubt Indian origin. The story of the woman, her two lovers, and her husband, occurs in the Hitopadesa. One of the two stories of the third philosopher relates the adventures of a woman who goes to market to buy 'rice.' The two stories of the fourth philosopher are both Indian: one is that of the prince and merchant's wife of the Hitopadesa; the other is found in a work to which we shall have occasion to recur, the Kathá Sarit Sâgara. The fifth sage relates the remarkably popular story of the man who inconsiderately slew his dog, thinking that he had killed his infant, when in truth the animal had saved the child by destroying a serpent which had approached its cradle. This story is found in the Kathá Sarit Sâgara, in the Pancha Tantra, and in the Hitopadesa, and there is in all of them a fitness in the incidents which is wanting in the

version of the tale in Syntipas, the Parables of Sendebâr, and the History of the Seven Sages, in all which also it occurs. The venomous snake is more suitable to India than to any European country; but there is a still more truly national circumstance in the description of the faithful animal by which the snake is killed, as a 'mongoose,' the fierce hostility of which creature to snakes, and its singular power of killing them, are in India so well known as to have become proverbial, and are verifiable by daily observation. It is doubtful if a dog has either any instinctive enmity to snakes, or any characteristic dexterity in destroying them. There is much more propriety in the beautiful Welsh tradition of Beth Gelert, where the slain intruder, who is killed by Lewellyn's gallant hound, is a wolf; but this is evidently an improvement upon the original narrative. Several other tales are related in the story of Syntipas, which are indisputably of Indian origin, although modified in their details.

The analysis of the *Historia Septem Sapientum* shows that the monk of Haute Selve departed very widely from whatever form of the original may have served him for a model; and although he has adopted the plan, he has changed the persons, and either invented his fables, or borrowed them from other sources. The work is well known by the account given of it under its English form of the Seven Wise Masters, by Ellis, and it is not necessary, therefore, to allude to it more particularly. Those of its stories which are most unequivocally Indian, are that of the prince and merchant's wife; the dog, child, and snake; and the pie (or in the original, the parrot,) killed by its master for giving false witness, as he supposed, against his wife. The story of the monkey and wild boar is found, with some variations, in the Indian tales translated by Galland and Cardonne. An incident similar to that of the device adopted by Octavian to discover the friends of a dead body found in the royal treasury and suspended upon a gibbet, for the purpose of finding out who the person was, occurs in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*. The story of the three corpses is evidently of the same origin as that of the hunchback in the *Arabian Nights*; and nothing can be more common in the fiction of the Hindus than the mutual love of two young persons utterly unknown to each other

brought about by their mutual dreams, an instance of which occurs in the seventh and last story related by the queen. Although, therefore, the Seven Wise Masters, or the *Historia Septem Sapientum*, is undeniably indebted to other quarters for the bulk of its materials, yet some of them, as well as its general design, are as undeniably of Asiatic and Hindu invention.

Besides the migration westwards of these two works, the Fables of Pilpay and the Parables of Sendebâr, in their general outline, as well as their component figments, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that various narratives of Indian origin found their way individually and unconnectedly to Europe. By what particular vehicles their transport was effected it is now unprofitable to inquire; but the intercourse with the East through commerce, literature, religion and war, was much more intimate and frequent from the early ages of Christianity down to the fifteenth century than it has ever been since the latter date, even than it is in the present day, notwithstanding the existence of the British empire in India. The greater proximity of Asia Minor to the countries of the South of Europe was one especial cause of the more intimate intercourse that subsisted between them; and the greater parity of civilization, in which indeed the Asiatics had rather the advantage, was another. The political relations of the divisions of the Eastern and Western Empire necessarily preserved the provinces of either in a communication with each other, which could not speedily be forgotten; and although interrupted by the first violences of the Mohammedan conquest, it was readily renewed when the storm had passed, and the first khalifs of the house of Abbas encouraged the resort of merchants and scholars, both from the East and the West, to Bagdad. Upon their decline followed the Crusades, and the interest which they attracted to the scene of their achievements, and the numbers that, either as soldiers or pilgrims or traders, were constantly passing to and fro, continued to preserve that interest from decay, and were no doubt actively concerned in importing and disseminating the lighter oriental fictions of domestic life, as well as tales of chivalry and romance.

From the period subsequent to the establishment of the

Khalifat, Europe received whatever literary articles were imported from the East through the medium of the Arabs. This did not imply that they were of Arab manufacture exclusively. The subjugation of Persia placed at the disposal of the Arabs whatever treasures they chose to spare from the destruction to which the mass was condemned; and it is upon record of the most indisputable authenticity, that the first Abbaside khalifs in the eighth and ninth centuries, from Al Mansur to Al Mamun, patronised in an especial manner natives of India; and that Hindus of eminence in various branches of literature and science flourished at their courts. (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. v.)

This, according to the same record, was the season at which the fictions of the Hindus were naturalized amongst the Mohammedans. It has even been asserted that the Arabian Nights' Entertainments had an Indian origin; and there can be no doubt, that although in their actual form the collection has received contributions from other and comparatively modern sources, yet there existed at Bagdad a work upon a similar plan prior to the golden age of Arabic literature, and which served as the foundation of the Thousand and One Nights. For this Masudi again is irrefragable authority. The passage was first brought to notice by the celebrated orientalist Von Hammer, now Baron Purgstall, in the preface to his translation of some unedited portions of the 'Thousand and One Nights, or rather in the German translation of Von Hammer's French version by Professor Zinserling. The French translation, after passing through some adventures almost as wonderful as the original tales, was lost, on its transmission to England. As the passage did not occur in all the MSS. of Masudi, Von Hammer subsequently published the original Arabic with a translation in the *Journal Asiatique* (vol. x. p. 253): the translation runs thus:—

"Many persons learned in the ancient history of the Arabs assert that these accounts (of the Garden of Irem) are romances and tales invented by persons who wished, by relating them, to conciliate the favour of their princes, and who became popular amongst their countrymen by learning and reciting such narrations. The traditions thus repeated are of the same class as the works which have come down to us translated from Persian, Indian and Greek, and they are composed in the style of the book des-

nominated the *Hazár Afsána*, which is rendered in Arabic *Alef Khorásá*, that is to say, *The Thousand Tales*; for the Arabic word *Kharafa* corresponds with the Persian *Afsána*, and people call this book '*The Thousand Nights*'. It is the story of a king and of his vizir, and of the vizir's daughter and her nurse; the two last are named *Shirzad* and *Dinarzad*. Such also is the story of *Yalkand* and *Shimas*, and the particulars which are found in it of the histories of the kings of India and their ministers, and in the story of *Sindbad* and other similar compositions."

There are some variations in the reading of this passage in different MSS. In the first version given by Von Hammer, he called the book '*Thousand and One Nights*;' and a MS. in the British Museum confirms the translation, denominating it the *Alef leila wa leila*, or *Thousand Nights and One Night*. M. De Sacy, however, in a memoir on the origin of the Arabian Nights published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie*, v. x. p. 30, translates it the *Thousand Nights*, which seems to be the correcter appellation. The difference is not very material, and the agreement is close enough to establish the Persian or Indian origin of the Arabic work. In its actual form however the latter is no doubt of much more modern aggregation. The prominent part assigned in the early stories to the Khalif Harun Al-Rashid could have been ascribed to him only some considerable period after his demise. In the story of the Barber of Bagdad, the barber observes that it is the 653rd year of the Hijra, A.D. 1255. The institution of Calendars, according to M. De Sacy, originated in the christian year 1150; and the title of Sultan of Egypt, which occurs in the story of Bede rud din Hassan, was not assumed before the middle of the twelfth century. These and other considerations induced M. De Sacy to conclude that '*The Arabian Nights*,' as now current, was compiled not earlier than the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The middle of the thirteenth century is the date conjectured by Galland, the original translator of these tales; but M. Caussin de Perceval, upon the authority of a MS. note, affirmed that the compiler was living in A.D. 1548. That some portions at least are as late as the end of the fifteenth century, is proved by one instance of internal evidence not yet noticed by any European critic.

In the tale of Prince Ahmed and the fairy Peri bhanu, the eldest of the three brothers, Prince Hosein, in search of some extraordinary rarity which may entitle him to the hand of the

Princess Nur-an-nihar, repairs to the Indian city Bisnagar, the capital of a country of the same name, and a metropolis of extraordinary wealth and population. This is no doubt the Bijnagar of the Mohammedan historians of the South of India, and of the early European travellers in the Dekhin—the Vijayanagar of the Hindus; and we know from ancient inscriptions, as well as Indian history, that this city was not founded until the middle of the fourteenth century. It could not have risen to a reputation which extended to Arabia earlier than the beginning or middle of the fifteenth, and any collection in which it is found must have been put together subsequently to that date.

It is not precisely determinable from the expressions of Masudi whether the Hazar Afsána is considered by him as of Indian or Persian origin, and his translator leaves it equally undecided, although he leans to the latter,—“les mille et une nuits étaient originairement non des contes Arabes, mais des contes Indiens, ou plus probablement Persans.” The appellation Hazar Afsána is Persian, and no doubt the Arabs received their first knowledge of the work through the Persian language. Another Arabic writer, since quoted by Baron Purgstall in the *Journal Asiatique* of August last, is evidence in favour of their Persian extraction. Abu Yakub al Darak compiled a Fihrist, a *catalogue raisonnée* of Arabic literature, in the Hijra year 377 (A.D. 987). Amongst a long list of romances and tales attributed to the Persians, Indians, Greeks, Babylonians and Arabs, mention is made of the Hazar Afsána as the oldest work of the kind; for it is said to have been the composition of Homai, queen of Persia, daughter of Ardeahir Dirazdast (Artaxerxes Longimanus), and a favourite book of Alexander the Great and his successors. The authenticity of these particulars may be thought questionable; but there is no disputing the proof given, that at the end of the tenth century there was translated into Arabic from Persian a collection of tales, which was the prototype of the Thousand and One Nights. The subject of the Hazar Afsána is said by Abu Yakub to be the story of a king who married a damsel of royal blood, full of wit and intelligence, named Shehrazad, who was accustomed to amuse her husband by relating stories to him every night, until he interrupted

her, and put off the conclusion to the following night. In this manner a thousand nights were passed. There was another female of the party named Dinarzad, who assisted the narratress. In the end the king became attached to Shehrazad, and spared her life. The author adds, that the *Hazar Afsána* contains a thousand nights and two hundred conversations by moonlight, and that he had several times seen a complete copy. He appears to have no great taste for the marvellous, as he concludes, "It is in truth a book of frigid tradition." It is clear therefore that the opinion of Mr. Lane, in denying the Persian origin of the *Arabian Nights*, as far at least as their plan and principal performers are concerned, is wholly untenable.

That many of the stories current in Europe originated in Persian invention is not at all improbable, but unfortunately we have no means of verifying the fact. The contrary is the case with the fictions of the Hindus; for although this branch of their literature is yet imperfectly investigated, yet enough has been ascertained to determine the actual existence in Sanscrit, or in vernacular translations from it, of a very extensive literature of fiction, in which many of our European acquaintances are at once to be recognised. This is true not only of the *Pancha Tantra* and *Hitopadesa*, but of other collections, such as the *Vetála Panchavinsati*, twenty-five stories of a demon; the *Sinhasana Dwatrinsati*, thirty-two tales of the animated images supporting the throne of *Vikramaditya*; the *Suka Saptati*, the seventy tales of a parrot; and a variety of popular collections of a more miscellaneous description. One of the most interesting and extensive works of this class is now however for the first time made known to the European public by the industry and learning of Dr. Hermann Brockhaus, Sanscrit Professor in the University of Jena, the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, or *Mährchensammlung* of *Somadeva*.

The work of which a portion is now published in the original Sanscrit, with a German translation, the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, or ocean of the streams of narrative, is more commonly known in India as the *Vrihat Kathá*, the great tale, or great collection of tales. The popular nomenclature is however erroneous, and the compiler of the *Kathá Sarit Ságara* declares expressly that his work is a compendium of a

preceding and more comprehensive work, entitled the *Vrihat Kathá*, of which it contains the substance. It corresponds exactly with the original; there is not the least departure from it, only the style is more compressed in order to avoid the great prolixity of the primitive work. It has also been composed in verse, care having been taken to preserve the arrangement of the text and the interest of the stories. The author adds, that his object is "not a reputation for learning, but the hope of enabling the memory more readily to retain "the complicated net of narrative invention."

"Mich erforschvoll vorbeugend vor Sarasvati, der fackel um aller worte sinn zu erleuchten, beginne ich diese Sammlung die das mark der Vrihat Kathá enthält. Wie das unsprüngliche werk so ist auch dieses, man wird nirgends die geringste auslassung bemerken; nur die sprache ist gedrängter, um die zu grosse Ausdehnung des buches zu vermeiden. Den Kräften gemäss habe ich mich bemüht den passendsten ausdrück zu wählen und indem die verschiedensten gemüthstimmungen in den erzählungen dargestellt worden, ist ein werk entstanden, das zu den Gedichten gerechnet werden kann. Meine arbeit entsprang nicht aus begierde nach dem ruhme der gelehrsamkeit, sondern um leichter dem gedächtniss das bunte Märchen-netz zu bewahren."

From this it is clear that the *Vrihat Kathá* was in all essential respects the same as the present work; but inasmuch as it was written in prose, and with that minuteness of detail which is the soul of all story-telling, it was without doubt a much more animated and interesting compilation.

The period at which the original *Vrihat Kathá* was compiled is uncertain, but it must have preceded the eleventh century, for that is the date at which its abridgment, the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, was composed. This work derives a great part of its value from the circumstance that its date admits of positive verification; and although this is subsequent to the time at which Indian and old Persian stories first became accessible to Europe, in consequence of their translation into Arabic, yet it precedes the era of the actual migration of the stories to the West, and establishes their naturalization in India at a date anterior to the possible introduction of Mohammedan literature amongst the Hindus. Whether India was indebted for its stories to the Magian Persians is doubtful; to some extent it possibly was; at least it is very likely that under the Sassanian princes

there was an active traffic in all sorts of fabrics—those of the imagination as well as of the hand—between India and Persia, making it difficult to attribute to either its own indigenous productions. However this may have been, it is very improbable, it is almost impossible, that before the inferrible date of the *Vrihat Kathá*, before the actual date of the *Kathá Ságará*, the Hindus should have been indebted to the Arabs for any of their story-telling. In truth, until the Arabs were saturated, as their own authors acknowledge, with translations from Persian, Indian and Greek, they were not a story-telling, not a literary, not a scientific people. They had some poetry, some romance; but the poems that were suspended at the Kaaba, and the exploits of Antar, are of a very different description from the rich and diversified pictures of social life which at first evidenced the more advanced civilization of Persia and India, and afterwards accompanied the progress of society in Bagdad, Cairo and Cordova.

The date of the *Kathá Sarit Ságará* admits of being determined with very tolerable precision. At the close of it, the author, Somadeva, states that he compiled it at the desire of Suryavati, a dowager queen of Kashmir, for the amusement and instruction of her grandson, Harsha Deva, whilst under her guardianship. Harsha Deva reigned, as Professor Brockhaus mentions, about A.D. 1125; but the *Chronicles of Kashmir*, the *Raja Tarangini*, give us more exactly the time. Harsha Deva was, according to Somadeva's genealogy of him, the son of Kalasa, the son of Ananta, the son of Sangráma, kings of Kashmir in succession. The *Raja Tarangini* has the same series of descents, and both authorities designate Suryavati as the wife of Ananta, mother of Kalasa and grandmother of Harsha. The period assigned for the joint reigns of Harsha's three predecessors in the *Raja Tarangini* is seventy-six years. Abulfazl has the same names; but in Gladwin's translation of the *Ayin Akberi*, the aggregate of the three reigns is but thirty-one years. The MSS. of the work are however, in the chronological tables which they contain, exceedingly incorrect. Didda Ráni, the predecessor of Sangráma, died A.D. 1025 (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 80), and seventy-six years added to this places Harsha's accession A.D. 1101. According to the *Kashmir Chronicle*, however, Sury-

avati burnt herself with her husband Ananta's dead body eight years before, or in A.D. 1093. The compilation of the Kathá Sarit Ságara must have preceded this event by some few years, so that we cannot be far wrong in assigning it to about A.D. 1088, to which therefore we fix the most modern limit of all the stories found in the compilation. The Kathá Sarit Ságara then, considered in itself, and still more especially as the representative of a still earlier composition, the Vrihat Kathá, is the oldest extant assemblage of tales, except the Hindu original, and the first translation of the Kalila and Dimna, and it is therefore indispensable to the history of fiction to determine what it contains.

The Kathá Sarit Ságara is a large work. It consists of eighteen books, subdivided into 124 sections. The portion published by Professor Brockhaus extends to but five books, comprising 26 sections. The Sanscrit text occupies 469 pages, the German translation but 153, but it is very closely printed in a small type. Each book comprises a number of stories loosely strung together, by being narrated for the recreation or information of the same individuals, or arising out of their adventures. These are Vatsa, king of Kausambi, and his son Naraváhana-datta. The marriage of the latter with various damsels of terrestrial or celestial origin, and his elevation to the rank of king of the Vidyádhara, a class of heavenly spirits, are the leading topics of most of the books; but they merely constitute the skeleton of the composition, the substance being made up of stories growing out of these circumstances, or springing from one another with an ingenuity of intricacy which, although the Abbé Dubois complains of it, is in reality one of the great charms of all such collections.

"Un autre défaut peut-être qu'on pourra reprocher encore à ces apologues, défaut dont au reste les compositions orientales présentent de fréquens exemples, c'est qu'ils s'entrelacent presque tous les uns dans les autres de sorte qu'une fable commencée donne lieu, avant qu'elle soit finie, à une seconde fable, interrompue bientôt elle-même par une troisième, et celle-ci par une quatrième."

This is no very grave imputation, for the Abbé admits that, "l'auteur ne manque pas de revenir à son sujet et de finir tous les récits commencés." In the Kathá Sarit Ságara the

stories all wind up at the end of each book, or not unfrequently sooner. The action is never suspended for any very prolonged interval, and the complication is not of such a nature or extent as to convert variety into confusion. The stories are always characterized by the features of Hindu nationality, and are illustrative of Hindu opinions, usages and belief. They exhibit, in a striking and interesting manner, the peculiarities of the social condition of India; and in the exposure of its follies and vices furnish those delineations of the similar imperfections of all civilized society, of which the general applicability and truth have recommended their imitation to the satirists and storytellers of Europe. The greater number of them turn upon the wickedness of women, the luxury, profligacy, treachery and craft of the female sex. These attributes no doubt originate in the feelings which have always pervaded the East unfavourable to the dignity of the female character; but we are not to mistake the language of satire, or the licentiousness of wit, for truth, or to suppose that the pictures which are thus given of the depravity of women owe not much of their colouring to the malignity of men. The avidity with which this style of portraiture was adopted and improved upon in Europe, shows that either the women of Christian Europe were still more vicious than those of India, or the men were still less disposed to treat them with deference and esteem. It is in this respect that stories of domestic manners contrast so remarkably with the inventions of chivalric romance; and the homage paid in the latter to the virtues and graces of the female sex is a feature derived, in all probability, from that portion of their parentage which comes from the North, woman being ever held in higher honour amongst the Teutonic nations than amongst those of the South of Europe or of the East, and contributing, by the elevating influence she was permitted to enjoy, to their moral exaltation and martial superiority.

Although the text and translation of the *Kathá Sarit Ságará* are now published for the first time in a continuous form, yet a short extract from the text has been previously published by Dr. Brockhaus himself—the story of the foundation of Pataliputra or Palibothra. A translation of a larger portion of the work was published in a Calcutta periodical,

the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine* of 1824-25, from which a notice of the original has been recently inserted in the account of India, which forms a number of the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*. The *Calcutta* publication also had the merit of attracting the notice and exciting the interest of the present editor and translator, and thus leading to the publication which has given rise to our remarks.

Our readers would probably be little profited by any criticisms we might offer upon the result of the editorial labours of Dr. Brockhaus. It is sufficient to observe that the text is carefully printed, upon a careful collation of five entire copies and one imperfect copy. The last and three of the former are to be found in the invaluable collection of oriental manuscripts at the *India House*; a fourth is in the collection of the Sanscrit Professor of the University of Oxford, and a fifth was procured by Dr. Brockhaus from India. He has employed these materials with unremitting industry and judicious scholarship, and has given a very accurate typographic representation of his original. The mechanical execution of the work is creditable and the type distinct. Dr. Brockhaus has followed Professor Bopp's plan of separating conjunct words and marking the separation—a device which we think unnecessary, and one which is objectionable, as not unfrequently productive of greater uncertainty than that which it was intended to obviate. The translation appears to be in general executed with very commendable fidelity, without sacrificing to a servile adherence to the original all pretensions to elegance and spirit. For a vindication of these opinions we must refer to the book itself, whilst we proceed to offer a summary account of the whole of the original work, with reference especially to the light it may be expected to reflect on the history of fiction.

The first book is introductory, and refers the origin of the tales contained in the collection to no less a person than the deity Siva, who, it is said, related them in private conversation with his wife, Parvati, for her entertainment. One of the attendants of the god, Pushpadanta, took the liberty of listening, and he repeated them, under the seal of secrecy, to his wife, Jayá, a sort of lady's maid to the goddess. What woman, says the author, can restrain her tongue? Jayá

takes an opportunity of intimating to her mistress that she is acquainted with the stories narrated by Siva, to the great mortification of Parvati, who had flattered herself that they had been communicated to her alone. She accordingly complains to Siva of his having deceived her, and he vindicates himself by discovering the truth. Parvati thereupon pronounces an imprecation upon Pushpadanta, condemning him to be born upon the earth as a man; and she sentences his friend Mályavan, who had ventured to intercede for him, to a like destination. The infliction of this punishment is a not uncommon fate of the subordinate divinities of the Hindus, when they incur the displeasure of the *Dii majores*, or even of holy sages. The degradation, however, endures only for a season, and terminates upon the occurrence of some pre-announced catastrophe. On the present occasion, Parvati tells the culprits that they shall resume their celestial condition when Pushpadanta, encountering a Yaksh, a follower of Kuvera, the god of wealth, "doom'd for a certain time to walk the earth," as a Pisácha or goblin, shall recollect his own former state, and shall repeat to the Pisácha the stories he overheard from Siva; and when Mályavan, falling in with the Pisácha, shall hear from him again the stories that his friend Pushpadanta had narrated. The recitation of the stories forms also the limit of the Yaksha's sojourn amongst mortals. This machinery is of course exclusively Hindu.

The two demigods, Pushpadanta and Mályavan, are born as two Brahmans, named Vararuchi and Gunádhyā, and their adventures as mortals constitute the subject of several tales. Some of these possess much local interest: we have in them literary anecdotes relating to celebrated works and authors, as to Panini the grammarian; notices of historical persons and events, as of the accession of Chandragupta or Sandrocoptus; and traditions of the origin of celebrated places, as of that of Palibothra already alluded to. The circumstances of these narratives are marvellous, it is true, and are not to be received as facts. In the absence of all authentic history and biography, however, they are not without interest, and perhaps not without value; and in the place in which they are found they are evidence of the early date at which popular belief assented to legends still current.

We find also in this portion of the work various incidents and tales which are of wide dissemination. One of the best-told stories in the whole work occurs here. Upakosá, the wife of Vararuchi, becomes, during the absence of her husband, the object of the addresses of the king's family priest, the commander of the guards, the prince's tutor, and her husband's banker. She makes assignations with them all: each as he arrives is quickly followed by his successor, and is secreted only to be finally exposed and punished. The story is the same in all essential respects as that of the Lady of Cairo and her four gallants, in Scott's additional Arabian Nights; and that of the merchant's wife and her suitors in the tale of the king, his favourite, and the seven vizirs, translated by the same orientalist. It is also that of Arouya in the Persian tales; and it is also found as a Fabliau, that of Constant du Hamel, or 'la dame qui attrapa un Prêtre, un Prevot et un Forestier,' (*Fabl. de Le Grand*, iv. p. 246); and it is worthy of remark, that the Fabliau alone agrees with the Hindu original in the mode of putting the suitors out of the way, by hiding them in baskets and disrobing them under the plea of a bath.

There is in this part of the work some very curious matter, the purport of which it is not easy to conjecture, unless it conceal an intimation that the stories are of inferior, if not of foreign origin. Mályavan, or Gunádhya, in consequence of a dispute with a rival Brahman, forgoes the use of the Sanscrit, Prakrit and Désya, or vernacular languages. He afterwards learns the Paisáchi language, or that of the goblins, which enables him to receive the narrations as they are told him by the metamorphosed Yaksha or Pisácha. Possibly the author thought some contrivance necessary to explain how the Pisácha should be intelligible to the Brahman, and nothing more is meant than meets the eye; but a hypothesis might be framed upon it, that the stories were translations, whence made, it would not be easy to explain, unless we call in Pehlevi, a language extinct or disused before the Kathá Sarit Ságara was compiled. However this may be, Gunádhya having heard the stories, extending to seven hundred thousand stanzas, wrote them with his blood, for there was no ink in the forest. He then offered the work to Satavahana, king of

Pratishthána, who rejected it with abhorrence, on which the author kindled a fire in the forest, and reading it aloud, to the great edification of spirits and goblins, and birds and beasts, he burned it leaf by leaf as he finished the perusal. The news of this proceeding at last reached the king, and he repented of what he had done, and repaired to Gunádhyá to solicit the gift of the work. The sage consented to present the king with the hundred thousand verses that had not yet been consigned to the flames. Satavahana took it to his capital, and having received an explanation of it from two of Gunádhyá's disciples, he translated it from the language of the Pisachas. Satavahana, as king of Pratishthána, it may be observed, is identifiable with the Sálivahana, whose reign, A.D. 78, forms an epoch in the ordinary chronology of the Hindus. It would seem as if tradition ascribed to him the patronage of this class of composition, and there is nothing very improbable in the supposition that the golden age of Indian fabling dates about the commencement of the Christian era.

The second book is supposed to commence that part of the original narrative which was not consumed, and records the adventures of Udayana, king of Kausámbi, a prince of great celebrity in the plays and poems of the Hindus, and his marriage with Vasavadattá, princess of Ujayin. The third book describes his acquisition of a second bride, Padmávati, princess of Magadha; and the fourth book the birth of the son of Vatsa, by Vasavadattá, Naraváhana-datta; at the same time sons are born to the chief ministers of Vatsa, and they become the companions and councillors of the young prince. The fifth book records the adventures of a mortal, who became king of the heavenly beings termed Vidyádharas, a class of spirits who reside upon the loftiest peaks of the Himalaya mountains, who possess superhuman longevity and faculties, and the knowledge of what is passing beyond their presence. They have in many cases been mortals, and are constantly connected with human beings in friendship and enmity, love and hate. The story of their king is told to illustrate the manner in which the destiny of Naraváhana-datta, who it is foretold will be king of the Vidyádharas, can be fulfilled. With this tale the publication of Dr. Brockhaus closes.

In the stories which this portion of the *Kathá Sarit Ságará* comprises, we have various details which are recognisable in the fiction of the West, some possibly accidental, but others of too peculiar a nature to have occurred independently to different inventors. Thus we need not identify Vatsa with Orpheus, because his musical proficiency on the lute subdues the animals of the forest to his will; nor is it necessary to refer to the tale of Troy for the origin of a contrivance by which he is taken prisoner, a hollow wooden elephant instead of a horse, in which armed men are concealed; although perhaps traces of some such stratagem were scattered over the East long before it came to Virgil. "*Habebat poeta fabulam a multis tractatam et vulgarem ante se positam.*" The case is different with other analogies. Guhasena, a young merchant, is compelled to leave his wife, Devasmitá, for a season, on matters of business. The separation is painful to both, and the pain is aggravated by fears on the wife's part of her husband's inconstancy. To make assurance doubly sure, a couple of divine lotus flowers of a red colour are obtained in a dream, the hues of which, the married pair are told, will fade, should either prove untrue. Some such marvellous indication of unsullied honour is exceedingly common in European romance. It is not always the same. In Ariosto the test is a cup, the wine of which is spilled by the unfaithful lover who attempts to drink from it; this device also occurs in the romances of Tristram, Perceval and *La Morte d'Arthur*, and is well known by La Fontaine's version, '*La coupe enchantée.*' Spencer has derived his Girdle of Florimel from these sources, or more immediately from the Fabliau, '*Le manteau mal taillé,*' an English version of which is published in Percy's *Reliques*, '*The boy and the mantle.*' In the *Gesta Romanorum* the test is the whimsical one of a shirt which will require neither washing nor mending as long as the wearer is true. There are not wanting, however, instances of such a test as that of Somadeva. In '*Amadis de Gaul*' it is a garland; in '*Les Contes à rire*' a flower, and in '*Perce Forest*' it is a rose, which borne by a wife or maiden of immaculate virtue preserves its freshness, but withers if the wearer is unchaste.

Guhasena falls in with boon companions, who learning the

purport of his lotus, and the virtue of his wife, set off, like Iachimo, to put it to the proof. They find an old Buddhist priestess willing to promote their designs. In order to shake the constancy of the merchant's wife, she visits her, and leads along with her a bitch held by a string, whom she takes an opportunity of feeding with a piece of meat strongly seasoned with pepper; the effect of the seasoning is to draw tears from the eyes of the animal; and when Devasmitá inquires why the animal weeps, the old woman tells her that she and the bitch were in a former life the wives of a Brahman who was frequently from home in the service of the state; during his absence she amused herself as she pleased, but the other wife was of rigid virtue and turned a deaf ear to all her suitors. They have both been born again in their actual forms, and with a recollection of their former state of existence, and the once faithful wife now weeps for the penalty she pays for her coldness and cruelty. Now this contrivance is quite consistent with the Hindu notion of the metempsychosis, and is clearly of Indian origin. It was nevertheless naturalized with suitable modifications in Europe, although not directly from the Kashmirian compilation, for it was introduced into the West about the same time that the *Kathá Sarit Ságara* was compiled. It occurs in the '*Disciplina Clericalis*' of Petrus Alfonsus, a Spanish Jew who wrote about A.D. 1106. His materials were obtained chiefly through the Arabian writers, and it must have been by way of Bagdad that the story travelled from Hindustan to Spain. It was speedily taken hold of by the conteurs and trouveurs, and appears in Le Grand's *Fabliaux* as '*La vieille qui séduisit la jeune fille.*' The French might almost pass for a translation of the Sanscrit. The woman gives "*une chienne à manger des choses fortement soupoudrées de senevé, qui lui picotait le palais et les narines, et l'animal larmoyait beaucoup.*" She then shows her to the young woman and tells her that the bitch was her daughter, "*son malheur fut d'avoir le cœur dur... Dieu l'a bien vengé: voyés en quel état pour la punir il a réduit ma pauvre fille et comment elle pleure sa faute.*" The story became extremely popular: it was inserted in the *Gesta Romanorum* as '*The old woman and her little dog;*' and it also has a place where we should little expect to find

it,—in the Promptuarium of John Herolt of Basil, an ample repository of materials for sermons! It is worthy of note that the European conteurs make the example effective,—female virtue yields to such a warning. The Indian narrative has a more moral *dénouement*. Devasmitá appears to relent, and invites her lovers to an entertainment, where they are plied with wine in which a narcotic drug has been infused, and when they fall asleep they are branded on the forehead with the mark of a dog's foot, and then turned out of the house. They return to their own country disappointed and disgraced. Devasmitá, fearing that her husband may be the victim of their revenge, follows them in the garb of a man and character of a merchant. She makes acquaintance with her husband, who does not know her in her disguise, and after a season applies to the king of the country to recover certain persons whom she denounces as her runaway slaves. These were her suitors, who are accordingly obliged to appear, and are claimed by Devasmitá as her slaves. She appeals to the brand on their brows in testimony of their servile condition; their turbans are removed, and the mark becoming manifest is admitted as proof. Subsequently Devasmitá consents to accept a liberal ransom from them, with which she enriches her husband, to whom she makes herself known, and they return home together to be separated no more.

In the story of Saktideva, which forms the main subject of the fifth book, we have, along with a genuine national character, many particulars found in other collections. The Princess of Vardhamána, when pressed by her father to marry, declares she will have no man for her husband but one who has visited the 'Golden City.' Public proclamation to this effect is made; and Saktideva, a young and dissolute, but courageous and enterprising Brahman, undertakes to discover what no person is acquainted with, the situation of the city to which a visit is to win the hand of the princess. He first has recourse to an old hermit, who refers him to his still older brother, by whom he is sent on to a certain island—in which particulars Saktideva resembles Mazin of Khorasan in his search after the island Wak-al-wak. In the voyages he consequently performs he is repeatedly shipwrecked, and on one occasion is caught in a whirlpool, like

Ulysses, and escapes in a similar manner, by jumping up and clinging to the branches of a fig-tree,—the Indian fig-tree,—the pendulous branches of which are more within reach than those of the Sicilian fig can be, making it doubtful whether Homer did not borrow the incident from some old eastern fiction. From hence Saktideva is conveyed by a gigantic bird, one of the race of Garuda, the bird of Vishnu, and prototype of the 'Roc,' to the place he is in search of. The Golden City is the residence of Vidyádhari, females of the Vidyádhari only, so Wak-al-wak is inhabited by female genie alone. The chief of the sisterhood welcomes him as her future husband; but deeming it necessary to obtain her father's consent, she and her companions depart to ask his sanction. Saktideva is left in possession of the palace, with a recommendation not to ascend the central terrace. He of course disregards the injunction. He finds three pavilions on the terrace, enters them, and discovers to his great horror the three apparently lifeless corpses of beautiful damsels,—one of whom is the princess of Verdhamána. Quitting the last chamber he comes to a reservoir of water, by the side of which stands a horse caparisoned. Saktideva approaches to mount him, but the steed kicks him into the reservoir. When he struggles to the surface he finds himself in the midst of a well-known pond in his native city, Verdhamána. Some similar incidents occur in the story of Mazin; and the catastrophe, more humourously but less poetically related, is that of the third Calendar in the Arabian Nights.

Again we find an analogy with the tale of Mazin, in the consequence of Saktideva's satisfying the princess that he has been to the Golden City. She is in truth a Vidyádhari, condemned for a time to wear a mortal shape: the term has expired; she flies away to resume her proper form, which was lying seemingly inanimate in the palace of the Golden City, and thither Saktideva sets off to recover her. On his way he meets with other two nymphs, whom he espouses: they prove to be the originals of two of the three lifeless bodies he had seen, and in fact are Vidyádhari. By his marriage with them he himself becomes a Vidyádhari, and then proceeds, without difficulty, to the island of the Golden City,

where he finds the former princess of Verdhamána, as well as the queen of the female inhabitants of the island. He marries them also, and repairs with his wives to their common father, the king of the Vidyádharis, who resigns the sovereignty to him, to be exercised only until the son of Vatsa shall be born. The occurrence of this event is the occasion of his appearance.

The main purpose of the sixth book is the marriage of the young prince with the daughter of Kalingasená, a princess sprung from a celestial nymph, and who at first had been enamoured of Vatsa, and desirous of becoming his wife. Vatsa is well enough disposed to marry her; but as he has two wives already, his chief minister suggests to him that he may be contented. A friend of the princess, a nymph of air, is also opposed to the match, and a variety of tales are recited on either side in support of the reasonings for and against the union. One of these is the story of the wife of a foolish Brahman, who liberates her husband from a bad bargain with a Pisácha or goblin, by a device not of a very delicate description. The story was not the less acceptable to the contours of Europe, for the point is precisely the same as that of 'le petit diable' de Papefigue of Fontaine. In the end, a spirit of air, in love with the princess, assumes the semblance of Vatsa, and in his person weds her. She becomes reconciled to what is without remedy, and has a daughter, who is the bride of Vatsa's son.

In the next book Naravahana-datta marries a Vidyádhari: the wedding is celebrated at the residence of the lady's father, on one of the snow-crowned summits of the Himalaya. When the married couple return to Kausambi the young bride persuades her husband to throw open the doors of the inner apartments, and allow free ingress to his friends and associates. "The honour of women," she affirms, "is protected by their own principles alone; and where these are corrupt, all precautions are vain." The object of this arrangement is not only, however, the emancipation of the women from jealous restraint, but provision for the carrying on of the series of tales, as the prince's companions are their ordinary narrators. The stories that then ensue bear hard in general upon the conduct of women; but some are told in

their vindication. A king has many wives, and an elephant of celestial race. The elephant is struck dead by a bird of the Garuda breed, and the incident throws the prince into great affliction. A voice from the sky proclaims that the animal will be restored to life by the touch of a chaste woman. The king commands one of his wives to perform the operation. She puts her hand on the elephant, but there is no resuscitation; the rest equally fail. The king then turns them all off, and tries his luck elsewhere. He is invariably disappointed, and at last relinquishes his quest in despair. The moral of this story is the occasion and connecting link of the Arabian Nights, and is the burthen of that of Giocondo, as related by Ariosto.

The eighth book is devoted to the further illustration of the mode in which the prince may attain the elevation that has been promised him, by the relation of the adventures of a prince named Surya-prabha, who became king of the Vidyádhara. The scene of action is mostly in the regions below or those above the earth, and the *dramatis personæ* are the Nágas or snake-gods of Patála and the Vidyádhara of mid air. The stories have little of humanity to recommend them, and lose in interest what they gain in the wonderful. They serve to illustrate, however, the notions of the Hindus with regard to magic, and to those classes of creatures who hold a middle station between human and divine; and it seems not improbable that many of the incidents in the Thousand and One Nights, in which magicians, witches, Peris and Jins, are implicated, are traceable to these inventions of the Hindus. Beings of supernatural origin, or the possession of supernatural powers by mere mortals, have no doubt a place in every form of popular superstition, ancient or modern; but there are some coincidences which cannot well have been derived from a mere community of imagination, and which are not very intelligible until they are traced to some one existing system. There are some peculiarities in Hindu belief which explain much of the magic in other collections. Thus the adept in the practices of the Yoga philosophy is supposed, amongst other marvellous faculties, to have that of quitting his own body and animating any other he pleases. Now this involves a doctrine of some of the Hindu psychological schools. Be-

sides the gross external corporeal frame, the soul is invested with a subtile body, made up of the impalpable senses and rudiments of matter, and it is this vehicle of soul which migrates with it from one body to another after death, or may be made by the perfection of the Jogi in his exercises to travel at his commands. Frequent instances of this occur in Hindu tales: thus in the first book of the *Kathá Sarit Ságará*, Indradatta, the Brahman, takes possession of the dead body of king Nanda, recently deceased, leaving his own body in the thicket, intending to resume it. The minister, suspecting the nature of the king's recovery from apparent death, but wishing to keep him on the throne, the heir being yet an infant, commands search to be made for all dead bodies, that they may be burnt. Amongst them the deserted body of Indradatta is consumed, and he is obliged to remain in that which he had purposed to occupy only for a season. He is therefore known in tradition as *Yoga-nanda*, or the magic Nanda. So in the case of the four *Vidyádharis* in the last book: their own bodies were left inanimate in the chambers of the Golden City, whilst they occupied persons of inferior excellence; and in this book *Suryaprabhá* finds in *Patála* a lifeless giant; he is told that it is his own proper form, and he consequently lays down the dwarfish human body he is incased in, and resumes that of his former gigantic self. There can be little doubt, that any such device occurring in the fictions of other countries is of Indian origin. There is one well-known exemplification of it in the story of *Fadlallah*, in the Persian tales, where the Dervish, who animates the body of the dead bird, avows he had learned the art from an ancient Brahman in the Indies. The substance of this story is given in an Italian work of the end of the sixteenth century, '*Peregrinaggio di tre giovani figlioli del Re di Serendippo.*' Translated from the Persian by M. Christoforo Armeno, Venice, 1584. It has been thence transferred to the '*Soirées Bretonnes de Gueulette.*'

There seems no particular reason for an occasional metamorphosis, not uncommon in both Eastern and Western fiction, that of fairies into serpents, as in the story of *Zobeide* in the *Arabian Nights*. Hindu notions account for it at once. The *Nágas* of the subterrene regions are in their own persons

serpents—demi-divine, but snakes nevertheless. They have, however, the power of assuming human forms, and the snake maidens are of very slippery virtue as well as of exceeding beauty. They are very fond of paying visits to earth, where, upon an emergency, they drop the human shape and appear as snakes. Of the Vidyádhara's notice has already been taken. They correspond with the benevolent Genii and Peris of Arabian and Persian fiction, whilst the malignant Genii are represented by the Rákshasas: of inferior spirits, goblins, ghouls, ogres, ogresses, and the like, there is no lack of counterparts in the Vetala, Pisácha, Yoginis and Dákinis, of the Hindus. Of the paraphernalia of magical machinery there is also abundance. Thus in the first book of the Kathá Sarit Ságar, Putraka, the reputed founder of Pataliputra, or Palibothra, becomes possessed of a staff that creates what it delineates, a cup that is always full of meat and drink, and shoes of swiftness, or a pair of slippers that enables the wearer to travel speedily through the air. The latter virtue, for a given time at least, is also ascribed in the third book to certain mustard-seeds extracted from the navel of a corpse in which a goblin resided. Vidushaka, the hero of the tale in which this occurs, possesses also a sword of sharpness, which nothing can resist. Nothing also is more frequent than for a sage, or magician, or an adventurer, to have a Vetala, a Rákshasa, or a Vidyádhara—a goblin, a giant, or a genie, for a servant or a slave. It is worthy of notice too, that the Rákshasa, who is a cannibal as well as a giant, like the 'Fee fa fum' heroes of this class, so well known in our nurseries, is as remarkable for stupidity as malevolence and cannibalism. The following story exhibits both these characteristics:—

The Prince of Verdhamána.

"The sovereign of Verdhamána had several sons, of whom the youngest, *Sringabhujá*, was his father's favourite, being distinguished above his brothers for grace and beauty, skill in martial exercises, and gentleness of disposition. The partiality of the king, and the superiority of *Sringabhujá*, excited the envy and jealousy of his brothers, and they were not satisfied until they had devised a plan to effect his removal, and, as they hoped, accomplish his destruction, without their incurring peril or suspicion. There dwelt a *Rákshasa* in the forests of *Verdhamána*, who was the terror of the surrounding districts, appearing from time to time in the most

hideous shapes, and carrying off cattle, and even human creatures, for his sustenance. Him the princes propitiated by prayers and oblations, in the hope of securing his assistance to get rid of their obnoxious brother. Their end was at last accidentally attained. In the course of his predatory excursions the *Rákshas* one day made his appearance on the field where the princes were engaged in the sport of archery, in the form of a large and uncouth crane. The youths proposed to try their skill upon the intruder, and directed their shafts against him, but in vain, the bird keeping at too great a distance, or, by changing his position, evading the arrows. *Sringabhuja* was not so easily baffled, and his weapon lodged in the wing of the crane, striking him as it seemed to the earth. The prince advanced to secure his prize, but the wounded bird contrived to retire as *Sringabhuja* advanced, first slowly, and as it seemed with pain, until he appeared gradually to acquire vigour, and at last flew off with the arrow adhering to his side. *Sringabhuja*, who had been drawn a considerable distance from the exercising ground, and unwilling to lose his arrow, followed the crane as long as he was in sight, and when the bird had disappeared, continued to trace him through the forest by the drops of blood which at intervals were visible on the leaves of the trees or on the turf beneath them.

"In this pursuit the day had elapsed, and the prince found himself at sunset in the vicinity of a spacious garden, adjoining to a palace of vast dimensions and extent. Utterly unacquainted with the place he had come to, and being unable to follow the track through the gathering gloom, *Sringabhuja* determined to rest where he was for the night, and in the morning endeavour to retrace his steps. He accordingly entered the garden to learn from some of the menials of the palace the name of the person to whom it belonged, and to solicit the hospitality of its owner.

"In the mean time the princes returned home, and reported to the king that his favourite son had been carried off by the *Rákshas*, and had undoubtedly been made the monster's meal. The king and the mother of *Sringabhuja* were overwhelmed with affliction at this intelligence, the truth of which was confirmed by the failure of all the parties sent out in quest of the prince to discover any vestiges of him.

"After wandering some time through the garden without meeting with any individual, *Sringabhuja* came to a large and stately Bur tree, in the centre of a smooth grass plot, and beheld seated at its foot a nymph of uncommon loveliness, so that he was disposed to look upon her as the tutelary divinity of the grove. She was no less impressed by his appearance, and in an instant a mutual affection sprang up between them, before a syllable was interchanged. Recovering from his surprise, the prince advanced and saluted the damsel; and having informed her of his name and rank, and the circumstances which had brought him thither, inquired who she was and what she was doing there. She replied, I am named *Rupasikhā*, and am the daughter of the *Rákshas*, *Agnisikhā*, who dwells in this palace, and who is the person you have wounded in the form of a gigantic crane. No archer but yourself in all the three worlds could have

hit such a mark ; but his wound is healed by the application of the divine remedies which he possesses, and he will no doubt welcome so heroic a prince to his castle, and hold him worthy of his alliance. The prince replied suitably to these gracious advances, and the damsel repaired to her father to announce their guest, declaring at the same time that she had set her heart upon having him for her husband, and that she would put an end to her existence unless her father consented to the match.

"Now *Agnisikhá*, notwithstanding his cannibalism and other fiendish propensities, was fond of his daughter, and was not over wise, so that he could be easily coaxed or terrified into a compliance with all *Rupasikhá's* wishes. He therefore told her to conduct the prince into the palace, and promised not only that he would not eat him, but that he would accept him as his son-in-law on certain conditions : he desired her at the same time to go and bring her sisters, and the espousals should take place forthwith.

"*Rupasikhá*, who was much shrewder than her sire, perceived his drift, and contrived to intimate to the prince how it might be counteracted. The party was collected ; *Sringabhujá* having previously bathed, and been attired by order of *Agnisikhá* in bridal vestments. To the prince's astonishment, he beheld a hundred maidens before him, all arrayed and decorated alike, and so perfectly similar in form and features that it was impossible to discriminate one from another. The father giving the prince a chaplet, desired him to place it on *Rupasikhá's* neck, and she should be his. *Sringabhujá* appeared to hesitate ; but his mistress, as preconcerted, had suspended a small blossom from the hair that parted on her forehead, and guided by this signal the prince selected his bride.

"*Agnisikhá* thus discomfited, then told the prince that the wedding could not take place before the next morning, as his brother *Dhumasikhá* must be present at the ceremony. 'Do you,' he continued, 'go and invite him ; he lives about twenty miles off in an old temple of Siva in the forest ; ask him to be here by day-break tomorrow, but do you return without fail today.' *Sringabhujá* readily assented ; but before his departure, *Rupasikhá*, who guessed her father's purpose, provided him with a fleet horse, a handful of earth, a cup of water, a few dry sticks and a match, and told him what to do to escape from the snare that was laid for him ; for she was a fairy, prescient of events and commanding the elements.

"*Sringabhujá* set off and soon arrived at his journey's end, where he found *Dhumasikhá*, an old monster more hideous and savage than his brother. As soon as his message was delivered, the prince abruptly withdrew as he had been enjoined by his mistress, sprang upon his horse, and set off at full speed. When he had ridden a few yards he turned his head round and saw the cannibal close behind him, on which, in conformity to his instructions, he threw the handful of earth upon the ground, and an immense mountain separated him from his pursuer. He now relaxed his speed, but soon repented of having done so, as *Dhumasikhá* was again close at his heels. He therefore, as directed in such an emergency, poured the water on the earth, and a broad and stately river flowed between him and

the cannibal. The prince nevertheless urged on his horse, but to little avail, as *Dhūmasikhā* had traversed the stream, and was once more upon him. His last resource was his match and fuel. Setting the sticks on fire he cast them on the path of the *Rákshas*, who was immediately enveloped and destroyed by a mighty flame.

"*Sringabhūja* completed his journey, and alighting from his horse, announced to *Agnisikhā* the delivery of his message. The *Rákshas*, surprised at his safe return, began to think the prince something more than human, and to tremble for his own security. He therefore allowed the marriage to be consummated, stipulating only that *Sringabhūja* and his wife should continue to reside with him.

"For a time the young couple, delighted with each other, and therefore with everything and everybody about them, lived happily in *Agnisikhā's* palace, till at length *Sringabhūja* began to pine for his parents and his home. His wife perceived what was passing in his mind, and readily agreed to accompany him. They departed clandestinely; but their flight was soon known to *Agnisikhā*, who having the faculty of moving through the air, overtook them before they had completed their journey. On marking his approach, the prince, by his wife's desire, hid himself, whilst she assumed the semblance of a wood-cutter, with axe and faggots in hand. As soon as the *Rákshas* saw the supposed woodman, he descended and asked him if he had seen a youth and damsel such as he described. *Rupasikhā* replied, 'Yes, they are further in the forest, in great grief, and are cutting faggots to burn the corpse of their father, one *Agnisikhā*, who is just dead.' *Agnisikhā*, alarmed to hear of his own demise, and not quite sure whether he was alive or not, immediately returned to his own palace to ascertain the fact. In the meanwhile *Sringabhūja* and his wife reached the capital of *Verdhāmāna*, where they were received with rapture by the prince's parents, and spent the rest of their days in uninterrupted felicity."

In the ninth book are narrated a number of stories for the consolation of *Naravahana-datta*, on the disappearance of his favourite bride *Madana Manchuka*, their subjects being the temporary separation and final reunion of faithful couples. They wind up with a compendious recital of the adventures of *Nala* and *Damayanti*, known to English readers as it occurs in its primitive form in the *Mahabharata*, by the version of Mr. Millman. We have therefore one limit in its chronology determined. It must be older than the eleventh century. It is no doubt very much older, but so much is certain. The next book, the tenth, is of still greater importance than any of its predecessors in the history of fiction, as the fourth section of it constitutes one portion of the fables of *Pilpay*, the first book of the *Pancha Tantra* and *Kalila and Dimna*, the story of the *Lion Pingalaka*, the *Bull Sanjivaka* and the two

Jackals Damanaka and Karataka. The stories and the order in which they succeed agree better with the tales and arrangement of the *Kalila and Dimna* than even the *Pancha Tantra*, and it would appear therefore that we have in the *Kathá Sarit Ságara* an earlier representative of the original collection than even the *Pancha Tantra*, at least as it is now met with; a comparative catalogue of the contents of each may throw some light on the relationship of the different collections.

Stories in the Pancha Tantra, Kalila and Dimna, and Kathá Sarit Ságara.

<i>Pancha Tantra.</i>	<i>Kalila and Dimna.</i>	<i>Kathá Sarit Ságara.</i>
Merchant and his Bull, Lion and two Jackals—forming the introduction and frame-work.	Same.	Same.
1. Monkey and Timber.	1. Same.	1. Same.
2. Fox and Drum.	2. Same.	2. Same.
3. King, Merchant and Slave.		
4. Adventures of an Ascetic.	3. Same.	
5. Magic Garuda.		
6. Two Crows.		
7. Crane killed by the Crab.	5. Swan killed by the Crab.	3. Crane killed by the Crab.
8. Lion and Hare.	6. Same.	4. Same.
9. King, Flea and Bug.	8. Same.	5. Same.
10. Jackal dyed.		
11. Lion, Tiger, Crow, Jackal and Camel.	9. Same.	6. Same.
12. Tittibha and the Sea.	10. Same.	7. Same.
13. Tortoise and Geese.	4. Same.	8. Same.
14. Three Fishes.	7. Same.	9. Same.
15. Elephant and Sparrow, Woodpecker, Fly and Frog.		
16. Swan, Creeper, and Fowler.		
17. Ram and Lion. Battle between the Bull and Lion.	Same.	Same.
18. Lion, Jackal and Camel.		

<i>Pancha Tantra.</i>	<i>Kalila and Dimna.</i>	<i>Káthá Sarit Ságar.</i>
19. King, General and Ascetic.		
20. Snake changed to a Man.		
21. Parrot and Death.		
22. Monkeys and Fire Flies.	11. Same.	10. Same.
23. Honest Man and Knave.	12. Two Friends and Bag of Money.	11. Brothers and Bag of Money.
24. Cranes, Mongoose and Snake.	4. Same.	12. Same.
25. Rats that eat Iron.	13. Same.	13. Same.
26. Two Parrots.		
27. King's Son and his Companions.	(14th Book.—King's Son and his Companions.)	
Death of the Bull.	Same.	Same.

There is only a difference of one story therefore between the contents of the *Káthá Sarit Ságar* in this section and of the fifth book of the *Kalila and Dimna*, the four preceding books of which treat of new and introductory matters prefixed by the translator. The omitted story however is a remarkable one, and one of great popularity in Europe. It relates the adventures of a religious mendicant called *Deva Sarman* in the *Pancha Tantra* and *Hitopadesa*, but not named in the *Kalila and Dimna*, who in his wanderings puts up at the house of a barber; the barber's wife goes to an assignation with a lover, and leaves her confidante in her place. The barber, imagining that his wife is present, and provoked at her misbehaviour, throws his razor at her in the dark, and deprives her of her nose. The wife returns, and finding what has happened, prays to the gods that if she is virtuous her nose may be restored to her; and as her face is found in the morning without any defective feature, her husband is convinced of her immaculate purity, and suspects her no more. That this story jumped with the humours of our forefathers is proved by its numerous repetitions and imitations, as, with some modifications, it occurs as the *Fabliau* of the '*Cheveux Coupés*,' the '*Une verge pour l'autre*' of the '*Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*,' a story in the *Decameron*, in the collection of *Malespini*, and in the *Contes* of *La Fontaine*, and has been dramatized in the *Guardian* of *Massinger*. In the East it is found in the *Tooti Nama*, or

Tales of a Parrot, the Bahar Danish, and other popular collections.

In the fifth section of the same book occurs the skeleton of the first book of the *Hitopadesa*, the second of the *Pancha Tantra*, and seventh of the *Kalila and Dimna*, the *Mitrabha* or acquirement of friends, as illustrated by the association of the Rat, the Crow, the Tortoise and the Deer. The identity is confined to the general outline however, and none of the episodical tales are inserted. The purport of the narration is to contrast the fidelity and attachment of which animals are capable with the treachery of women, in illustration of which follows a story of a jealous husband and his wife. A man had a very beautiful wife, of whom he was so devotedly fond that he scarcely ever suffered her to be out of his sight. Having occasion to go from home he took her with him, and during his necessary absence on business, left her under the care of an old Brahman. Near the Brahman's house was a village of Bhils, foresters, and with one of them the wife eloped. The husband on his return having learnt what had happened, proceeded in quest of his wife to the Bhil village, and arriving there whilst the men were out hunting, encountered his wife. She assured him that she had been carried away by force, and desired him to secrete himself in a cave till night, when she would escape along with him. He believed her, and hid himself; but when the lover returned in the evening the false wife betrayed her husband, and he was seized and bound to a tree in order to be offered as a human victim in the morning to the goddess Chandi. His prayers to the goddess however moved her to free him from his bonds, and he availed himself of his freedom to kill his rival and cut off his head. The wife had still art enough to persuade him of her innocence, and accompanied him in his flight, carrying with her the head of her Bhil lover. Upon their arrival at the first city they came to, she produced the head, declared it was her husband's and gave the real husband in charge to the police as the murderer. He was taken before the king, but the investigation established his innocence and his wife's guilt. She had her ears and nose cut off, and was deserted by her husband, who was now cured of his misplaced confidence in her affection. It may be remarked that frequent mention

is made in the Kathá Sarit Ságara of the sacrifice of human victims by the barbarous tribes inhabiting the woods and mountains, who although not Hindus, seem to have adopted as their favourite divinity some of the terrific forms of Durga, and offered to her human sacrifices: the practice still prevails amongst them when it can be perpetrated with impunity, but it is contrary to the letter and to the spirit of the genuine Hindu ritual.

The sixth section of the tenth book contains the war between the Crows and the Owls, which forms the subject of the third books of the Pancha Tantra and Hitopadésa, the eighth book of the Kalila and Dimna, and the fourth chapter of the Persian imitation of it, the Anwari Soheili.

<i>Pancha Tantra.</i>	<i>K. S. S.</i>	<i>K. D.</i>	<i>Anwari Soheili.</i>
Introduction—War of the Crows and Owls.	The Same.	The Same.	The Same.
	1. Ass in Lion's Skin.		1. The King and his Mistress.
1. Elephants and Hares	2. Same.	1. Same.	2. Same.
2. Hare, Sparrow and Cat.	3. Same.	2. Same.	3. Same.
3. Brahman, Rogues and Goat.	4. Same.	3. Same.	4. Same.
4. Snake killed by Ants.			
5. Snake and Brahman's Son.			
6. Swans and Strange Bird.			
7. Fowler and Pigeons.			
8. Husband, Wife and Robber.	5. The Same.	4. The Same.	5. The Same.
9. Brahman, Thief and Rákshas.	6. The Same.		6. The Same.
10. Prince with a Snake in his Belly.			
11. Husband under the Bed.	7. The Same.	5. The Same.	7. The Same.
12. Brahman and Mouse changed to a Girl.	8. The Same.	6. The Same.	8. Monkeys and Bears.
13. Bird that voided Gold.			9. The Same.
14. Lion and Fox.			
15. Old Snake and Frogs.	9. The Same.	7. The Same.	10. The Same.
16. Brahman and his Wife.			11. The two Sparrows.

Of these stories several are well known in the narrative fictions of Europe; some of the identifications are pointed out in the 'Analysis of the Pancha Tantra,' and others by M. L. des Longchamps. Thus the first of the Kathá Sarit Ságara, which occurs in another book of the Pancha Tantra, is a very common apologue in all collections; the third or second of the Pancha Tantra and Kalila and Dimna has been imitated by La Fontaine in the fable of *Le chat, la belette et le petit lapin*. The story of the Brahman who is persuaded to part with his goat, is found in *les Facétieuses nuits du Seigneur Straparole*. The fifth story, which is found in the Pancha Tantra alone, is considered by M. des Longchamps to be the same as *La Confiance perdue* of Senecé. It is also found in the collection of Marie de France, a fabulist of the thirteenth century. The husband, wife and robber, and the mouse changed into a girl, are both modernized by Fontaine; the latter he derived from the *Livre des Lumières* of Daniel Sahid; the former occurs in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. In this, as in the story of the bull and the lion, the Kathá Sarit Ságara agrees better than the Pancha Tantra with the Arabic work, and may, therefore, be of earlier date; at the same time the style of the stories is unequivocally that of an abridgement, and they no doubt existed in some more detailed arrangement, and very possibly associated with others not here inserted.

In the next section of this book occurs the excellent story of the monkey and Sisumára or Porpoise. In the Pancha Tantra, the Makara, a nondescript marine animal, is substituted for the Sisumára; and, in the Mohammedan versions of the story, a tortoise takes the place of the Hindu aquatic. There is a greater coincidence again between the Kalila and Dimna, and our text in this story, than between the former and the Pancha Tantra, in which last the story includes nine others; in the Arabic work, and in the Kathá Sarit Ságara, it has but one, that of the sick lion, the jackal (or fox) and the ass. The monkeys and tortoises, so often introduced in these stories, are, as M. de Sacy remarks, evidence of an Indian origin. "Les singes et les tortues souvent mis en scène dans ces fables appartiennent plutôt à l'Inde qu'à la Perse."—*Mémoire Historique*, vii. But this is still more

applicable to such entirely Indian animals as the Makara or Sisumár.

We have in this section also what may be perhaps the original of another well-known Arabian story, one of the earliest in the *Thousand and One Nights*. Two young Brahmans travelling are benighted in a forest, and take up their lodging in a tree near a lake. Early in the night a number of people come from the water, and having made preparation for an entertainment retire; a Yaksha, a genie, then comes out of the lake with his two wives, and spends the night there; when he and one of his wives are asleep, the other, seeing the youths, invites them to approach her, and to encourage them, shows them a hundred rings received from former gallants, notwithstanding her husband's precautions, who keeps her locked up in a chest at the bottom of the lake. The Hindu story-teller is more moral than the Arab. The youths reject her advances; she wakes the genie who is going to put them to death, but the rings are produced in evidence against the unfaithful wife, and she is turned away with the loss of her nose. The story is repeated in the next section with some variation; the lady has ninety and nine rings, and is about to complete the hundredth, when her husband, who is here a Naga, a snake-god, wakes, and consumes the guilty pair with fire from his mouth.

In the commencement of the eighth section of this book we have the story of the mongoose, the snake and child (see pp. 235, 236.), and in the same section is a long, and not uninteresting story of two friends, Ghata and Karpara. They become thieves, and break into the king's palace to plunder his treasure. While Ghata keeps watch without, Karpara makes his way into the inner apartments, where the princess sees him, and falls in love with him. She gives him much valuable property, with which he despatches his companion to their home, and returns into the palace. He is surprised there, and by the commands of the king hung upon a tree. On his way to the place of execution, Ghata, who, alarmed at his friend's not returning, had come back to seek for him, sees Karpara led to the gibbet. Karpara, by signs unperceived by the guards, commends the princess to the care of Ghata; he by the same means expresses his promise to

effect her rescue. Accordingly at night he enters the palace, liberates the princess from her bonds, and carries her off. When the king is apprised of this, he concludes the perpetrator of the deed must have been a friend of Karpara, and that it is likely, therefore, that he will attempt to obtain the body, in order to perform its funeral rites; he accordingly places guards around the tree on which the corpse is suspended, and commands them to arrest any one who shall display any particular grief on viewing the body, or shall seek to take it away. Ghata determines, as the king had anticipated, to procure the body of his friend, and commit it to the flames. He disguises himself as a countryman, with one of his servants as a woman, and another carrying a jar of sweetmeats, in which the narcotic juice of the Dhatura has been infused. Pretending to have lost his way, he approaches the guards, and, entering into familiar conversation with them, invites them to partake of his sweetmeats, his wife, he says, being very famous for her skill in making them. The guards eat and fall asleep, and Ghata cuts down and burns the body of Karpara. He afterwards contrives to carry off the ashes; and the king, finding precaution useless, causes it to be proclaimed that he will give his daughter and half his kingdom to the man who has done these deeds. We have in these incidents an obvious analogy to those of the story of the knight and his two sons in the History of the Seven Sages of Rome, as above intimated, and still more to some of the circumstances of the story of Rhampsinites, king of Egypt, as narrated by Herodotus, (*Essai sur les Fables Indiennes*;) if not to the leading incident in the tragedy of Antigone. The Indian story continues in a strain intended to demonstrate the depravity of women. Ghata is persuaded by the princess that the king's offer is merely a trap for him; and, instead of accepting it, he departs with her and a religious mendicant, his associate, to a distant country. On the journey his mistress and friend accomplish his murder. The princess afterwards abandons the mendicant, and leads a life of profligacy paralleled by similar instances, which grow out of the story of her adventures.

The eleventh book is occupied with one story only, that of Velá, a damsel married to a merchant's son; the leading in-

cidents are their shipwreck, separation and re-union. It is only worth while to notice the frequency with which adventures by sea are narrated in this collection, and, indeed, in other works of the same, or an earlier date, showing that at the period in question the Hindus were not accustomed to regard sea-voyages as either unlawful or unusual.

The twelfth book presents several examples of the transformation of human persons to animals, of which instances are so frequent in the Arabian Nights, although it may be doubted if the notion be an article of Mohammedan superstition. With the Hindus it is but the second step in the doctrine of the metempsychosis, as the belief that men and women become animals in a future life readily reconciles them to the admission of the possibility that they may assume brute forms even in this. They have also exemplifications of it in their mythology; and Vishnu himself, in three of his incarnations, is a fish, a tortoise and a boar. In the first section of this book of the *Kathá Sarit Ságará*, Vamadatta has a wife who becomes possessed of magical powers; he detects her in some of her vicious practices, and is about to put her to death, when she throws some dust into his face, and he is turned to a buffalo, in which state he is sold by his wife, and becomes a beast of burthen. Another female sorceress discovers his true nature, restores him to it, and gives him her daughter in marriage; she enables him also to transform his wife to a mare, in which form he inflicts upon her daily chastisement. There is no hesitation in recognising in the story the leading incidents in the stories of the old man and his two dogs, and of Zobeide and her two sisters, and particularly in the story of Syed Naomaun in the *Thousand and One Nights*; in the latter of these the wicked wife is transformed also into a mare. In the fourth section again of this same book we have some transformations which call to mind the adventures of Apuleius in the *Golden Ass*, or the still more ancient metamorphoses of Circe. Bhima-parákrama, coming to Ujayin, puts up in the house of a woman, who receives him hospitably. He goes to rest; but, waking in the night, sees his hostess busy in preparing some dishes of fried barley-meal, and muttering charms over them. Suspecting her to be a sorceress, he watches his op-

portunity, and transfers the meal to some other plates, whilst he replaces it with meal he finds set apart. The sorceress invites him to breakfast with her, and, unwittingly eating the barley she had bewitched, is changed to a she-goat. Bhima-parákrama sells her to a butcher. The butcher's wife is a sorceress also; and, although unable to save her friend, determines to revenge her; she therefore finds the youth when asleep, and, by tying a thread round his neck, changes him to a peacock. He is found in this condition, and liberated by his friend Mrigáñkadatta, prince of Ayodhya. The connecting chain of the whole of the twelfth book is the marriage of Mrigáñkadatta with the princess of Ujayin; but before this can be effected the prince incurs the displeasure of his father, and is banished with his ten companions, the sons of his father's ministers. They set off together for Ujayin. In passing through a forest they find an ascetic sitting under a tree; they inquire of him his purposes in such a solitude, to which he replies that underneath the tree is the dwelling of a Nága, a snake-god, who is master of a miraculous sword, the holder of which enjoys superhuman powers; that this sword is to be forced from its possessor by incantations, in which he asks them to give him aid. They assent; his magic compels the nymph of the sword to issue from the tree, but her beauty so bewilders him that he pauses in his process, and forgets his art. The Nága avails himself of the opportunity, appears, and destroys the magician, and condemns the inconsiderate youths to a temporary separation from each other. They are ultimately re-united with the prince, and repeat to him their several adventures. The scheme of this series of narratives is similar to that of a very excellent and popular Hindu work, ascribed to Dandi, a writer of the ninth or tenth century, the *Dasa Kumára*, the *Ten Princes*, in which a prince and his nine companions are separated for a season, and recount what has happened to each when they meet again. The stories, however, are different. There are in the eighth section of this book incidental passages of some interest in the history of Sanscrit literature: the adoption of names, persons and incidents, and even the plagiarism of expressions found in well-known compositions, as the dramas of Madhava and Málati, and Vikrama

and Urvashi, and the poem of the Megha Duta, or cloud-messenger, a work of Kalidása, to the prior celebrity of which they therefore bear testimony.

The ninth section of the twelfth book also is of importance in the same respect, in its subservience to the history of Sanscrit writings, as it contains the plan and details of a collection extremely popular in India, existing both in Sanscrit and in all the vernacular dialects that have any literature, Hindec, Bengali, Mahratta, Telugu, Tamil, and the rest. This is the *Vetála Panchavinsati*: twenty-five tales of a *Vetála* being related by a sprite, who haunts cemeteries and animates dead bodies, to Vikramaditya, king of Ujjain, according to the usual version, to Trivikrama Sena, king of Pratishthána or Pythan, on the Godaverí, according to the *Kathá Sarit Ságará*. The king receives for a long time from a religious mendicant daily presents of a fruit, which he hands over to his treasurer; at last a pet monkey takes the fruit, and breaking it open, a precious jewel falls from it. The treasurer being questioned as to what he had done with the fruits previously presented, reports that they had been thrown behind a door, where they still are; but being desired to produce them, discovers that they have all decayed, leaving a pile of valuable jewels on the spot where they had been cast. The king inquires of the mendicant how he became possessed of these gems, on which it appears that he is a Yogi or ascetic, engaged in rites for the acquirement of superhuman faculties, for the accomplishment of which a dead body is necessary; and he has been propitiating Trivikrama in order to induce him to aid his operations, a man of undaunted resolution being alone capable of conveying a corpse, or in fact a body in which a malignant spirit abides, from the tree where it is suspended. The king undertakes the exploit, braves with unshaken intrepidity the horrors of the charnel-ground, cuts down the body, and lifts it on his shoulders. He is surprised, however, to find it address him, and propose to beguile the way by a series of narratives. It is essential to the safe conveyance of the *Vetála* that it should be effected in silence, and he therefore cunningly contrives that the Raja shall not observe the condition. At the end of each story he proposes to the Raja some question, arising out of what he has narrated; Vikrama

replies; the body flies back to the tree, and the Raja has the trouble of returning, and again endeavouring to secure it. The Vetala at last, subdued by the prince's perseverance, becomes his servant, and apprises him that the ascetic has a plot against his life, which he instructs the Raja how to frustrate. The spirit being placed before the ascetic, is worshipped by him, and he then desires the Raja to perform a reverential prostration to the Vetala. The Raja answers he knows not how to do it properly, and begs the ascetic to show him. The ascetic accordingly casts himself prostrate on the ground, when the Raja cuts off his head. He then returns to his palace, and ever afterwards commands the services of the Vetala. The Vetala Panchavinsati has appeared in an English dress, having been translated by Raja Kali Krishna, a native gentleman of Calcutta, and printed there. Some of the stories have been imitated in the literature of other countries. There is one remarkable tale, however, found in the Hindu version, which does not occur in this setting of the stories. This is the story alluded to by Gibbon, as accounting for the disgrace into which the empress Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius the younger, fell. A Brahman presents a beautiful fruit to the king, Bhartri Hari; he gives it to his queen; she transfers it to a gallant; he hands it to a courtesan, by whom it is again brought as a present to the king, who thus detects his wife's infidelity. According to the story, and to popular tradition, Bhartri Hari, disgusted with the world, abandoned, in consequence of this occurrence, his throne, and retired to a religious life. The French translation of Moreri, relating the story as applicable to Eudocia, says: "*L'empereur se chagrina au sujet d'un fruit qu'il lui avait donné, dont elle fit présent au Paulin et que ce dernier rapporta à ce prince, ce fruit fut une vraie pomme de discorde.*" The authority for the story is Theophrastus, whose history of the Roman empire closes in the beginning of the ninth century. From the literature of the lower empire the story became familiar to that of Europe, and is dramatized by Massinger in his *Emperor of the East*. The probability of its Asiatic origin is confirmed by its being incorporated into the *Thousand and One Nights*, under the title of the *Three Apples*.

The thirteenth book is short, and recounts the adventures

of two young Brahmans, who effect secret marriages with a princess and her friend. The incidents are curious and diverting, but they are chiefly remarkable from being the same as the contrivances by which Madhava and Makaranda obtain their mistresses in the drama entitled *Malati and Madhava*, or the *Stolen Marriage*. (See *Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*.) The two next books, the fourteenth and fifteenth, are of less general interest than the preceding, the scene of action being laid chiefly amongst the fabulous regions of the Vidyádhara. In the first, the prince Naraváhana-datta makes an addition to his domestic arrangements, of five Vidyádhari wives. In the second he is crowned emperor of the Vidyádhara race.

The connecting thread of the series of tales should here terminate; but in the next book, the sixteenth, we have an account of the death of Vatsa, who resigns his throne to Gopálaka, the brother of his wife Vásavadatta, and, accompanied by his wives and ministers, goes to Mount Kálanjana, where a heavenly chariot descends, and conveys them all to heaven. Gopálaka, inconsolable for the loss of his brother-in-law, soon relinquishes his regal state, and making over Kausambi to his younger brother, Pálaka, repairs to the White Mountain, and spends the rest of his days in the hermitage of Kasyapa. We have then an account of the son of Pálaka falling in love with a young girl of low caste, a Chandali, and different stories illustrative of unequal matches, some of which have been told before. A very convenient doctrine is maintained by Pálaka's ministers, that the very circumstance of the prince's being enamoured of the Chandali is a proof that she cannot be truly of so base an origin, but that she must be a princess or goddess in disguise; otherwise it were impossible that she should have attracted the affections of any noble individual. They therefore counsel the king to demand the nymph of her father. The father consents, on condition that the Brahmans of Ujayin eat in his house. Pálaka issues orders that the Brahmans, to the number of eighteen thousand, shall dine with the Chandala. They are of course in great alarm, as this is a virtual degradation and loss of caste, and they apply to Mahakála, the form of Siva especially worshipped in Ujayin, to know what to do. He commands them in a dream to

comply, as Matanga, the supposed Chandala, is in truth a Vidyádharma. He had conspired against the life of Naraváhana-datta, in order to prevent his becoming emperor of the Vidyádharas, and had been therefore condemned by Siva to live in Ujayin with his family as Chandalas. The curse was to terminate when eighteen thousand Brahmans should eat in his house; and this being accomplished, he is restored to his rank, and his daughter is a fit bride for the son of the king. The principal feature in this tale deserving of notice is its intimation of an indignity offered to the Brahmans of Ujayin by a king named Pálaka, a circumstance which is either derived from an ancient play, the *Mrichchakati*, or taken, as well as the drama, from some historical tradition.

The two last books are composed of narratives told by Naraváhana-datta, when on a visit to his uncle Gopálaka at the hermitage of Kasyapa. He repeats those stories which were communicated to him when he was separated from Madana-manchuká, to console him under the anguish of separation. The first book treats entirely of the loves of Muktháphala Ketu, a prince of the Vidyádharas, and Padmávatí, daughter of the king of the Gaudharbas. The former is condemned by a holy person to become a man, and he is thus for a season separated from the latter. He is, after a short time, restored to his station and his wife. The story is not without merit, but it is tedious, and relieved by no episcodical tales. The last book is of a more diversified description, and has Vikramaditya or Vikramasila, son of Mahendraditya, king of Ujayin, for its hero, and describes his victories over hostile princes, and his acquirement of various princesses. These are interspersed with love adventures, some of which reiterate the calumnies against women, and with stories relating the tricks of professed cheats. Several of them have some curious matter, but nothing that reflects any particular light upon the migrations of storytelling.

The sketch thus given of the contents of the *Kathá Sarit Ságar*a will show that it has been judiciously selected by Dr. Brockhaus for publication and translation. It is impossible that so voluminous a compilation should be without a due proportion of tediousness and insipidity, and the spirit of the narrations is not improved by the substitution of verse for prose.

The verse is in general of very simple construction, and the style is upon the whole sufficiently easy; the metrical arrangement, however, involves a formality and sententiousness which are inconsistent with the freedom that gives animation to narrative. The work, however, is full of interest, as abounding with pictures of national manners and feelings, and as offering the oldest extant form of many of the tales which were once popular in Europe. It is not necessary to suppose that the West was, in the middle ages, barren of invention; that the novelists and fablers of Europe were destitute of imagination. Many of these fictions are no doubt "native, and to the manner born;" but it is equally indubitable that they were indebted to the East for many of their "findings," and that the Hindus occupy an early and a prominent place in the History of Fiction.

ARTICLE VIII.

1. *Hungary and Transylvania; with remarks on their condition, social, political, and economical.* By JOHN PAGET, Esq. With numerous illustrations, from sketches by Mr. Herring. London: Murray.
2. *Csaplovics. Gemälde von Ungarn.* 2 vols. 8vo.
3. *Orosz. Ungarns gesetzgebender Körper auf dem Reichstage zu Pressburg im Jahr 1830.* Leipzig, 1831.

It is hardly too much to say that the interior of Hungary is as little known to the English public as the interior of Africa. It is not many years since an Englishman, just returned from Pesth, related with great gravity to a Hungarian lady at Venice, not knowing her country, that the ladies at Pesth actually dressed as they do in other parts of civilized Europe. This is a pitch of ignorance which, thanks to the Danube steamers, has disappeared, or will rapidly disappear. Pesth is now pretty frequently visited by English travellers: they admire the fine row of new buildings which present so majestic a front towards the Danube, the beautiful situation

of Buda, which rises majestically on the opposite side of the river, and then hurry on towards Constantinople, or more generally back to Vienna. In the further course towards Orsova much beautiful scenery is seen, and a glimpse is caught of the Hungarian herdsmen on the river-banks. But it is extremely seldom that an Englishman penetrates into the interior; still more rarely that he gains an insight into the manners of the various classes, and the local and general politics*.

In the interior, it is true, one ought to know something of the Hungarian language; for in the genuine Hungarian districts, and commonly even in the Slovak counties, all the smaller, and most of the larger proprietors, speak it among themselves, and some of them cannot speak German, or, if they can, are reluctant to do so. It is also the language of the local courts and county meetings†. German was formerly the idiom of conversation; but the mother tongue is rapidly gaining ground, even among the magnates. It is now the first tongue taught to infants of that class, a thing which some years ago was unheard of‡.

Still it is wonderful that such lovers of nature as the English are, have not yet found out their way to the magnificent scenery of Hungary. Parts of this country are not surpassed by any in the world. The entrance into Hungary, on descending the Danube from Vienna, is formed by the "castled rock" of Theben towering aloft. The environs of Pressburg are rural and idyllic; the ruins of Vissegrad command a country not inferior in beauty to the scenery of the Rhine, and the situation of the double city, Buda Pesth, is most magnificent. But all this is only the *propylæa* to still more magnificent scenery. The impenetrable forests of Slavonia, and the mountains on the borders of Wallachia, greet

* As an exception to the general ignorance on Hungarian politics, some good articles appeared in the *Athenæum*, November 1837. They bear evident marks of having been furnished by a native Hungarian.

† Latin is very generally spoken by the proprietors, clergymen, and even in some cases by the peasants; but this is rarely found to the east of the Theiss, and, at any rate, the Continental pronunciation of Latin renders it almost a new language to the English ear.

‡ In the county of Zemplin, Hungarian was hardly spoken in society ten years ago: now it is almost universal. In Eperies, it is true, the ladies still are averse to speaking it, as they say they are laughed at by the gentlemen for not understanding the neologisms with which it has of late years been enriched. German also is pretty commonly employed by the magnates among themselves.

the traveller who pursues his way to Constantinople; but in the interior of the country are spots to which it is worth while to make a pilgrimage. The Lake of Bolaton, with its peninsula of Tihány, has often been compared by the Hungarians, though perhaps with allowable exaggeration, to the enchanting shores of C6mo. Dios Gy6r, near Miskoltz, is celebrated for its romantic site. The valley of the *V6g* presents every variation of soft and rural scenery, with those scattered groups of trees so pleasing to the English eye, and so rarely found on the Continent; and, in ascending higher, bold chains of mountains, with venerable ruins. In the *Hegyallya*, where the Tokay wine grows, and indeed in the whole county of Zemplin, the background is formed by a most beautifully-serrated chain of mountains, though it is not to be denied that a certain raggedness of character attaches to the foreground. But the lovers of nature on a grand scale should seek the Carpathians. In the counties of Zips and Liptau, they rise at once to a great height from the plain without any intervening chains of hills. The Kriv6n and Tatra offer scenes of the wildest grandeur. The Lomnitzer Peak, and valley of the lakes, are particularly celebrated. Transylvania again, which is only a continuation of Hungary, abounds in splendid scenery. The *Havasok* (*snow Alps*) may be compared to the finest parts of Switzerland*.

It is not, however, to be denied that a large part of the great Hungarian plain is totally devoid of all pretensions to picturesque beauty. The face of the country is in general bare, as the Hungarian peasant has brought with him from the steppes of Asia an hereditary antipathy to trees. This is often attributed to the devastations of the Turks; but it is the case also in districts where the Turks never penetrated. But even in this very nakedness there is a peculiar charm. The traveller is rapidly whirled over these immense plains, which may not inaptly claim the title of the European Pampas. There is no made road, the driver takes the track which he thinks best, and steers, as it were, in a direct line for the next town or village. Miles and miles are passed

* Mr. Herring, an English artist, has lately done something towards rendering Hungary familiar to the English by a series of beautiful lithographic sketches.

without the appearance of any animate being, or vestige of cultivation: a solitary stork perchance, with his bill under his wing, motionless as a statue, is the only living thing that varies the scene*. At last one meets a herd of oxen or horses or buffaloes, grazing on the vast prairie, or on their way to the Pesth or Vienna markets. The herdsmen or drovers who accompany them, with their wild dishevelled hair and serious expressive faces, transport us back to the high land of Asia, and the infancy of the human race. Occasionally a caravan of wandering gypsies gives a still more vivid picture of Nomad life. At last some straggling Hungarian town appears looming through the hazy air. The houses situated each at some distance from the others, consisting only of the ground floor, white-washed, or perhaps of their original mud-colour, with a roof of thatch, give the idea of a wandering horde which has settled itself for so long a time only as the pastures shall suffice for their cattle. As the evening comes on there is something still more awful and impressive in the feelings produced by such a scene. We see in the horizon the fires which blaze pyramidally up toward the heavens. These are lighted by the herdsmen who pass the night in the open air, tending their flocks, couched on the bare ground without any covering from the atmospheric influences but their bunda, which is in fact a sheep-skin, of which the wool is worn inward or outward, as the season may require. The mind is at once carried back to those shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night, when they received good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. This is not, however, the only resemblance with biblical customs: in the country we have been describing we see the threshing-floor, on which horses or oxen tread out the corn; and the precept of not muzzling the ox is observed most religiously—too much so indeed in the opinion of the proprietors, who see their peasants' cattle getting fat at their expense.

In the country near Debreczin sometimes occurs the phenomenon of the Mirage. Before the eyes of the astonished traveller an immense extent of water seems to be spread out

* A beautiful view of such a *Puszta* is given in Mr. Herring's sketches.

in the distance ; but on a nearer approach it recedes, and at length the discovery is made that it is but a creature of the vaporous air. But if nature did not afford attractions enough for the wandering sons of Albion, the inhabitants in all their different classes and nations afford an inexhaustible subject of observation ; and for the lover of the sciences, and particularly the mineralogist, there are unexplored treasures. For the sportsman there is a wide field of activity. The mountains harbour wild boars, wolves and bears ; while the forests shelter grouse, black-cock and the kindred tribes ; the plains furnish quails ; and the numerous stagnant pools and marshes are alive with all sorts of waterfowl, wild ducks, pelicans, etc.

In spite of these remarkable features, Hungary is still pretty much a *terra incognita* to our countrymen ; but if Hungary has rarely been visited by foreigners, still less have the Hungarians themselves travelled. It is but lately that the passion for travelling has awakened among them. At present there is quite a rage for visiting England ; but to do this it is not always easy to obtain a passport. The Emperor of Austria, as king of Hungary, reserves to himself the office of determining whether a passport is to be granted or not ; and generally so long a time elapses ere His Majesty takes the matter into consideration, that even if the application is granted, circumstances have by that time intervened which mar the execution of the travelling plan*. The magnates, however, on the whole, obtain permission to travel, and avail themselves of it. We have seen not a few of them in England, one of whom sufficiently distinguished himself at Melton Mowbray by his hunting exploits. But the magnates in general, especially the older ones, are no specimen of the national spirit. The magnates again often deter the smaller proprietors by their accounts of the dearness of living in England. Yet now and then a few of the smaller nobles cross the Channel ; but they generally speak no English, and almost always are without introductions. They look at the tunnel and other lions of London, and return to their coun-

* The Hungarians say that an Hungarian noble can quit Hungary as he pleases ; but that he cannot force the head of the Government to give him a letter of recommendation (for such a passport is) to the authorities of foreign countries.

try without ever coming into contact with the English in a way by which we might be enabled to gain an insight into Hungarian life*.

From what quarter, then, have we hitherto gained information concerning Hungary?—from books of travels (as Bright and Townson) which were once a faithful picture, but are now obsolete; or from a few more modern works, which abound with ludicrous *bevue*s. Mr. Quin, who passed down the Danube in a steamer, made acquaintance with an English groom in the service of a Hungarian magnate; from this most authentic source he drew *his* information concerning the Hungarian constitution. Marshal Marmont, it is true, passed through the interior in one direction, and some of his observations are shrewd and sensible; but, like all Frenchmen, he generalizes too much, and only touches the surface of things. An unparalleled instance of rashness of judgment, to say nothing worse, is furnished by Basil Hall in his *Schloss Hainfeld*. It seems that during his stay in Styria he on *one* occasion crossed the frontier, and dined with a Hungarian magnate. The dinner did not please him; and he vents his wrath not merely by naming and abusing every dish that was set before him, but by reviling the country in which the repast took place. By the way, it is wonderful that after such a return for their friendliness the Hungarians should still continue to exercise their unbounded hospitality towards the English. It is heaping coals of fire on one's head. Of course Captain Hall's account of the constitution and internal state of Hungary is such as might be expected from the attention he bestowed on it. Just at that period the cholera had caused excesses among the Slovak peasantry on the northern frontier, as was the case also in countries calling themselves more civilized. What then happened in a very small part of Hungary, during a few weeks, is described in a way which might lead the English reader to suppose that such scenes were of common occurrence all over the realm.

* We may mention as an exception one young Hungarian, who, on his return from England, published an interesting little work in German, in which he shows a thorough insight into the principle of English manners and feelings. The "*Tagebuch eines in Grossbritannien reisenden Ungarn*" has been favourably received in Germany as well as Hungary.

The then state of things is no more a sample of Hungarian life in general, than the disgraceful Bristol riot and Chartist scenes at Monmouth are of English life.

Another English traveller, who has published on Hungary, is the Rev. Mr. Gleig, a gentleman already known to the world by various literary performances. This gentleman set out with the intention of walking through Hungary, a plan which he, however, soon found it advisable to abandon. He traversed many localities little known to our countrymen, and some of his observations on the external appearance of things are sufficiently accurate. But when we consider that he was unacquainted with the native idioms, and even without a servant who could act as interpreter; when we consider further that he was not very strong, even in German, if we may judge from his orthography of that language*, we can hardly be surprised that near the end of his journey he became involved in a conflict with the native population in Croatia, which terminated unpleasantly enough. Under these circumstances, too, it cannot be wondered at if many of his opinions and statements require correction.

If we turn to the accounts of Hungary by Germans (Ullrich and Gross Hoffinger), we may find, indeed, individual descriptions which are correct, but a total incapability of entering into the Hungarian spirit; and indeed of all nations, the German, accustomed as he is to a well-ordered machine of despotic government, is least qualified to appreciate a free constitution, and to comprehend the feeling which animates the bosom of the Hungarian noble.

And yet Hungary deserves the deepest attention. Formerly she played a conspicuous part in European history, as the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks; the name of Hunyades is familiar to the readers of Gibbon, in whose pages it is coupled with that of Scanderbeg, as the two heroes who did the most to arrest the threatening progress of the conqueror of Constantinople. The reign of Matthias Corvinus, son of Hunyades, was the brilliant era of Hungary. This monarch was no less an encourager of letters than a defender of his country; and his court was one of

* Besides *Graff* for *Graf*, and *Riechiter* for *Richter*, we meet with *Forstban* for *Vorspann*, etc.

the most distinguished in Europe. Moldavia and Wallachia, Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia, and great part of Austria, submitted to his sway. After his death, 1490, the progress which a land so richly endowed by nature seemed destined to make was impeded. At the battle of Mohács, 1526, Solyman the magnificent annihilated the flower of the Hungarian chivalry under Lewis II., who himself lost his life in the flight. The struggle of John Zapolya against the Austrian dynasty; the civil wars of the malcontents under Botskai, Tökölyi, and the Rákoczys, inflicted wounds not lightly to be healed. In 1686 the Turks were driven out of Hungary; the civil wars terminated 1711. In 1699 the peace of Carlovitz liberated Transylvania and Croatia from the Turkish yoke, and in 1718 the peace of Passarovitz the Banat. It was not before 1778, that the Banat, the most fertile part of the present kingdom, was formally incorporated with Hungary. It had been given up to Austria by the peace of Passarovitz, 1718. The inroads and devastations of the Turks, which had been going on during all this period, continued even after the Austrian line was firmly fixed. After these scourges had been finally driven from the soil, the exhaustion induced by them still continued. In many districts there was, and is even to this day, a want of hands for the most ordinary purposes of cultivation; and, as is not unusual, the national spirit itself, after this state of turmoil and excitement, had sunk into a lethargy; since the middle of the last decennium, however, it has been awakening. The prime mover of this impulse was Count Stephen Szechenyi. As a private individual he set the example of improving the native agriculture and the breed of horses; and to his patriotic exertions the country is principally indebted for the establishment of steam-boats on the Danube, for the national Casino at Pesth, etc. There are many hindrances to the development of Hungary, both in the national character itself, and in the jealousy with which their efforts have been viewed by the Austrian Government*; yet in spite of these the progress has been in every respect immense.

* We may hope that the Austrian cabinet has at last awakened to a sense of its true interest, and that in future the government will concur with the people in introducing useful improvements.

Feeling deeply as we do the importance of Hungary, we are most grateful to Mr. Paget for the book he has presented to the English public. It is written in a sound, manly, English spirit. Any work free from glaring errors, on such a subject, we should have eagerly welcomed; but the one before us, from the manner in which subjects of more than passing interest are treated, would be a valuable addition to our literature, even without the enhancement of the novelty of the subject. Mr. Paget's opportunities for gaining information were such as no Englishman hitherto has had.

"With respect to the means I enjoyed for acquiring information, I may state that I have visited Hungary on several occasions; that in all I have spent about a year and a half in the country, and that, during that time, I travelled over the greater part of it. Without being able to speak any of the three or four languages properly indigenous to Hungary, I was sufficiently master of German, which is spoken by every one above the rank of the peasantry, and often by them too, to enable me to converse with the Hungarians without difficulty or restraint. From many of them I received the greatest marks of confidence and friendship; and to them I owe it that I have been able to enter so fully into the present position of Hungarian affairs."—*Preface*, p. ix.

We can give but a rapid sketch of the multiplicity of objects contained in the pages of the work before us. In such a wide field many most interesting objects of inquiry must necessarily be wholly omitted, or but slightly touched on. Above all, we shall confine ourselves as much as possible to what *is*, only now and then touching, by way of illustration, on what has been, or on what may, can, or ought to be. We shall draw, as it were, a general map of the general question, reserving to ourselves to give hereafter special charts of the divisions and subdivisions of this great *terra incognita*.

Hungary is considered generally as a province of Austria; it is an independent kingdom, which is hereditary in the house of Austria: *de jure* it is no more connected with Austria than Hanover was with England during the period that the same individual was sovereign of both countries.

Hungary (excluding Transylvania, which, though by nature forming a part of it, has its own constitution,) consists of Provincial Hungary; containing, 1. the four Hungarian circles (*Kerületek*): 2. various districts lying within, forming

enclaves in these circles, and enjoying certain privileges: 3. Slavonia and Croatia, and the military frontier. These territories embrace the greatest varieties of soil, climate and produce, so that Csaplovics does not hesitate, with a partiality excusable in a native, to call it Europe in miniature.

Statistical notices, which have any degree of certainty, are impossible to be procured. The estimates of the population vary from nine to twelve, and even fifteen millions; the lower number is nearer to truth; perhaps we shall not greatly err if we assume it at between ten and eleven millions. Colonel Follen, in his map of the Austrian dominions, which was compiled from documents in the Topographical Bureau of the Quarter-Master General's Department, and published in 1822, states the population of Hungary at 8,585,874, and that of the military frontier at 863,667. Since this period there is no doubt that the population has gone on increasing considerably.

This population, however, does not consist of one homogeneous mass, in language and descent. It is composed of an unexampled mixture of nations, varying in language, character, customs and culture. The principal of these are the Hungarians Proper, Slovacks, Germans and Wallachians. The map prefixed to Mr. Paget's work, which is reduced from that of Csaplovics, marks the various populations by various colours, giving an idea of their distribution at one glance.

First in consequence, though not in numbers, are the Hungarians Proper, or, in their own language, Magyars (*Magyarok*). This latter appellation we shall henceforth make use of for the purpose of distinguishing them from the other dwellers in Hungary. Their origin has been the subject of much learned controversy*. They speak a language which is completely Asiatic in its structure, and totally different from all others at present known.† Besides Tran-

* At one time they were considered allied to the Huns of Atila: this opinion, which now seems to be given up, involves the question of what the Huns were, whether so completely Mongolic as represented by their enemies, and what the present Magyar race is. We find at present among the Magyars the noblest forms and the most Caucasian lineaments; we also find among some of the Theiss inhabitants truly Mongolic physiognomies.

† At the end of last century some men of letters, who discovered a few hundred words, which were the same in Finnic and Hungarian, supposed the Magyars to

sylvania, where the nation of the Szeklers is of the same origin, as well as the Transylvanian Magyars, they are found in smaller numbers in Moldavia, in Bessarabia, and, according to Csaplovics, even in Bosnia. Father Alexius Gegö, who visited, and almost re-discovered these Moldavian Magyars in 1836, has given an interesting account of them in a little work published at Buda in 1838, "*A Moldvai Magyar Telepekröl.*" It appears, that out of half a million, the present population of Moldavia, about a quarter are of Magyar origin, though not above forty-five to fifty thousand still continue to speak their mother tongue.

The occupation of Hungary by the Magyars dates from the ninth century, when, under their Duke Arpad, they crossed the Carpathians, and occupied the rich plains about the Theiss and Danube; their predecessors, Moravian and Bulgarian Slaves, and Wallachians, were extirpated, subjected, or driven into the mountains. The conquerors took for themselves the plains where the rivers afforded them fish, and the pastures food for their cattle. It is an error to suppose that the nobles are confined to this race; there are many, both Slavick and Wallachian nobles, but the wealthy proprietors are confined on the whole to the Magyars, for those of Slavick and German origin are pretty much Magyarized, and among the Wallachians none are wealthy. On the whole, then, the Magyars are the real Hungarian nation, to which the others are only the substratum, though a most necessary one; for the genuine Magyar, a lover of freedom and nature, despises the life of a merchant or artisan; his occupation is agriculture, but even more so the breed of cattle and horses. The Magyar peasant may be said to be a

be a branch of the Fins. Gibbon, in the text of his history, seems to adopt this opinion; but, in his quiet way, remarks, in a note, that the learned Bayer says the two languages have *innumeras voces* common to each other, but are different in their whole structure. The Magyars were, in all probability, at one time seated in Asia, in the neighbourhood of Finnic Hordes, and they then may have adopted some Finnic words, as at a later period in Hungary they borrowed many terms for the most common articles from the Slovacks. In our days, Tietz, in a Dissertation on the great Finnic Uralian race, (published in the *Asiatick*, 1838,) says that all the branches of this race are now subject to Russia, *except the Magyars*. He offers no proof; but assumes, as a matter of course, that the Magyars are a Finnic tribe, and then leaves the inference to be drawn, that they may follow the fate of their kin. This is not the first time that science and literature have been pressed into the service of this new enemy of Europe.

born-rider. All classes are high spirited, brave, talented and docile. Their great failing is indolence; another failing in the eyes of the Germans is the high opinion they have of themselves and country; this will not seem a fault in the eyes of an Englishman. What may be perhaps more justly called so is their love of show, which often embarrasses many of the most respectable families. As to their personal appearance, they are tall, well-made, with black hair; their features are noble and expressive, though serious, and even melancholy. They are fiery and ardent in their temperament, but, in unison with the outward expression of their features, of a melancholic turn. This is strongly expressed in their national music, which, with its minor keys, irregular transitions and complaining tone, insinuates sad though pleasing emotions into the soul. This race possesses the requisites out of which a great nation may be moulded, and unless every symptom be deceptive, it will fulfil its destiny. We may loosely calculate its numbers at three millions and a half.

More numerous is the Slavick race, which exceeds four millions. This generic name, however, includes a variety of subdivisions: of these the principal are the Slovacks, the Rascians (also called Illyrians and Servians), the Croatians, and the Ruthenes, Little Russians, or Rusniacks. These differ very much among themselves in physical conformation, in intellectual capabilities and culture. It is an imperfection of Mr. Paget's map that these subdivisions are all marked with the same colour: in the original map of Csaplovics they are distinguished. The Bohemian Slovacks inhabit chiefly that part of Hungary which borders on Moravia. In their habits they are like their neighbours, the Moravians and Bohemians*. They are fond of music, dancing and gaiety, and are quick and intelligent. They are more adapted than the Magyar to the labours of the mine or the manufactory. Their moral character does not stand so high as that of the Magyar, whose openness and straightforwardness is strongly contrasted with the opposite qualities in the Slovack. The Croatians are a brave race of soldiers: the Rascians are similar to their kins-

* They were reinforced by many of the expatriated Hussites.

men, who have now formed an independent state in Servia. The other branches of this race are not dissimilar, but inferior to the above-mentioned in culture, till we descend to the Ruthenes, or Rusniacks. These Ruthenes, who inhabit the northern frontier of Hungary, adjoining Galicia, are in a most degraded state; they are, in fact, Russians who accompanied the Magyars on their settlement in Hungary, and have all the vices of the peasantry in the Russian empire, without their cleverness. It is almost impossible to remove their prejudices: their wants are but few, their indolence extreme, their physical appearance unfavourable, and their greatest happiness brandy. They have sympathies with Russia, with whom they are connected, both by blood and religion. They have, however, neither physical nor moral energy to render them formidable to the Magyars. The Bohemian Slovacks have qualities which might render them more dangerous, but they are not separated by so wide a gulf from the Magyars: the men of education among them are in a great measure Magyarized, and the same to a certain extent may be carried into effect with the lower classes.

It is more difficult to approximate to the real number of inhabitants of German descent. Since the time of Stephen, the first king (1000 A.D.), they have settled themselves at various periods in various parts of the realm. It was the policy of the earlier kings, who wished to wean their Magyars from the expeditions in which rapine and bloodshed formed the object of their life, to plant among them colonies of orderly and peaceable inhabitants, whose example might have influence, and whose attachment should support the royal power against the turbulent spirit of the Magyars. In later times, too, proprietors who desired to improve their estates have settled Germans under various conditions, for the most part very favourable, upon them; so that they are to be found in almost every county. They are most numerous in those on the western frontier, towards Austria Proper. Another very considerable colony is that of the Zipser Germans, where they inhabit the privileged Zipser free boroughs, and other small towns. It is most probable that they were settled there by Geysa II. in the twelfth century, and that they came from the Lower Rhine. Into the Banat great numbers immigrated

under Maria Theresa, and still more under Joseph II., so that in 1786 and 1787 thirty-three villages were founded by Germans. The free boroughs and mining towns are principally inhabited by Germans, their nature being adapted to a town life, arts, industry and trade. As in Germany, so in Hungary, they are industrious and orderly, collected and careful, and more advanced in culture than the Magyar and Slovack. They are looked down on by the lofty Magyar, but are useful subjects, and not likely to form a political party of consequence. They generally assimilate themselves to the population by which they are surrounded, and sometimes even in the second generation become Magyars or Slovacks. At present it is difficult to state their numbers: Lichtenstern (*Grundlinien einer Statistik des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates*, 1817,) rates them at 609,500 souls.

The fourth race, which is found in considerable numbers in Hungary, is that of the Wallachians. Their numbers are variously stated at from half a million to a million. Their habitations are those parts of Hungary which border on Transylvania; they are the same race which is found in still greater numbers in Transylvania, and forms the main population of Moldavia and Wallachia. Mr. Quin calls them a Slavonic people: possibly some of the boyars in Moldavia and Wallachia may be of Bulgarian Slavonian origin, but the mass is of a different blood. They are probably a remnant of the ancient Dacians, but Romanized by the colonies which Trajan planted among them. Their language is a bastard Latin, and they give themselves the proud appellation of Rumuni. Nothing can be conceived more picturesque than the head of an old Wallachian; nor is the fair sex less favoured by nature. Their character does not, however, stand high with their neighbours: stupidity, indolence and depravity are commonly attributed to them; stupidity is assuredly not their failing; indolence is doubtless their attribute: but this may in great measure be attributed to their religion, the Oriental Greek, which, accustoming them to frequent fasts, renders them careless of producing more than is sufficient for bare subsistence. A little maize grown round his picturesque but wretched hut furnishes the Wallachian with his favourite *Mammaliya* (the *Polenta* of the Italians), and *malè* cake baked in the embers;

while the plums, which one always sees in abundance in a Wallachian village, are distilled into the *Raki* with which he intoxicates himself. He has hitherto had no further wants; but we can hardly conceive that a human creature bearing so visibly the impress of dignity, should not exert himself, if his energies were properly excited. The greater part are peasants; the nobles not very numerous, and, in point of property and intelligence, on a level with the peasants. The free Wallachian peasants in Transylvania, and the inhabitants of villages subject to the Saxon jurisdiction, are prosperous, and possess numerous herds of cattle. Grazing is their favourite occupation, but many are employed in mining. The defects of their moral character arise from their superstition; all their religion consists in the ordinances prescribed by their church; and no check is placed on their passions, which often burst forth in a way fatal to themselves and others, particularly when excited by drink. Their religion would lead them to sympathize with Russia, but the bond of blood is wanting.

These are the principal races that inhabit Hungary. Other inhabitants are found in smaller numbers. The Jews, who are settled in pretty considerable numbers in some of the Slovack counties, are the same that they are in other parts of the world. The same may be said of the gypsies. In Hungary, besides the other occupations which they follow elsewhere, they are particularly noted as musicians. On every grand occasion, a band of gypsies, one of which is generally kept in employ by each county, is an indispensable accompaniment. Their execution is truly wonderful. There are a few French and Italian colonists in the county of Bats and the Banat, but their numbers are inconsiderable. In one part of the military frontier is a handful of Albanians, under the name of Clementines, from their leader Clemens, under whom they emigrated from Turkey in the last century. Greeks and Armenians are also found in almost all the plains, engaged in trade; they are active and sparing. Generally the shopkeepers in the country towns are Greeks, or their descendants, in many instances quite Magyarized, and most useful and respectable members of society.

No less various than the races are the religions professed

in Hungary. The religion of the state is the Roman Catholic, but all other Christian confessions enjoy religious freedom. The Roman Catholic is professed by some of the Slovak branches, by almost all the magnates and many great families; it embraces perhaps about half of the whole population. Embodied with it is the united Greek confession, to which many Ruthenes and Wallachians belong. The rest of the last-named tribes still adhere to the old Greek faith. The Lutheran is professed by many of the German and Slovak citizens of the free towns; but the Calvinistic is emphatically the creed of the genuine Magyars, (*Magyar Hit, Magyar Vallás*,) to whose serious character it is adapted. The country about the Theiss, which is eminently Magyar, is at the same time the stronghold of Calvinism.

Hungary may lay claim to the honour of being the only country besides England which possesses an unreformed state church. The Catholic bishoprics and prebendal stalls are equal if not superior in value to our own. The tithes however are not oppressive. The revenues of the Archbishop of Gran, the primate of Hungary, have been estimated at 600,000 fl. C. M. (60,000*l.*) per annum. Many of the other archbishops and bishops have 5000*l.* to 10,000*l.* per annum. Several of the abbots and chapters are exceedingly rich. It is not an uncommon thing for a prebendary (*Domherr*) to have 1000*l.* to 2000*l.* a-year. These are enormous sums in a country where the value of produce is so low. These great incomes are principally derived from real property; the bishop receives the tithes of his diocese from the peasants of all confessions (for the nobles pay no tithe), but generally a moderate composition is made with the respective counties, the estates of which levy the sum agreed on for that purpose from the peasants, together with the rest of the local taxes. However moderate the composition may be (in the large county of Szabolts only 200*l.* per annum), the Protestants, like the English Dissenters, feel it a hardship that they have to pay tithes to another church. The Catholic parish priests receive no tithes, but are amply endowed; their glebe lands are extensive.

The United Greek Church preserves the old Greek ritual, but acknowledges the authority of the Pope and the Council of Florence. The priests preserve their beards and their

wives. In a political point of view it is not distinct from the Roman Catholic. The Greek Church of the old ritual embraces great part of the Wallachians, and many of the Slavick branches, particularly Rascians and Ruthenes. They have the same civil privileges as the state church, so that since 1792 their prelates even appear in the Upper House of Parliament.

The two Protestant confessions enjoy, since 1606, by the Peace of Vienna, the free and open exercise of their worship; but this has only been secured since 1791. Their religious form of government is democratical. The pastors of a certain number of counties form a *Contubernium*, which has at its head a lay *Inspector* and spiritual *Senior*; the latter is elected by the pastors themselves, the former by the communities which form the *Contubernium*. A certain number of *Contubernia* form a *Superintendenz*, which likewise has its lay and spiritual head, who are here both chosen by the communities composing the *Superintendenz*. They direct the affairs of their confession in the synods which are held once a-year or oftener. The Lutheran confession moreover has a Lay Inspector General, who represents the whole Lutheran church. Among the Lutherans the parish priest is elected for life; with the Calvinists only for three years. It is seldom that one is sent away after three years, unless there are very particular reasons for being dissatisfied with him. The Protestant clergy is in general supported by the voluntary contributions or endowments of the members of the respective confessions; the fund destined for this purpose serves also for the maintenance of the schools, which even in the villages are on a very respectable footing. Superfluity is nowhere the lot of either the Lutheran or Reformed pastor, and in some of the mountainous and poorer districts individual instances may be found of almost abject poverty.

When the church is first built, the members of the commune contribute and a *fundus* is made. Besides this there are voluntary contributions. When the clergyman is elected his parishioners generally make an agreement with him as to what he is to receive in produce, etc.: this agreement is binding on their heirs. The peasants pay a certain sum for

each bed, *lecticale*. When a Protestant in easy circumstances dies, he generally leaves something to the church and school, even if it be only a very small sum; it is considered disgraceful not to leave anything. The king is the head of the state church, and also in some measure of the Protestants, inasmuch as he has the *jus supremæ inspectionis*.

The Protestants, although they enjoy as many privileges as might be expected in a Catholic country, are not contented with their position, and their complaints always form one of the *gravamina* which are brought forward when parliament meets. The hardships, besides the payment of tithes mentioned, are these. The Catholic clergy in many instances insist upon having the children of a mixed marriage educated in the Catholic faith; and when any one wishes to become a convert from the Catholic to the Protestant faith, they compel him to receive preparatory religious instruction for six weeks, a proceeding which subjects the intended convert to a great deal of harassing and vexatious catechizing.

These different races, and professors of different creeds, have only a common point of union in the constitution, where the only difference regarded is, who belongs to the estates, and who does not. This constitution the Hungarians are fond of comparing to the English, a circumstance which affords of course ground for great sneering on the part of Messrs. Basil Hall and Gleig. The fact is, that the original constitution of Hungary has been preserved on the whole unimpaired, and is confirmed by custom; while the present constitutions of other continental nations, where they exist at all, are theories brought into reality on a sudden. The resemblance therefore is great between the present Hungarian constitution, and what the English constitution was, before the spread of intelligence and the influence of the commercial spirit had modified it to its present form.

In Hungary still exists a distinction between the privileged and unprivileged. The former alone constitute the nation properly so called (*populus*); the latter (*plebs*) form, as it were, the basis on which the frame of society reposes. This was found in the Grecian republics, no less than in the kingdoms of modern Europe which arose on the fall of the Roman

empire; and such a condition seems necessary to the development of a young people. A time arrives in every state when the unprivileged ought to be admitted to the rights of the privileged. But this happy consummation has on the continent been rarely carried into effect, except by vigorous tyrants; and indeed the case has more generally been that the privileged lost their old political rights, than that the unprivileged obtained new ones. In point of civil rights the result has been more favourable. But in Hungary the privileged have resisted all encroachments on their rights from a jealousy lest they should be reduced to the level of the unprivileged. As a consequence of the rapid spread of intelligence, and the most truly upright and humane feeling of great part of the Hungarian privileged, we may confidently predict, that when the fitting season shall arrive, the unprivileged will be raised to the level of the privileged. At present, however, the distinction exists. We must not indeed suppose, that in Hungary, as in Russia, a few rich proprietors, who possess myriads of serfs, share the land between them. The privileged are so numerous as to form quite a democracy among themselves. They are, in fact, the qualified voters of Hungary, the qualification being derived here from birth, not from property.

But we will first consider the condition of the unprivileged, the peasants, the *plebs*. They form the mass of the population; according to the conscription of 1805, there were then 1,426,579 peasant families. The word *peasant* we often use in English without attaching to it a definite meaning. The continental word perhaps might be better expressed by the term copyholder, only that on the continent the denomination attaches to the person and his heirs, as well as to the ground which is held by this tenure. In Hungary, as elsewhere, the lord could not with his own family and servants cultivate all his fief: he therefore granted portions of his land to persons of inferior rank, who were to enjoy the usufruct on two conditions; first, they were to make certain payments in kind, and perform certain services for the benefit of the proprietor from whom they held the land; secondly, they were to take on themselves all the claims (except military ser-

vice) which the state could require, not merely from the land thus granted out, but from the land also which the proprietor retained in his hand.

The peasant, as in other countries, passed through various grades of comparative dependence and independence. In olden times the payments and services depended pretty much on the will of the lord. In England, where indeed the condition of the copyholder was always peculiarly favourable, the latter have long since been commuted for payments in money, quit-rents, heriots and reliefs; the same commutation has lately been introduced in most parts of Germany, with this difference, that there the services are commuted for a capital which is paid down at once, instead of a quit-rent, or for part of the copyhold which is ceded by the copyholder to the lord. In Hungary these services have been regulated by successive Acts of Parliament. This regulation (*Urbarium*) was by an arbitrary act of power recommended, in 1767 and 1773, to the Hungarian proprietors by Queen Maria Theresa, and was introduced in many places by royal commissioners, and in 1791 sanctioned by the Hungarian Parliament.

Further regulations were made in last Parliament of 1832-1836, and the present condition of the peasant is as follows.

Certain services, *corvée* (in the Magyar tongue *Robott*, from a Slovack word signifying *labour*), are exacted from each copyhold session; there are supposed to be about 400,000 copyhold sessions; many peasants possess a whole session, others only three-quarters, one-half, one-fourth, etc.; those who possess less than a whole session perform their services in proportion. The holder of a whole session has attached to his dwelling one joch* of land; besides this at least sixteen joch, in some counties as much as forty, and in the county of Békés even fifty, of arable, and from six to twenty-two tagwerk of meadow-land. Besides this they have their right of pasturing on a common, which varies in extent; and where there are forests, the necessary wood for firing and building. For this he owes to the lord fifty-two days of labour with

* The *Joch* is of different extent in different counties, in some 1100, in others 1200, in others 1300 square *Klafter*: on an average it may be reckoned at about one English acre and a quarter.

a team, or one hundred and four days of hand-labour; he pays the ninth of his produce as well of fruits as cattle; for his house he pays a quit-rent of 1*fl.* C. M. (2*s.*)

These are his payments to the lord for the land he holds. Besides these dues, however, he has to pay the tithe to the Catholic Bishop,* as the noble is exempt from tithes as well as every other impost. He has also, in conjunction with the burghers of the free boroughs, to bear the direct taxes, which for the whole country do not exceed seven million florins, C. M. (700,000*l.*) A far heavier burden are the local taxes, the *Cassa Domestica*†, from which are paid the county magistrates and police officers, the expenses of the prisons, the building of bridges, county halls, etc. There are many examples of late years of these things being done by a private subscription of the privileged. The *Deperdita* again are oppressive; besides having the military exclusively quartered on him, the peasant has to furnish them with hay, oats and bread, at an almost nominal price. He has further to give his labour when required by the county to make and repair roads. On the peasants, in conjunction with the burghers, rests the burden of furnishing recruits. As one of the peasants' burdens, *Vorspann* is usually mentioned; this, however, although compulsory, can scarcely be considered a burden. Persons travelling on public business (or indeed any one who has interest to procure an order, called *Assignation*), have a right to demand horses from the peasants to forward them, this being, in fact, a sort of posting like that in Sweden‡. But this forced service is remunerated at a rate, which, except perhaps at some particular seasons, as getting in hay or harvest, is quite sufficient to make it worth the peasant's while to furnish his horses. Particularly in the Northern counties, the peasants press forward, offering their services to the traveller, out of their regular turn.

According to Mr. Gleig, the peasants are still serfs. He says, *vol.* ii., that "in the rural districts every one who is neither a soldier nor a noble, belongs to somebody." This is not

* This, however, is often farmed by the county, or by the lord, and is not very heavy.

† The *Cassa Domestica* varies greatly in different counties.

‡ A government line of posts also exists on some roads.

correct; the peasant is not attached to the soil*, but can quit his holding when he pleases, on giving due notice of his intention. The stick, until the Act of 1835, could legally be made use of to force the peasant to labour. A Haiduk in some cases now stands by to inspect the *Robott*, but as he can only urge with voice and not by blows, much attention is not paid to him. A book is kept by the lord's steward of the days of labour performed. If, as is often the case, the peasant sends a son, daughter, wife or servant, and these do not perform what is considered a fair quantum of days' work, only three-quarters of a day are reckoned. The *Robott* labour is, as might be expected, performed so badly, that if a hired labourer is very slow, it is a usual reproach, 'You work as if it was in *Robott*.' Some sorts of labour are by custom never included in the *Robott* days; as for instance threshing, (at least in the Magyar counties) which is done for hire by peasants out of their *Robott* days, or by other hired labourers. The lords who see how little is done by *Robott*, would generally be very glad to commute it for a money payment. We know instances of the lord offering to his peasants to take 10 *ar*. C. M. (four-pence English) for the day's labour with horses; this was refused, as the peasant does not like to part with his money if he has it, and calculates that he has his horses and servants once for all, and may turn them to the best account he can.

Formerly the peasant could be ejected from his holding at the will of the lord; now sufficient reasons must be assigned for so doing, and judged of by the authorities; if, for instance, the peasant neglects the tillage, and deteriorates the condition of his holding. Formerly, when the peasant had brought his holding into a high state of cultivation, the lord could take it away from him, and give him instead a piece of ground which had to be brought into order. This is likewise abolished, and the peasant confirmed in the occupancy of his copyhold. He is even, by the new act, authorized to sell the use of the soil, though not the soil itself; so that he in fact acquires the virtual property in the copyhold instead of the lord, who really possessed it before, and still possesses it in theory.

* Homo liberæ migrationis, glebæ non adstrictus.

The peasant cannot hold any noble or freehold land, in short, cannot legally acquire real property (his copyhold being still in the eye of the law the property of his lord); he can, however, become a clergyman, advocate or physician, in which situations he enjoys the personal though not the political privileges of the nobles, and has a very good chance of obtaining the latter: and for any one who should obtain wealth enough, it would not be difficult to become ennobled*. In society no line of distinction is drawn between the well-educated noble or ignoble physician or advocate. This is very prudent on the part of the nobles, as the educated of the unprivileged class are thus attached to their interests, and prevented from making common cause with and taking the lead of their own order in any dangerous agitation.

The peasants of each village elect from their own body their judge (*biró*), who exercises a sort of police, and settles disputes among them; beyond this they are entirely governed by the privileged class. The peasant cannot carry on a process in his own name either against his lord or against another. The first court for the peasant is the Lord's Court (*sedes dominalis*). Here the lord presides, only checked by certain of the county magistrates: one of the county employés indeed is in virtue of his office 'Defender of the peasant.' From this court lies an appeal to the county court (*sedes judiciaria*), which is also composed of the magistrates elected by the nobles, and thence to the higher courts. It is therefore more through the philanthropic feeling of the privileged, than the security of an impartial tribunal, that the peasant is not oppressed. In a political sense he is a perfect nullity. He has no vote in the county assemblies, which determine what amount of local taxes are to be paid by him, or what labour he is to give in making roads. He has no voice in electing members for that parliament which decides what general direct taxes are to be paid by him, and what number of men may be required for that army in which he may be forced to serve.

This is a condition of the more numerous part of the inhabitants, which cannot endure when the country shall fully have developed itself. At present, the unprivileged, although

* During the wars with the Turks nobility was often the reward of valour.

desiring an alleviation of the material burdens which press on them, are by no means desirous of political privileges. This is the more wonderful, as they often dwell together with individuals of the privileged class, who are superior to them neither in education nor wealth. It is greatly to the honour of the privileged, (*i. e.* particularly of the simple nobles, to the exclusion, with some brilliant exceptions, of the prelates and magnates) that they, out of sound patriotic views and pure benevolence of heart, see the necessity of gradually doing away with the impolitic restrictions which have hitherto pressed on the unprivileged. The act of 1835 is the first step to this; though for a first step it goes in some respects too far, in others not far enough. The general desire of many of the enlightened nobles was to take from the peasant a certain share of his copyhold, and add to it their own freeholds: in return, the peasant to be exempted from all further services and payments to his lord, and to have an absolute property in the land which he had heretofore only held. This plan, the most rational one in a country where there is but little specie, was opposed by the government, on the ground, that as copyhold land is taxable and freehold not, the quantity of taxable land would be lessened by so much as should become freehold on being added to the lord's immediate property.

By the act of 1835 the peasant and the lord have both a property in the peasant's holding; the *Robott* is retained, but there is not sufficient means to enforce its effectual performance; and as by it the peasants alone have been the gainers, it encourages them to hope that at some future time they shall be entirely released from their burdens, without giving any equivalent in commutation.

In a material point of view the condition of the peasantry varies greatly. This is in some measure in consequence of the great discrepancy of the size of their holdings; as some peasants hold as much as three sessions, others only a quarter of one, or even a sixteenth. The size of the sessions varies also greatly, and it often happens that they are small in the most barren districts, and large in the most fertile ones. Many, again, of the unprivileged hold no land whatever. The cottar, who has only his house, gives eighteen days of hand-labour yearly for it; and a peasant who is settled on any

estate without a house gives twelve days. But as the price of labour is high in Hungary, and in many districts it is impossible to procure a sufficient number of hands, with prudence they might be well off*. The different races enjoy very different degrees of prosperity. The Magyar peasant has plenty of bread and bacon, and even of beef to eat, plenty of wine to drink and tobacco to smoke. He is, however, from the carelessness of his nature, too apt to consume his stores before the harvest and vintage come round; the winter is passed in revelling, and when the labours of the field would require the physical forces to be sustained by nutritious fare, he is obliged to confine himself to a spare diet. Their houses are not large, but beautifully clean; if they do not live in more commodious ones, it is owing to their laziness, which prevents their building them, as they have time and materials at their command. The Slovacks, particularly the Ruthenes, seated for the most part in barren mountains, are not so well off. They are not perhaps more indolent than the Magyar, but they are less cleanly. As their families multiply much faster, the holdings are split into smaller subdivisions. Rather than descend, (*i. e.* for a permanency, for like the Irish, they leave their homes at the period of haymaking and harvest, and by these means often earn enough to support them the whole winter,) into the plains, where as hired labourers they could live on bread and meat, they prefer living on potatoes in their native mountains. To these people, curds form a great luxury, but *slibowitza*, a liqueur distilled from fruit, a still greater. The Wallachian is in perhaps even a more needy condition. Maize flour, in the shape of *mammaliga* (the Italian *Polenta*), and *Málé*, a sort of cake baked in the ashes, form his principal articles of food. His dwelling is a hut formed of wood or twigs, and wattled over, with a disproportionately large thatched roof; so that at a distance it looks like a stack standing in the middle of a maize field. The Germans, who are animated by the same industry and order as in the mother country, are most thriving. Some of their villages in the Banat are pictures of prosperity.

* In the county of Bihar the average wages paid for a day's labour are 40*sz.* W. W. (about 6½*d.*), which is sufficient remuneration where beef is 10*sz.* W. W. (about seven farthings) per lb.

An intermediate link between the *plebs* and the *populus*, is formed by various privileged districts. Of these the most note-worthy are the Greater and Lesser Cumania, with Jazygia and the Haiduk towns: they are a sort of free peasants; with the peasants they pay taxes, with the nobles they give subsidies and are bound to the insurrection*: they are represented in the Lower House of Parliament, and have their own peculiar jurisdiction. The sixteen Zips towns approach nearer to the condition of the free boroughs. There are certain other districts and towns more or less favoured, but it would be tedious to particularize them. These privileged districts, though in themselves of no great extent or importance, deserve notice, as showing Magyar character and capabilities in a very favourable light; and what may be expected when all Hungary shall be in their condition. The Cumanians and Jazygians are celebrated for their bravery and honesty. In spite of the late untoward seasons, they are very prosperous; many of them own a thousand sheep. Mr. Paget thus speaks of his glance at Kardzag, the capital of Greater Cumania:—

“Our first post next morning, still over the sea-like snow-covered plain, brought us to Kardzag, a large and prosperous village of eleven thousand inhabitants. I call it a village, for though I believe it enjoys the privileges of a market-town, its cottages built of mud, perhaps shaped into squares and dried in the sun, its roofs of reeds, its wide unpaved sandy roads rather than streets, and its respectable peasant-looking inhabitants, render it almost a perversion of language to call it a town.

“It was Sunday, and church (for they are mostly Protestants on the plains) was just over; a number of men, among the best-built and most handsome of any part of Europe, were standing round the town-house after morning service, while several troops of children, each under their respective masters, were returning from school. It was pleasant to see the little fellows, so smart and comfortable did they look in their red Hessian boots, wide white trousers, and lamb-skin coats or cloaks which quite enveloped them, and rendered them not unlike the little animals whose robbed fleeces they wore.

“We were so struck with the easy look of the people, and the neatness and apparent comfort of the cottages, that we asked who was the owner of the place? one of them, politely baring his fine head of long black hair, fastened up with a comb, told us, they served no one but their king; they

* The levy *en masse* of the nobles.

were Cumanians. In different parts of Hungary there are certain districts of considerable extent, enjoying immunities and privileges which place them in a very different position from the rest of the country. Among these, the most important are Great Cumania, of which Kardszag is the principal place; Little Cumania; the land of the Jazygers, and the Haiduk towns; all forming portions of the great plain. * * * * * Hungarian historians are still in doubt as to the precise country formerly occupied by these people, and even as to their original language. There can scarcely, however, be a question that they have sprung from the same eastern stem from which the Magyars themselves branched off, and that their language was essentially the same. At the present day, in no part of Hungary are the language, manners and feelings of the people more truly Magyar than among the Cumanians. In all these districts the peasant is himself lord of the soil, and owns the land; he is, therefore, free from the annoyances of personal service, and is in the enjoyment of the innumerable advantages of propriety. His deputies sit in the Diet. It is true, that in return for this, he bears a more than equal portion of the burthens of the state. With the noble, he is bound to do military service when called on, and to contribute a part in the extraordinary subsidies occasionally granted by the Diet, while with the peasant he pays an equal portion of the heavy government taxes. Notwithstanding these severe drawbacks, he is undoubtedly the most prosperous and happy of the Hungarian peasants; a sure proof—and would that legislators knew it!—that it is less the amount, than the manner of taxation, in which its real oppression consists.”—*Vol. ii. page 521.*

We now come to the nation properly so called, the *populus*. This consists of the estates of the realm, or, in Hungarian phrase, the nobles. These estates are four in number: the Prelates, the Magnates, the Simple Nobles, and the Royal Boroughs, each of which, *in corpore*, is considered as equivalent to one noble. The number of noble families (including the few magnates and prelates) is stated, though very vaguely, at 70,000. The royal boroughs, forty-nine in number, are supposed by Magda to contain 425,000 inhabitants. With regard to the boroughs, they have a charter resembling those of similar institutions in England and elsewhere, independent of the county; and being each equal to one nobleman, they are represented in Parliament. The boroughs claim a vote for each of them separately: the nobles will not allow more than one curial vote to the whole number. Both sides appeal to precedents: in point of equity, both sides are equally unfair. The individual burgher can acquire and possess real

property, like a nobleman, but only within the bounds of his borough. On the other hand, they are subject to tithes and general taxes.

The prelates and magnates differ from the other nobles not in any civil rights, but in the political rank which entitles them to sit in the Upper House, like our peers and bishops. In other respects the wealthiest Batthyányi or Esterházy is not more privileged than the simple noble who pursues the respectable trade of butcher or bootmaker. In England, we attach to the word noble the idea of rank and family, if not wealth. Such is far from being the case in Hungary. The number of nobles, however, variously stated from 200,000 to 800,000 persons, appears to an Englishman immensely disproportionate to the mass of the inhabitants; and so it would be if a Hungarian noble were at all the same thing as an English, or even German noble*. The Hungarian noble families, in short, are those in which the adult males enjoy the elective franchise, and are exempt from the burdens which weigh on the peasant. There are thousands and thousands of nobles who plough their own little freeholds (*nobiles unius sessionis*, who have no peasants under them); many hold copyhold or peasant lands, and perform the dues to the lord like the peasant†; many again are butchers, tailors and shoemakers, particularly makers of Hungarian boots and garments. Many of the nobles, however, are of old and distinguished families, and possess estates, some very large, others small, others of moderate extent. This class answers exactly to our own country gentlemen. Many of the poorer of this class become stewards to wealthier proprietors, or farm the estates of others, or become advocates, professors, clergymen and physicians. In the mountains, where the families have been settled undisturbed for many centuries, and have had more time to multiply, the equal division of property among all the children has by degrees reduced the estates of this class to modest dimensions. In the lower country there are much larger properties. In the Banat and the county of Arad, the land was, up to a comparatively late period, in the hands of

* The Hungarian magnate is the same as the English peer.

† They are exempt from the burdens toward the State since 1805.

the Turks. After they had been finally expelled, the government found itself, by the death of the original proprietors in these bloody and unremitted wars, in possession of an immense extent of unowned land. Great estates were granted or sold for a trifle, to new families who settled there : the soil is the most productive in Hungary, perhaps in Europe. The families have not yet had time to multiply themselves, at least not at all in proportion to the rise in the value of land there ; and at the present moment, in this part of Hungary, may be found untitled nobles who are in the receipt of 10,000*l.* per annum.

In the Upper House, or *Table*, as it is called, the prelates and magnates have seats*. Their homagium, 400 *fl.*, is double that of the common noble. The prelates are the heads of the Catholic, and what is more surprising, also of the old Greek church. The superintendents of the Protestant confessions have no such distinction. The magnates have partly an official, partly an hereditary rank. The former class comprises the *Barones Regni*, such as the *Index Curie Regni*, the Ban of Croatia, the royal treasurer (*Tavernicorum regaliū magister*), and various other similar offices ; in point of dignity on a par with these are the Obergespans (or Lord Lieutenants of the several counties), as they have a seat in the Upper *Table*, even though they are only simple nobles. The second class is the same as the English peers, and sit by virtue of hereditary right. But this right is not, as in England, confined to the first-born ; the law of primogeniture being not at all congenial to Hungarian feeling. In some houses there are, it is true, entails for the first-born ; but this is always the exception ; not the rule. They are distinguished by the title of prince, count and baron, respectively. These families may be about as numerous as in England ; among them are included the counts and barons of Transylvania (where there is no Upper House), who have the rank and seat of a Hungarian magnate.

This class do not on the whole stand in the best odour with their countrymen. Certain it is, that hitherto they have as a body attached themselves to the court, and seemed ra-

* A magnate may be elected deputy for a county in the Lower House.

ther to be Austrians than Hungarians. Since the suppression of the malcontents, and the secure establishment of the Austrian House, they have not played the distinguished part in affairs which their position, and in many instances their colossal fortunes, might lead them to do in England. In many instances, they could not speak the Magyar tongue at all, or at best imperfectly. In the districts where the Slovak or Wallachian population predominates, the magnates, and also the wealthier simple nobles, have that influence which in other countries usually accompanies property. But by the pure Magyars they are looked on with an eye of distrust; and such is their democratical spirit, that wealth and rank render a man of influence a political nullity. This is one of the points in which the Magyar character (which in other respects has much more resemblance to the English than the rest of the continent,) is diametrically opposed to it. Of late years several of the magnates have done enough to merit the confidence of their countrymen, but without securing it. Even Count Széchenyi, whose name is indissolubly bound up with the progress of Hungary, is unhappily, by a very considerable party of his countrymen, looked upon as but a doubtful patriot.

The nobles are only bound in case of war to act as a militia. This rising is called *Insurrection*, which is considered as an equivalent for exemption from taxation. *Particular Insurrection* can be levied by the king; the General Insurrection requires an Act of Parliament. The nobleman pays no taxes, no tithes, no tolls, is not subject to have the military quartered on him. He cannot be arrested till his crime has been proved, except in cases of high treason, highway robbery, arson, and adultery *in flagranti*. He alone has the right of acquiring and possessing land in full property (*Jus Terrestrale, capacitas*). He governs himself in the parliament by deputies, and still more particularly by the immediate exercise of his franchise in the county where he is settled. (*Hungary and Transylvania*, vol. i. pp. 398 to 400.) This is the most remarkable part of Hungarian institutions. Each county may be said to form a complete republic, with democratical forms and spirit. Every male noble of the legal age (eighteen

years) has an equal share in making the bye-laws in his own county, and in choosing his own magistrates.

The origin of the nobles is an interesting subject, but belongs to history. Not all the Magyars are nobles; nor are all the nobles Magyars, though no doubt on the whole the feeling of the nobles is Magyar. There are numerous good families of Slovack origin, and among them several who till lately could not speak Magyar. Many of the present nobles are descendants of peasants, who have been ennobled for individual bravery, or for services given on particular occasions. The Wallachian nobles were formerly peasants belonging to the crown domains, who were emancipated by Botskay in the civil dissensions. The Szeut Lazlo Nemeses, in the county of Szala, are celebrated enough for the occasion which made them nobles. The traditional story is this: King Ladislaus was once travelling, when the pin came out of the axle-tree; a peasant ran by the side of the carriage and held the wheel fast by applying his finger in the place of the lost pin. At the end of the stage the grateful king rewarded not merely him, but all the other peasants of the village with the diploma of nobility.

With the exception of the military frontier, which has a most peculiar, quite Anti-Hungarian organization, and certain privileged districts before-mentioned, such as Jazygia and Cumania, and the Haiduk towns, Hungary is divided into 52 counties,—46 in Hungary proper, three in Croatia, and three in Slavonia. In the infancy of the kingdom the king's lieutenant (*Comes*) was seated in a fortified place (*castrum*, Vár.), and had the civil and military command over the district lying round it, *Comitatus*, Vármégye, the district round the burgh. In course of ages the boundaries of the counties were changed, in many instances two or more united to form one, and the functions of the *Comes* totally changed. At present the Obergespann (to use his German name, *Comes*, Fő Ispány,) represents in the county the regal power. The Hungarians are fond of comparing him to the English Lord Lieutenant. In some counties this dignity is hereditary in certain families, or attached to certain offices; thus the head of the Csáky family is hereditary Obergespann in Zips;

but in the majority he is appointed by the king. The term of office is for life; but it often happens that he resigns, particularly in the Magyar counties, where the democratical spirit makes this situation unpleasant. The Archbishop of Gran is at the same time Obergespann of the county of Gran, the Bishop of Erlau of the county of Eves. In this case, even if not an hereditary Magnate, he retains his seat in the Upper House, and an administrator is appointed in his stead by the king. The *installation*, in which the new Obergespann or Administrator is solemnly invested with his dignity, forms one of the most brilliant displays of Hungarian provincial life.

The Obergespann is seldom present in his county; as he is always a prelate, magnate, or one of the distinguished simple noble families, and generally engaged in business or pleasure at Vienna or Pesth. Every third year, however, he appears to hold the *restauration*—the election of the triennial active county magistrates. These are as follows: The Vicegespann (*Vice-comes*, *Al Ispány*). The Vicegespann is compared by the Hungarians to the English Sheriff; but his duties embrace a much wider field, as he is in fact the president of the county court of justice. He is, in consequence of the Obergespann's absence, the personage of the most importance in the county, and his character is of the greatest influence with regard to general administration and improvements. He presides not only in the county court, but in the political meetings of the estates, or congregations as they are called. In most counties the press of business requires that a second Vicegespann should bear a share of his labours.

For the purposes of administration each county is divided, according to its extent, into a certain number of circuits (*processus*, *járás*), generally from four to six. At the head of each of these is an Oberstuhlrichter (*Judex Nobilium*, *Fő Szolgabíró*), assisted by his Vicestuhlrichter (*Vice-Judex Nobilium*, *Al Szolgabíró*). The circuits again are divided into smaller districts, each of which is watched over by a Geschworne, (*Juratus Assessor*, more commonly contracted *Jurasser*, *Es-küdt.*) who acts as deputy of the Stuhlrichter.

In another branch there is the Upper Notary with his two

Vice-notaries, who are charged with drawing up all transactions in writing which take place between the authorities, and taking minutes of the resolutions of the Estates. In some counties the Archives are under their care; in others there is a peculiar officer, Archivar, who is not elected by the Estates, but appointed by the Obergespann. The Upper and Vice-Fiscal direct the criminal proceedings, and are the advocates of the peasant. The Upper Tax Collector for the royal treasury, the Upper Tax Collector for the local taxes (*Cassa Domestica*). Their office is to keep accounts of the moneys paid into their hands by the under collectors. A *Rationum Exactor*, to check the accounts.

The following are elected for life: The Castellan, who is charged with the management of the county hall and the prisoners. The County Physician, with his subalterns, as surgeons and midwives: he must give advice gratis to the peasants. The Engineer, whose department it is to direct all the regulations of rivers, management of forests, new buildings, etc.; and in urbarial surveys to approve the maps.

All these individuals are salaried by the county, from the *Cassa Domestica*; but the salaries of the administrative magistrates are almost nominal. The *Obergespann* has about 1500 fl. C. M. per annum (150*l.*); the *Vicegespann*, 600 to 800 fl. (60*l.* to 80*l.*); a *Stuhlrichter*, 200 to 300 fl. (20*l.* to 30*l.*); and a *Geschworner* 100 fl. (10*l.*) per annum. These salaries by no means suffice to pay for the numerous dinners which each magistrate gives in his circle. These magistrates exercise the legal functions of the county; but the political ones are confined to the Estates, who meet for that purpose at stated times *en masse*. These assemblies, in Hungarian legal language *Congregations*, are for the county what the Parliament is for the realm. The *Vicegespann* convokes the general congregations, which are usually held quarterly, at which it is imperative on the magistrates to appear. Every simple noble of the legal age (eighteen years) has the right to appear and vote. As in the general parliament, every respectably dressed person, though of the unprivileged class, is allowed to witness the proceedings, though of course without a vote. Such a congregation is a grand day for the Hungarians, especially for the smaller proprietors. The hall

of the county-house fills with the Estates, (*Karok és Rendek, Status et Ordines*). Here you see the prelate and the magnate in no higher capacity than the simple *Batskoros* noble, so termed from the sandal which they wear in lieu of a boot; the latter in his working costume, with an enormous cudgel in his hand; the richer nobles in the national Hungarian costume, trailing their sabre by their side. Under the presidency of the Vicegespann, sometimes, though rarely, of the Obergespann, the assembly proceeds to business; and what important subjects come within its sphere! Here the Acts of Parliament and royal rescripts are published; the latter in some instances not accepted*. Representations are resolved on, which are to be made to the king; the division of the general taxes among the tax-paying peasants is made; the quantum for the *Cassa Domestica* determined on; police regulations made, and questions of improvements, such as bridges, roads, etc., settled; petitions received from communes or private individuals; moneys accounted for; the necessities of life—bread and flesh, etc., taxed; the wages of reapers, and sometimes other labourers, such as masons and carpenters, regulated; above all, the county magistrates elected, and instructions resolved on to the deputies, who represent the county in the Lower House of Parliament. The debates which occur on these occasions are sometimes very stormy. The Hungarians have a wonderful talent for public speaking, which is called out and nourished by the numerous occasions for its display. Any one who uses the expression 'it is false,' is liable to a penalty for contempt of the assembly, *violata sedes*. The fiscal immediately draws up and presents an indictment, which is carried and put into execution. If the expression was addressed to a magistrate, the offender has immediately to pay a fine of 100fl. (10*l.*), in other cases 25fl. (2*l.* 10*s.*), which, however, if not paid directly, is raised to 100fl. The *Particular Congregations* are a sort of committee of the whole; their resolutions must be revised and confirmed at the next general congregation.

The full glory of the congregation displays itself at the *Restauration*. The congregation proclaimed for this purpose

* We witnessed the rejection of a royal rescript, relative to the six weeks' preparatory religious instruction for converts.

by the Obergespann or Administrator, is called *Congregatio Magistratum Restauratoria*. This ought to take place every three years; but if the actual magistrates are to the taste of Government, it sometimes happens that the Obergespann, under various pretexts, attempts to defer it to a more distant period. For some months previous intrigues of all sorts are going on, and canvassing worthy of England. The approaching crisis forms almost the sole topic of conversation of the gentlemen, and claims a due share of the attention of the ladies. At length the long-expected day arrives. It is ushered in by a solemn service in the principal church. A deputation invites the Obergespann to hold the election. On this occasion the hall of the county-house is too small, and the courtyard, or some other place of sufficient extent, as a church, is assigned for the purpose. The Vicegespann gives into the hands of the Obergespann the county-seal and the keys of the Archives. The magistrates whose turn it is to go out, now resign their offices; on which the Obergespann proceeds to nominate the candidates, at least four, first for the office of Vicegespann. Curiosity is raised to the greatest pitch, as it is not known, except to the Obergespann and those in his confidence, up to that moment who really will be the candidates. He however generally complies so far with public opinion as to nominate the distinguished men of the other party, as well as of his own. The sense of the congregation is taken by acclamation. If a defeated candidate is not satisfied, he, as in England, demands a poll; but whereas in England the polling is deferred to another day, in Hungary it takes place immediately. The struggle is always in reality only between two of the candidates. Now commences a most furious party war. All that we see in a general election in England may be found in Hungary at the Restoration. Persuasion, bribery and treating are carried on with as much earnestness, though perhaps not on quite so colossal a scale. Still considerable sums are spent on such occasions, and there is quite as much parading and music. Often too, as in England, the opposite parties come to blows, and unhappily sometimes with fatal results. The usual companion of a *botskoro* noble is a formidable cudgel, with which this athletic class of men deal out most unsparing blows. Not many years have pass-

ed, since, in one of the decided Magyar counties, a number of lives, variously stated at from twelve to fifteen, were lost in one of these conflicts. These excesses, however, are every day becoming rarer. The leaders of the parties do every thing in their power to prevent them, and we may hope that they will disappear. The common nobles are treated by their chiefs, and often locked up for the night, that they may not desert, till all the magistrates are elected. As votes can be given by proxy, the polling proceeds rapidly. The termination of the struggle for the office of Vicegespann is often decisive for the rest. In some instances, however, a compromise is made between the parties, that certain offices shall fall to one party, on condition that no opposition shall be offered in the election to other offices. At a grand dinner, which is given by the Obergespann, all parties meet and fraternize most amicably in private conviviality.

From the right of the Obergespann to name candidates for each office, it would seem that he had virtually the power of filling these offices. This is, however, by no means the case. To show the bearings of this subject would require us to describe too much in detail the slippery arena of Hungarian local politics; and no distinctness of view could be attained without minutely describing the intrigues at certain elections, and the private character and position of the men who were movers or instruments. This would be a breach of private confidence, which—however it has now become a matter of everyday occurrence with modern book-makers—we shall not lend ourselves to. We shall, therefore, only observe in general terms, first, that public opinion has considerable influence in Hungary; secondly, that it would not always be easy to find four (the minimum) candidates of sufficient intelligence, property and standing, for every office, from among the same party; thirdly, that if the Obergespann adopts the plan of nominating, besides his favourite candidate, such as are too insignificant to fill the situation with credit (a mode of proceeding which is provided against by the constitution), the opposition can always have the chance of gaining over to their side one of the mock candidates, by offers of various sorts. This convert is then elected, if the opposition be really strong enough. The insufficient magistrate then ostensibly carries

on his office, but affairs are managed behind the curtain, by the real chief or chiefs of the party.

In congregations are also held the elections for the members of the lower house of parliament, and in congregations, from time to time, instructions are given to them. Here the Obergespann has no right of candidature; these general elections are generally conducted with more tranquillity than the restorations. Thus the county is immediately, and we may almost say personally, represented in the meeting of the estates of the realm. The two members are but their delegates, (in Magyar *Követ*, ambassador,) who can no more deviate from the instructions the county gives them, than an envoy can from the instructions he receives from his government. The two deputies have but one vote between them, and both or either can be recalled by the resolutions of a congregation. The vote given by the deputies is therefore the vote, not of the individual deputies, but of the whole county, as represented by a majority in the congregation.

The county exercises its jurisdiction through its self-elected magistrates before-mentioned. The institution of the jury is totally unknown. The lowest courts for nobles are those of the Stuhlrichter and Vicegespann. The Stuhlrichter, assisted by a Geschworne, decides on civil processes concerning inheritances, debts, deposits and pledged estates, where the value does not exceed 3000 fl. (300*l.*). The Vicegespann decides on similar matters up to the value of 12,000 fl. (1200*l.*); further, on cases of assault and defamation. Cases of greater consequence, criminal as well as civil, come before the county-court, (*sedes judiciaria civilis et criminalis*, contracted usually into *sedria*,) which is usually held quarterly, the average duration of its sittings being a week: it is at the same time a court of appeal from the Vicegespann's and Stuhlrichter's court, as also in regard to the peasants, from the lord's court. Here are united all the magistrates of the county, assisted by paid assessors (*tablabírók*). Before this court the noble has, if his nobility is called in question, to legitimize himself. On the criminal side all cases, from petty larceny to arson and murder, are tried. The sentence of death, however, when passed by the *sedria*, requires to be confirmed by the king. Weightier causes, as high treason and many others, do not

fall under its jurisdiction. These come under the cognizance of the Royal Table (*Königliche Tafel—tabula regia*). Civil cases also, where the value is more than 12,000 fl. (1200*l.*), or where the property in question lies in different counties, come before the courts of the circles (*Districtual-tafeln*). In each of the circles of Hungary is a *Districtual Tafel*, held at Tyrnau, Güns, Eperies, and Debreczin. There is also one at Agram for Croatia and Slavonia. Criminal cases do not come before these courts. Besides the president, they have several temporal assessors (the court of Agram six), a notary, protocollist, etc.

From the county and circle courts appeal is made to the royal court (*Tabula Regia*), besides several processes in first instance, as *Invalidationes Processe*, *Caducitüts Processe*, etc., and above all cases of high treason. This court is composed of the *Personal* (*Personalis presentie regie locum tenens*), who is the president (he is also president of the lower house of parliament), and sixteen assessors, among whom are two prelates, two magnates (*Barones Tabulæ*), the vice-palatine, the *vice judex curiæ*, etc., etc. Thus we see, that while in political matters the county keeps a tight rein on its representatives, or we may rather say, acts for itself, in judicial affairs it intrusts itself for the period of three years to men over whom it has no control. And to say the truth, the administration of justice is much complained of in Hungary.

The highest court is the Septemviral. From this court there is no appeal, unless the party obtain permission from the king to begin the cause afresh. In criminal cases the condemned may be pardoned by the king. This court originally consisted of seven members; at present it is composed of the palatine as president and twenty assessors, among whom should be five prelates and seven magnates, including the *judex curiæ* and *lavernicus*; the rest are appointed from the nobles. These two last-named courts sit in Pesth.

The Jazygians and Cumanians have their lower and upper courts: to the former belong the local magistrates and the district captain, who are elected by the Jazygians and Cumanians. The latter is the court of the palatinal captain, common to the three districts, and who is appointed by the palatine. From this court lies an appeal to the palatine as supreme judge. The other free districts have their peculiar local courts.

In the higher courts, to which appeal is made, the law-suits are protracted to a degree only rivalled by the English court of chancery. In the county courts, with which we are at present concerned, matters are at least despatched summarily enough. And this is an immense advantage, particularly in civil cases, where an unjust sentence delivered at once often does less harm than a just one delivered at the end of twenty years.

In some counties the magistrates have the reputation of being accessible to bribery* and favouritism. Certain it is that their salaries are merely nominal, but they are in general men of property. We have, however, had the pleasure of being personally acquainted with vicegespanns and stuhlrilters of inflexible integrity. It cannot, however, be denied that this is the weak side of the Hungarian institutions; too much is left to personal character, and not enough secured by the immediate participation of the people.

As to the ecclesiastical courts, the bishops preside in the diocesan, the archbishops in the metropolitan, assisted by the chapter: their sphere is the decision in matrimonial affairs, disputed wills and cases of perjury.

The Hungarians have, like the English, no systematic code of laws. In the reign of Ladislaus, Verbotzy collected the *laudabiles consuetudines*, and in 1514 his work, well known under the name of *Tripartitum*, was recognized by the parliament. The second part of the Hungarian *corpus juris* contains the acts of parliament (*Decreta et articuli regum et statuum et ordinum Regni Hungariæ a S. Stephano usque ad 1779*). In addition to the *corpus juris*, the acts of parliament passed in later sessions are of authority, as also the *Decisiones Curiales* of the upper courts, which were collected by the order of Maria Theresa, under the title of *Planum Curiale*.

The county of course is provided with a due force to execute its ordinances, and preserve order. It maintains a police, both mounted and on foot: the former are called Hussars, the latter Haiduks.

We see thus that the county is, as it were, an organic being.

* The same is said to be the case in the free boroughs, which have their courts independent of the county, consisting of a judge and six to ten senators.

Each individual county has different feelings and different interests from its neighbour. This hitherto has been productive of mischief to the whole realm, disuniting the integral parts. At present each county looks on the neighbouring one to a certain degree as a foreign and even rival state. Some counties make the roads good on that side of their territory on which they export, and leave them in a state of nature on that side on which they import. Of the more distant counties hardly anything is known. All this will vanish with the spread of intelligence and improved communication, and the well-understood interests of each part will be found to agree with those of each other, and of the whole body.

We ought now to speak of the manner in which these integral units act in the meeting of the estates of the whole realm, and how they are checked, both in good and evil, by the upper house. We are generally aware in England that Hungary has two houses of parliament, which on the whole may be said to resemble ours; but in details they vary exceedingly. Again, the relation in which the king stands to the nation, though on the whole in theory resembling the English, is in reality extremely different, from the circumstance that his crown-domains and regalia render him in a great measure independent of the taxes which the nation votes, to say nothing of the power not recognized by the constitution, which the possession of so many other states besides Hungary gives him. But as these most interesting subjects are of great importance, and a new parliament is just about to commence its labours, we propose to devote a separate article to their consideration. We shall therefore now touch lightly on some other points, viz. the capabilities of the country in a commercial point of view, and the general feeling and tone of life.

The natural capabilities of Hungary are unlimited. It produces, or might be made to produce, every thing which belongs to the temperate zone. The mineral treasures of Hungary and Transylvania are inexhaustible. Beudant, a French traveller who explored the mineralogy and geology of Hungary, says that it furnishes half as much gold, and one third as much silver, as the rest of Europe taken together. The gold of Kremnitz is remarkable for its purity. Copper is more abundant than anywhere, except in Siberia and America.

Iron ore in considerable quantities. The mines of these precious metals are part of the regalia. The Hungarians are disposed to overrate the importance of the native ducats being sent to Vienna. All other sort of minerals and half minerals are found in greater or less abundance. Among the stones, the genuine opal is particularly deserving of notice, as being found in the county of Sáros, and nowhere else in Europe. Rock-salt is obtained in the salt-works of the Marmaro, and in Sóvár, in the county of Sáros, the salt-brine is obtained. Pure soda is exuded from the ground in the plains beyond the Theiss, and but little artificial process is necessary. Coals are abundant in various localities, but as yet have hardly been brought to light. The vegetable world is no less rich than the mineral: in many parts almost virgin forests cover the ground. Tobacco of the finest quality; hemp of remarkable strength; wheat, which is considered by the merchants of Trieste to surpass that of Southern Russia, are produced in abundant return, though not to the extent which they would be if there were a remunerating market for them. Maize, which in the Banat produces twenty-four, forty-eight, and even sixty fold, furnishes a nutritious food not only for swine, but for the Wallachians and Ruthenes. The title of Tokny to be called the prince of wines may be disputed by an orthodox taste; but the red wines of Buda, Vilány, and above all, of the province of Slavonia, are admirably adapted to the English palate. The culture of rice and cotton has been attempted with success in the Banat.

At present Hungary is very far indeed from producing what it might and ought. For this various causes may be assigned: the absence of sufficient stimulus in a remunerating foreign trade; the ignorance and apathy of the proprietors, and the state of the laws relating to real property. The first may be said to be the sole cause; as, if it were removed, the others would also fall away or be modified. The Hungarian proprietors have no doubt hitherto shown great apathy, and the land is very imperfectly cultivated. Farmers are almost unknown. In general, the estates, especially the large ones of the magnates and prelates, are managed by stewards, who, as they have a fixed salary, have no interest in augmenting the produce. Many of the younger magnates, however, have introduced all manner of improvements on their estates.

Among the present generation of smaller proprietors, too, are many who devote their whole time and energies to the management of their property, as practical farmers. Still they have had to labour under the disadvantage of being restrained by the laws from carrying on a rational system of farming, and from raising the sums necessary for the outlay in agricultural buildings, etc.

As real property (inherited, not acquired) is divided equally among all the children, male and female, instead of the estate being sold, and the proceeds divided; as, further, the soil was often of various quality; a division was made of each particular part of the estate, which was thus cut up into small strips. When we consider the various marriages and intermarriages during a lapse of centuries, we cannot wonder that each proprietor in a parish has one field at one extremity and another at another. Another curious institution was, that each proprietor was obliged every year to give up a third of his estate for common pasture. Of course it would be useless to attempt any regular rotation of crops under such a system. It was equivalent to a fallow every third year. The only exception to this system was in the Pusztas estates, which had been brought into cultivation at a later period. All this has been put a stop to by an act of the last parliament, which was to come into operation in the spring of 1839. In pursuance of its provisions, the land of each parish has been surveyed, classified according to goodness of soil, and re-divided among the proprietors.

The Hungarian oxen and hogs come in great numbers to the Vienna markets. The red swine of Szalonta, and the smaller species of Veröcse, gives the delicious bacon so much prized in Hungary. The breed of Hungarian horses has been much overrated. But of all the animal world the sheep is of the greatest value to Hungary. Of late years the Spanish breed has been introduced, and the washing is conducted with greater care. The wool is the most important article of a Hungarian proprietor's income, as it has always a sure sale. Bees furnish honey and wax for exportation. The production of silk has not succeeded on any very great scale, but there is no doubt it might do so if it were carried on with sufficient energy.

On the entrance of the Magyars into the country which

they now hold, the nation was composed of tribes, and these again made up of families. This was the original form of all primitive nations ; and even after the settlement the greatest care was paid to the preservation of the families as integral parts of the political body. The great object of civil legislation was, therefore, to prevent real property passing out of the hands of the family. This led to an actual prohibition of the sale of real property inherited, not acquired. Of course at the present day real property is sold ; but at the expiration of thirty-two years the son or grandson of the seller might claim the restoration of the property, on paying the purchase price, together with an equivalent to the buyer for the improvements which had been made on the estate in the meantime. The decision of the latter point gave rise to unceasing law-suits in the various Courts of Appeal. This rendered the possession of real property insecure, no less to the heirs of the seller than to the buyer and his heirs. Of course in this state of things no money could be obtained on an estate except upon the most usurious terms. This law (*Avilicitas*) was advantageous to the crown, as the general heir of those estates to which there were no natural heirs. The injurious action of all this has been fully shown by Count Széchenyi in his masterly work on *Credit*. Now, indeed, a mortgage can be raised on landed property ; and if the creditor re-demands his money, without being able to obtain it, an action lies in the ordinary courts, with appeal. If judgment be confirmed, the estate is sequestered for his benefit. His just claims, however, may be still held off by means of appeals, and this is one of the points which in Hungary wait for amelioration.

The state of arts and manufactures, on the other hand, is exceedingly low. The Magyars confine themselves to the occupations of tailors and shoemakers for Magyar garments and boots. The rest of the artizans are but too frequently vagabond Germans, who have run away to avoid the military conscription in Austria and Bavaria. In a Hungarian country household the linen is made at home ; if a lady in one of the remote counties wishes for decently made shoes, she must send to Vienna. As for manufactures in the southern parts of Hungary, there is a want of hands even for the ordinary purposes of cultivation. In the north there is a surplus po-

pulation, but the genius of the various races is not for manufactures. There are a few woollen, more paper and glass manufactories. The iron-forges are very profitable, but do not at all meet the demand. Hungary thus being essentially a producing land, and in want of manufactures, furnishes a rich field for trade. But at present the exports and imports, though not inconsiderable, are but trifling in comparison with what they may become. The internal trade is too little appreciated by the Hungarians; the productions of the different districts are so various, that an extensive interchange would be a great source of riches. But hitherto this interchange has taken place very insufficiently. There is a want of communication. The roads are made by each county; therefore it often happens that a road beautiful for a short distance, at once terminates in a mere track across an extensive plain of rich alluvial soil, which in winter is all but impassable. Where the roads too have heretofore been good, it often happens that a new *Vicegespann*, a personage on whose personal character a great deal depends in the county, allows them to go to ruin for want of repair. Hungary is intersected by several navigable rivers, the Danube, the Theiss, the Drave, the Save, the Maros, the Körös, etc., and others which might be made navigable. But all these rivers, to derive full benefit from them, require to be cleared and regulated; this would at the same time reclaim many thousand acres of land which are at present morasses.

Foreign trade at present occupies the minds of the Hungarians greatly, and is of more interest to an Englishman, who contemplates the probability of the trade between the two countries reaching one day an unlimited extent. The natural outlets of Hungarian produce are to the neighbouring countries. Turkey, Wallachia and Moldavia, do not stand in need of Hungarian produce, their own being similar. With Transylvania there is a considerable trade; but, though politically divided in every other respect, Transylvania may be considered a part of Hungary, and this therefore rather comes under the head of internal trade; nature points to a close connexion in trade with the Austrian dominions, Austria Proper and Styria, Bohemia and Galicia. But to this the policy of Austria has hitherto been opposed. The Hungarians have in many instances been forced to take the manufactures

of Austria and Bohemia, while these countries were almost hermetically sealed against their raw produce. The Hungarians complain bitterly of the Austrian government in not receiving Hungarian produce, and sayings of Austrian ministers have been cited, to the effect that "Hungary should choke in its own fat"; but they forget that if Austria were overflowed with Hungarian raw produce, which would be the case if no duties were placed on it, the Austrian provinces would be utterly unable to compete with articles produced at so little cost. By remaining deprived of these commercial advantages, Hungary has at the same time preserved her political independence. For commerce with the world, Hungary has four great outlets; the Danube, ascending to Vienna, Ratisbon and Ulm, which will no doubt become the channel by which English manufactures will be poured into it, both for Hungarian consumption, and more distant markets in the East: the Danube, descending to Braila and Galacz, and so on to the Black Sea. That this road should be to its full extent available, it is requisite that the Soulineh mouth of the Danube be not closed by the Russians through the imposition of tolls or quarantine. On the northern frontier the Poprad might easily be made navigable; it falls into the Dunajetz, this again into the Vistula; thus a communication might be formed with the Baltic. It is, however, useless to think of this, though a favourite scheme with the Hungarians: from this side of Hungary few articles could be forwarded, except wine; and if the communication were established, and the commerce remunerating, Russian jealousy would be sure to forbid the transit through the kingdom of Poland. The last great outlet is the Hungarian Littoral or Coast District, which contains three ports on the Adriatic, Fiume, Buccari, and Porto Re. To these may be added Zengg in the military frontier. The situation of Trieste is so superior, that these ports can only be looked on as intermediate stations, and receiving places for it. By this channel a considerable trade already takes place*; but still only an earnest of what may be hereafter. The productions of Hungary,

* Besides corn, potash, tallow, wax, hemp, timber, and staves for casks, hundreds of cargoes of the two last-named articles, which come for the most part from Croatia by way of Slasek, are exported from Fiume, Buccari, and Porto Re, to the northern and southern ports of France, etc.

which are adapted for the foreign market, can be transported at a trifling cost to the numerous suitable ports on the Danube, Theiss, Drave, or Maros; and from these in large river-barges up the Save to Sissek. But at present, in the case of wheat, the cost of transportation from Sissek to Fiume is often higher than the prime cost of the article; and the uncertainty of the period when it will arrive at Fiume, keeps the prudent merchant from speculating in it. In harvest time there is generally but little water in the Save; the corn therefore rarely reaches Sissek before October or November. The Save barges can only in case of high water, which is rare, proceed up the Kulpa to Carlstadt. For the most part the freight must be re-loaded into *Tumbasses*, flatter boats, which draw less water. According to the depth of the water these tumbasses take a larger or smaller cargo, and in proportion to this and the demand for them, the freight from Sissek to Carlstadt varies. In Carlstadt the land-conveyances to Fiume, Buccari and Zengg, are not in sufficient numbers; and consequently a great demand, as in last winter, raises the freight. Several months are requisite to supply a large quantity of corn to the sea, even when the rivers are not frozen, or the roads rendered impassable by snow; there is always an uncertainty of remunerating prices holding so long; and at present this gives the advantage to Southern Russia. A great loss is incurred, moreover, by theft each time the cargo is unloaded and re-loaded in Hungary, and also on the road from Carlstadt to the sea.

To remove the hindrances which are in the way of commerce in this direction, the first thing is to clear and regulate the Save. Something has already been done for the navigation of the Kulpa between Sissek and Carlstadt; and, to complete the chain, a writer in the *Journal of the Austrian Lloyd*, 27th April, 1839, proposes the formation of a railroad from Carlstadt to Fiume*. But whether the obstacles in this direction be done away with, or whether the more natural road, by the mouth of the Danube, be adopted (which latter also involves the exports of the immense natural wealth of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia), a wide field is opened for commercial connexion with England. With

* See two good articles by different hands in the *Journal of the Austrian Lloyd*, 17th and 27th April, 1839.

increased connexion a stimulus will be given to Hungarian production, and this will in turn create a fresh demand for English manufactures, and for our most costly manufactures; for the Hungarians, unlike their German neighbours, who prefer a cheap and bad article to a dear and good one, have habits of show and display, which make them, like the English, desire the best of every thing; in other words, they, of all continental nations, are the only one which has a notion of doing things *in style*. This is observable in Pesth, where the shops are on a brilliant scale; where the equipages, and, in a few instances, the residences of the magnates, vie with those of England; but coupled with the love of display innate in the character of the Hungarian gentry. This would spread, and indeed has already spread very much, even in the remote parts of the country. We will here take the opportunity to say a few words of the Hungarian social relations and tone of life.

The magnates have, to a certain extent, adopted the habits of the world. They are generally well acquainted with Vienna; many of them have travelled in Italy, Germany and England. Joined to the high polish which belongs to their order, is found that Hungarian goodness of heart, which gives to the manners of one of this class an irresistible fascination. They are, as might be expected, the first to lay aside whatever is cumbrous and unsuited to the present age in the manners of their nation. They may, in some cases, have denationalized themselves too much; but there is no doubt that in many things they have been productive of great good. They are imitated by many of the country gentlemen who approach them in wealth, and who, in the genuine Magyar districts, are distinguished by the invidious appellation of quarter-magnates. Among the other proprietors (and even to a great extent among those we have already mentioned) we find a strange mixture of old English and Oriental tone of life. In the Slovak counties the former is predominant; in the genuine Magyar districts the tone has something more Oriental in it. The country gentleman of good property keeps up a large establishment of domestics, who do as little as may be, and an immense number of horses, which are seldom ridden. In some counties shooting and coursing are favourite amusements; but, on the whole, the

proprietor prefers passing his time on the sofa, which, in a genuine Hungarian dwelling, runs round part of two sides of the sitting-room, or in the open arcade, which runs round one side of the house, inhaling the fumes of the fragrant tobacco, which Hungary produces in such profusion and excellence. Here he listens to the reports of his steward or his advocate; for every Hungarian gentleman of standing and fortune, and most who are not blessed with these advantages, consider it as belonging to their dignity to have half a dozen lawsuits. Almost all the Hungarian gentlemen receive, in fact, the education of an advocate. The number of those who enter the army is but small, regular service by no means suiting the Hungarian love of independence. After the youth has completed his law studies in the college, he enters the *patvarie*, as it is called, i. e. he practises as a sort of clerk with a regular advocate or a county magistrate. The *jurates* have gained a not very enviable celebrity in Germany, where the word is synonymous with rudeness and brutality. They are the young men who practise under the advocates in the High Courts at Pesth, and those of the circles (*Districtual Tafeln*). (*Juratus inclytæ Tabulæ Regiæ Notarius*.) They sometimes commit *some youthful excesses*; but on the whole are, at least, as at Cambridge and Oxford, as gentlemanly as any other large body of young men assembled together during that period of life. Such a legal training is a good preparation for the county-offices, which are the great objects of ambition to the proprietors. This diffuses a great interest in all subjects relating to law and the constitution. It is astonishing with what interest a knot of country gentlemen will discuss, not only general subjects of law bearing on the constitution, but the most complicated points relating to the law of property, etc. This exclusive study of law gives sometimes a certain dryness of manner to the small country gentlemen, but still it is not sufficient to smother a high chivalrousness of feeling, and in many cases of action*. All the Hungarian pro-

* Every now and then the Hungarian breaks out into some of those daring adventures which are peculiarly congenial to the English character. Every one has heard of Benyowsky, who, after escaping from Kamschatka, died in an attack of the French on Madagascar. A Transylvanian Obergespann has lately left his county in the lurch to join Don Carlos. A spirit which is more likely to be of use to

prietors are, in the full sense of the English word, gentlemen. They have a certain self-respect and dignity of bearing rarely found on the Continent. This is observable even in the peasant of Magyar race. Many travellers complain of the odious practice of spitting, as being common among the higher and middling classes. It has, however, now, at least in the better houses, totally disappeared, and no where is it more prevalent in Hungary than in other parts of the Continent. In this respect, as in others, the influence of Count Szechényi, who poured out his sarcasms against it in a periodical, has been salutary. One of the features of the Hungarian character is a great sensitiveness to the opinion of the civilized world, and a wish to enter more intimately into communion with it. Above all, they have a longing for the sympathy of the only nation in the world, which, besides their own, possesses a constitution of more than a few years growth. The Anglomania is no where so prevalent as in Hungary; but it does not show itself there, merely in attempts to imitate the outward manners, the dress and equipages of the English, but in an earnest desire to be acquainted with their constitution, arts, agriculture, etc. As much as they are prepossessed in favour of the English, so much have they an innate antipathy to Russia. This is the voice of nature, as no country, now that the barrier of Poland has been removed, has more to fear from northern aggression than Hungary. In addition to this, the barefaced despotism of this power is totally abhorrent to Hungarian feeling.

The late Polish war showed clearly enough what were the sentiments of Hungary; many of the counties offered the king to equip and pay a considerable contingent of men, at their own expense, on condition that they should be allowed to act against Russia*; many nobles do not hesitate to assert

society, impelled Alexander Csoma to seek out the original seats of the Magyars in the distant East. If he has not succeeded in doing this, he has rendered valuable services by his researches in the language and literature of Tibet.

* In the Address of the Estates of Bars, occurs the following very remarkable passage:—

“Des Vaterlandes so zahllose Verhängnisse und die Aehnlichkeit der Begehnheiten mahnen uns, dem nicht durch Erbschaften, nicht durch die freie Wahl der Völker, sondern durch Waffengewalt ins Unendliche anwachsenden, uns so nahen nördlichen Colosse endlich einmal Schranken zu setzen, und indem wir dem einst für unsere Unabhängigkeit und Existenz unerschrocken kämpfenden Königreich

that the cholera rebellion in the northern counties was the work of Russian emissaries, though other more obvious causes may be assigned. They suppose that Russia was sufficiently terrified by the Hungarian demonstrations to think it prudent to engage their attention by domestic troubles.

Let us now turn to the fair sex, an interesting subject anywhere, but especially here. Of the Hungarian ladies it is impossible to speak in terms of too high praise; they are models of wives, daughters and mothers. To the unreserved manners and multifarious acquirements of the English, they add even more than German housewifery and goodness of heart. In some cases they even direct the farming of their husbands' estates, when, as sometimes happens, the lord of the creation prefers smoking his pipe and talking over law-suits to looking after his sheep. But this in no degree takes away from their most soft and truly feminine character. The elderly ladies are often well acquainted with all matters of business, and especially in the Slovak counties it will not do to speak of secrets in Latin before them. The circumstances of the country compel every person to understand Magyar, German, and either Wallachian or Slovak. To these is added by the ladies, especially the younger ones, French, sometimes Italian, and now-a-days English. It is a curious feeling, after travelling all day over what appears like an uninhabited wilderness, to arrive in the evening at a *château* abounding in modern luxuries. Here one listens to the strains of Bellini, or some of our more homely English songs, pronounced with a purity which is hardly found elsewhere out of England. Here a word on Hungarian hospitality: it has often been said that it is not deserving of much praise, inasmuch as, in a country where provisions are produced in abundance on the estates of the proprietors, it hardly causes any expense; and the exercise of it is amply repaid by the change and charm which a traveller brings into the isolated circle. This is to a certain extent true; but we must not

Polen den gebührenden Zoll der Dankbarkeit entrichten, uns dadurch selbst zu schützen, damit nicht einst, während wir jetzt, uneingedenk der erhaltenen Wohlthaten, die zwar unbesiegten, doch durch Uebermacht unterdrückten Polen sich selbst überlassen, bei ähnlicher, leicht sich ergebender Gefahr unsere Enkel, unfähig demselben Feinde zu widerstehen, bitter beklagen mögen, dass es keinen Sobiesky mehr gäbe."—*Orosz*, p. 248.

Just as powerful were the remonstrances addressed by the county of Pressburg on the same occasion.

confine Hungarian hospitality to affording the wearied stranger food and a bed. It is the hearty reception, the ease with which the stranger becomes one of the family, the readiness to do every thing that may be thought agreeable to him, that gives the zest to it. A Hungarian will put himself out of his way to show the stranger any thing or introduce him to any person that he thinks may interest him : and this is saying a great deal for a nation, one of whose failings it is to be somewhat indolent. But it is not to the wealthy that Hungarian hospitality is confined. The poorest clergyman, the meanest peasant, offers every thing that he has, and can do no more. Every one in the exercise of this most Christian virtue, considers himself as doing the honours of his country, to whomsoever it may be ; but above all, an Englishman is sure to be the object of attentions of every kind. This is their only and most noble revenge for the way in which Englishmen have written of them.

Formerly the stranger was never allowed to depart under three days at the very least ; the wheels were taken from his carriage to prevent his departure. We have spoken with many persons, and those young ones, to whom it has happened. In the good old times of Hungary we have heard of a certain baron, who, perched on his castle in the Carpathians, when he descried a stranger on the road to or from Poland, sent his servants to bring him by good means, or if necessary by force. After a drinking bout of some days, the captive was dismissed in all honour. This, however, has now disappeared, and with it the immoderate eating and drinking of which the Germans accuse the Hungarians. The Hungarian gentleman takes a pride in keeping a good table, but he enjoys it with moderation. Wine at the present day in the good houses is almost superseded by water. The Germans of all nations are the last who should accuse another of gluttony.

We now take our leave of a nation, which of all others has had the least justice done to its numerous good qualities, while its defects have been a hundred-fold magnified. May they proceed in that career of peaceful energy which lies open before them ; and when the present beginnings shall have brought forth their full fruits, other nations will be inclined to join in the proud Hungarian boast,—“ *Extra Hungariam non est vita ; aut si est vita, non est ita.*”

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

In the note to p. 32, *read*, "The semi-official return published at the beginning of this year by the Austrian Lloyds at Trieste for 1839, shows the trade to have been in round numbers—

"Imports, 65,000,000 fl. Exports, 51,000,000 fl.

"The apparent increase is there stated to be in the coasting and Mediterranean trade ('Gran Cabotaggio'), in which no English vessel was engaged, and which was in

1837, 8,332,708 fl. 17,584,995 fl.

1839, 12,500,000 fl. 21,000,000 fl.

"If this difference be deducted from the totals given above, the imports of 1839 into Trieste were less than those of 1836 by 2,000,000 florins; whereas the increase in the exports is sufficiently explained by the circumstance of the large shipments of grain made in the last year, and in which the treaty had no influence."

In the sentence of the text to which this note refers, *for* "That a still-stand," &c.; *read*, "That an increase proportioned to the trading capabilities of two such countries as Great Britain and Austria, and such as it was fair to anticipate where the desire of increasing the commercial intercourse was declared to be a mutual one, has not taken place, is indisputable."

In page 71, at the passage, "Our shipping interest would by these means recover a portion, &c." add—

"These remarks were written before the discussion in the House of Commons was brought on by Mr. Herries, and consequently before the official statements then made by Mr. Labouchere had become public. It is gratifying to us, on the one hand, to see the confirmation of our views, which the statements of the honourable gentleman contain. It appears that in the last three years, 128 British vessels

“ have been employed in the Austrian carrying-trade, chiefly
 “ on the South American and West India voyages. What
 “ our owners of colonial property, however, think of the cir-
 “ cumstance that the ports traded to are not British ports,
 “ we cannot pretend to guess. But it does not seem clear
 “ that any mischief could arise from our allowing sugar and
 “ coffee to go direct from Kingston or Barbadoes to Trieste,
 “ especially as a return cargo, very valuable for the colonies,
 “ might be had from Hungary.

“ We would here particularly insist upon this corroboration
 “ of the main argument which we have throughout supported
 “ and endeavoured to render clear;—that under the present
 “ circumstances of most European countries, any *great* ex-
 “ tension of their trade must carry with it additional em-
 “ ployment for British capital and enterprize. In many
 “ countries any great extension of their trade is out of the
 “ question without the co-operation of both.

“ Is this, then, a moment to show timidity in matters of
 “ commercial policy ?”

END OF NUMBER XXI.

THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN
REVIEW.

ARTICLE I.

1. *Histoire des trois démembrements de la Pologne, pour faire suite à l'histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne par Ruhlière.* Par Monsieur de FERRAND. Nouvelle édition. Paris, 1830. 3 vols.
2. *Atlas containing ten Maps of Poland, exhibiting its Political Changes from 1772, with an Introductory Table, etc., etc.* Edited by J. M. BANZEMER and P. FALKENHAGEN ZALESKI. London, 1837. James Wyld, Geographer to the King.

IN preceding numbers of our publication we have more than once brought before the notice of our readers the cause of a nation, which, for its misfortunes and its heroic efforts in the defence of its rights and liberty, has so often, during the last half century, attracted the attention of statesmen and the sympathies of the whole civilized world. Looking upon the partition of Poland, in the words of an able diplomatist of our age, as the prelude to the violent changes which have convulsed Europe since that event*, we have hitherto considered the Polish question principally in reference to, and in its immediate connexion with, the great theme of the balance

* "..... le partage qui l'a effacé du nombre des nations, a été le prélude des bouleversements que l'Europe a éprouvés."—*Dispatch of Prince de Talleyrand to Prince Metternich.* (See *Histoire du Congrès de Vienne*, tom. I. p. 125.)

of power and the best interests of this country. Thanks to the daily increase of political knowledge amongst ourselves, and perhaps still more owing to the occurrences in Turkey, Persia, and even on the borders of our own Indian possessions, which for the last few years have drawn thither our serious attention, the question could not remain stationary ; on the contrary, it has gained in importance and interest. That this is the case, the most indifferent observer of passing events must admit ; and although certain cabinets pretend the greatest security or indifference on this head ; although some others exhaust their ability in avoiding any discussion upon it ; yet, from what is generally known of the feeling of the Polish population, and from what daily events in that country so strongly confirm, it may be stated, without hesitation, that there is no subject of more uneasiness and alarm to the Northern Courts than the present condition of Poland presents, and no people, whose alliance, in case of an European war, could bring, in favour of Western Europe, more powerful weight into the balance than the Polish nation. We are aware that no one would presume to state, at this hour, the time when, and the mode in which this great question, pending for so many years, and supported with so much devotion and courage, will be safely and finally settled ; one thing, however, is certain, and this is more forcibly felt in Poland than wherever else, that, sooner or later, this time must unavoidably come. Through this faith and this confidence alone an oppressed, but not subjugated people would endure with constancy and patience all those hardships and persecutions to which Poland is now subjected.

But there are other and still better grounds upon which the hopes of the Polish nation are founded ; they are founded indeed upon the deep knowledge of their sacred rights, the consciousness of their own strength, and the unshaken love and undiminished desire of national independence. These feelings, which have so frequently called forth powerful insurrections, which, far from losing in strength, are, on the contrary, daily increasing, and which kindle in the breasts of the people that pure flame of devotion which no persecution can stifle, and no misfortune or disappointment can abate, form a peculiar feature of the Polish question, which

has never been sufficiently adverted to, and still less duly examined.

To inquire, therefore, into the moral condition of the Polish people and the state of their present political education; to examine the capabilities of their country, both in reference to their moral powers and to their material resources, thus enabling our readers to form an idea of that great moral and political progress which the Poles have accomplished during the period of their public and private calamities; and to throw a glance upon the question, if we may use the expression, as it stands *at home*, will be not merely attractive on account of its novelty, but interesting, and we hope instructive, on account of its importance.

In the early period of the existence of the Polish monarchy, especially from the time of Boleslaus the Great (992), the government of Poland was vested entirely in the hands of the king. The influence in the councils of their sovereigns, and the control over them, which the powerful barons enjoyed in feudal countries, and which in Western Europe led, in process of time, to the formation of hereditary houses of parliament, was exercised in Poland by the Equestrian Order. It began at a somewhat later period*, and having originated in different causes, (the organization of this country not being feudal,) possessed a different character, and led to other results. Indeed, in Western Europe, the contests of the great vassals among themselves, as well as other circumstances, prevented the nobility from limiting the power of their kings any further, than by imposing upon them certain obligations, which they were bound to swear to at their accession to the throne, and which finally turned to the profit of the royal authority. In Poland that authority experienced much more severe losses during the same period: the Equestrian Order, by their influence and unanimous action, assumed to themselves the right of freely electing their king, and thus destroyed the hereditary succession to the throne, a circumstance which became fatal to the author-

* The celebrated Diet of Chenciny, the first Polish Parliament, took place in the year 1331, in the reign of Ladislaus Lokietek. "*Lokietek*," says Lelewel, "aided by the council of prelates and nobles, published edicts and gave laws."—*Essai Historique de la Législation Civile et Criminelle*, p. 255, § 5.

ity of the sovereign, and in the end to the independence of the nation itself. It is true, that notwithstanding the existence of this law, the first *real* election did not take place until after the extinction of the house of Jagellon, in 1572; but from the moment when the principle was admitted into the law of the country, the gradual encroachments of the Equestrian Order upon the prerogative of the crown assumed an alarming character, and though checked by the wisdom and energy of the two last Jagellons and of Steven Batory, yet it increased with rapidity at the election of every succeeding king. It became, after the death of that talented sovereign, in 1586, the more violent, in proportion as the prosperity and the influence the country enjoyed both at home and abroad augmented the wealth, power and pride of the Order in question.

The Equestrian Order now systematically tended to limit royal authority. With each new election new and narrower conditions were imposed upon it, known in Polish history under the name of *pacta conventa*. Each new king divested himself of some portion of his prerogative in favour of the nobility. This system, pursued by a powerful, numerous and ambitious body, soon threw into its hands the whole power of the state; not only did the laws relating to the crown undergo an entire modification, but the prerogative of the king, connected with the judiciary and executive power, experienced severe losses. Thus the administration of justice, as well as the command of the troops, ceased to form a part of the royal prerogative. The distribution of justice passed now from the crown into the hands of judiciary courts, composed of deputies elected by the nobility every two years. The command of the army was entrusted to two grand-generals, (Wielcy Hetmani: Koronnyi Litewski,) one for the army of Poland and the other for that of the grand-duchy of Lithuania, appointed in the first instance by the king, but irremovable after the appointment. Soon after, almost all the great dignities of the state became irremovable and independent of each other. The power of the crown being thus limited on all sides, and the great offices not within its control, the government of Poland lost all strength and union. For this absence of all sound principle in the executive power, and

the utter confusion introduced into it, the remedy was difficult. On the one hand, the princes who aspired to the Polish throne, in order to obtain the object of their wishes, flattered the national vanity, by almost voluntarily consenting to limit the prerogatives of the crown ; while on the other hand, the *liberum veto** being in all its strength, took away all means of introducing an useful reform. Indeed, while the jealousy of the nobility induced them to pass laws, which took from the sovereign all real power, and introduced confusion, weakness and anarchy into the executive, their wish to preserve their own privileges and liberties, and their fear lest the court should exercise any influence by corruption, inspired them with the opinion that the *liberum veto* was the only remedy against it, and the strongest shield against despotism.

Such was the melancholy state of Poland at the close of the + seventeenth century. At that period, when the war between Peter I. of Russia and Charles XII. of Sweden was about to give a new aspect to the East of Europe, when two new states, Russia and Prussia, with the strongest despotic and military governments, were in rapid progress, Poland, left without a cabinet or an army, with her treasury drained, abandoned to her weak and confused government, found herself at the mercy of events and circumstances, without being able in the least degree to influence them, notwithstanding her important geographical position and her numerous and brave population.

* The *liberum veto* to which we allude, requires a few explanatory words, not merely because it proved so fatal to Poland, and must be considered as one of the primitive reasons of her weakness and disorganization, but also because it never existed in any other country. The *liberum veto* in Poland, consisted in the absolute necessity of *unanimity* among all the members of the Diet, with regard to any bill which was intended to be passed into law. Any single member of the Diet, dissenting from the opinion of the house, had it in his power, by pronouncing the word *Niepozwalam* (veto), to defeat the measure altogether. This power, however, did not exist in consequence of any law to that effect, but by force of immemorial custom, which in this case was stronger than any law. It was only as late as 1717 that the *liberum veto* was passed into law. It is strange, that the grounds upon which the originators and supporters of this monstrous privilege based their arguments in favour of it, could be even apparently justifiable. "As every law," said they, "is to bind *every one*, it must therefore be passed with the consent of *all* ; for he who does not approve of it sustains a violence by having it enforced upon "him." Thus, out of respect for the will of *one*, the will of the *many* was disregarded ; and while *all* had no right to compel the *one*, the *one* had right to command *all*,—a principle as sophistical as it is absurd and revolting.

The war alluded to was fatal to Poland. It will be remembered, that in the year 1699 an alliance had been formed between Russia, Denmark and the king of Poland, with the view of despoiling the young Charles XII. of certain provinces belonging to Sweden. The Diet of Poland having refused to take part in an unjust war, King Augustus embarked in that enterprise in his capacity of Elector of Saxony, at the head of his *own* Saxon troops. Soon after the opening of the campaign, Charles XII., in pursuit of the Saxons, invaded Poland, and though her Diet and people were most unwilling to take part in the contest, yet, through the concurrence of circumstances, her plains became the principal stage of military operations. Thus, unable from the weakness of her government to check the war, she found herself involved in a most disastrous struggle; and after having suffered all the calamities of foreign invasion, she was obliged to witness, in
X the defeat of Charles at Pultawa, the rising star of Peter and his people, her most dangerous neighbour and most powerful enemy. At the conclusion of the war, the Russian troops, which occupied certain important military points as the allies of King Augustus, did not leave the country; and it was under the pretext of friendship and alliance, as well as under the protection of these troops, that Russian *influence* originated in Poland. Thus Russia, defeated during centuries in the open field by Poland, succeeded in occupying many important points in that country, not only without opposition, but even by invitation of her king. It is true, that after the conclusion of the Swedish war, the Polish Diet repeatedly demanded the evacuation of the country by the Russian troops; but compliance with this demand being delayed under various pretences, Russian influence continued daily to increase. Professing friendship and disinterestedness, Russia began already at that period to commit acts of violence; and thus, in addition to the calamities of internal disorders and vices of the constitution, and of a weak and incapable government, Poland had to suffer the misfortunes of foreign occupation and brutality.

This melancholy state of the country could not long escape the attention of superior men, if not of the great bulk of the Polish people itself. Long before the period

we have just alluded to, it had been deeply felt in Poland, that the defects of the constitution, and especially the weakness of the executive, demanded a speedy and thorough reform. So early as the reign of Steven Batory, the second elected king (1575–1586), the abolition of the elective monarchy and the establishment of an hereditary one, as well as other radical reforms, were contemplated by this great sovereign. The sudden death of the monarch prevented him from carrying his plans into execution. The incapacity of the kings who succeeded him, as well as long and continual wars against Muscovy, Sweden, Austria, the Duke of Brandenburg, the Turks and Tartars, diverted the attention of the Poles from this object. During the unfortunate reign of John Casimir (1648–1669), when the vices of the constitution became more and more apparent, and the danger of the country, surrounded by powerful and numerous enemies, increasing, the Poles became more sensible of the necessity of a political reform. Towards the end of that reign, a powerful party, having for their leader John Sobieski, at that period grand-general (Hetman), afterwards king of Poland, became warm and avowed advocates of those views; their object was to introduce into Poland an hereditary monarchy, to limit the privileges of the Equestrian Order, and to secure the prosperity and influence of the country, by establishing a strong government and a proper balance between the legislative and executive bodies. With this view, Sobieski and his party, aware of the difficulties which the neighbouring powers would not fail to throw in the way of the intended reform, sought the support of Louis XIV., offering to receive as their king either of his two celebrated + generals, Turenne or Condé*; but the enemies of Poland were too jealous of her prosperity and peace to permit a reform of the existing abuses to which she was a prey. The cabinet of Vienna, especially, offered its protection to the Equestrian Order, with the view to defend, as it declared, “their sacred privileges;” it lost no time in exciting, by + all possible means, the fanatic and the prejudiced to resist

* Correspondence of John Sobieski with Louis XIV., in 1672, in the archives of the French Foreign Office.

the reform. Thus the country became divided into two opposite parties, whose struggle might in the end have been beneficial to Poland, had not Sobieski and his followers been discouraged by the indifference of France and the dread of civil war. In consequence of this, an arrangement took place, the principal condition of which was, the maintenance of all the *cardinal* laws of the country in perfect *statu quo*.

Thus failed the attempt to reform the government in Poland during the reign of Michel Wisniowiecki (1669-1673). The feeling of the necessity of a reform, however, still prevailed during the reign of Sobieski, until the great victory of that valiant king under the walls of Vienna (1683) inspired the nation with so high an opinion of the enduring powers of their country, that the dangers of their internal situation were for a time lost sight of. Indeed, the victory of Vienna proved fatal to Poland in many ways: it saved from destruction her old and irreconcilable enemy, the Hapsburg dynasty, which a hundred years later (1772) took a principal share in her spoil; it deceived Europe, and especially France, her ally, respecting the *real* condition of Poland, whose internal disorders were forgotten, and whose strength was overrated; and finally, the glory of that battle disguised from the eyes of the Poles themselves their weakness, of which they seemed before to be sensible, and persuaded them that their government was perfect and required no reform whatever. This fatal opinion, increasing the national vanity and presumption, created the apathy and utter prostration in which Poland was found at the beginning of the war between Charles XII. and his antagonists.

The influence which Russia acquired in Poland at the conclusion of that contest, was such as to allow her thenceforth to interfere with its internal government. That influence was most sensibly felt during the next election, of Augustus III., elector of Saxony, the son of the late king, whom Russia supported by the presence of her troops on the very field where the election took place. In vain the unanimous voice of the nation declared itself in favour of the ex-king Stanislaus Leszczyński*, who on the fall of his ally and friend,

* After the defeat of Augustus II. by Charles XII., the former abdicated the

Charles XII., finding himself obliged to abdicate the throne of Poland, and retiring to France, had found a hospitable asylum at the court of his son-in-law, Louis XV. The Russian and Saxon troops, aided by the intrigues of Austria, supported Augustus III., whom the Polish nation, after a long resistance, finally acquiesced in acknowledging as their king.

This interference of foreign powers with the most cherished privilege of the Polish nobility, the violation and total disregard of all formalities prescribed by the law respecting the election of kings, and the presence of foreign troops in their country, in opposition to the engagements of existing treaties and in spite of constant remonstrances, could not but produce a most salutary though tardy effect upon the minds of the people at large. Amidst the apparent calm and peace which prevailed in the country, a kind of internal terror agitated the nation, conscious of the magnitude of the danger to which she was exposed; men of all parties, recognizing the principal cause of the weakness of the state in the vices of the constitution, sought to reform abuses and the existing laws. From this moment commences the long struggle sustained by the moral and national strength of the Poles, and displayed in efforts to improve their government and social condition, against the formidable power of three neighbours, thwarting their endeavours by flattering or encouraging prejudices and fanaticism, and spreading demoralization and discord. On the one hand was seen a nation disarmed, impoverished by long wars, having but one object distinctly in view, viz. the independence and greatness of the country, but varying as to the means to be employed for its attainment; on the other, the three most powerful, most skilful, and we may add, without fear of contradiction, most immoral cabinets of Europe. From that moment begins a new era in the history of Poland; for here the faults of her people cease and their merits begin, and here the treachery and crimes of the spoilers begin also; a period, which would have been recorded

throne of Poland, and Stanislaus Leszczyński, supported by the victorious Charles, was elected king of Poland (1705). Stanislaus, however, reigned but a very short time, Augustus II. being restored to the Polish throne by the influence of Russia, in consequence of the fall of Charles XII.

in the Polish annals as a *political crisis*, had the Poles been left to themselves, must now be commemorated in the history of the world, in consequence of the criminal interference of Russia, Prussia and Austria, as the date of the downfall of Poland.

In the early period of the reign of Augustus III. (1733–1763), two different plans of reform were contemplated by the two powerful parties which divided the country. Opposed in principle, each of them had immense difficulties to surmount in carrying its plans into execution. These difficulties, however, did not lie so much in the prevailing abuses and anarchy, or the prejudices and demoralization of the people, as in the active influence of the foreign powers, who watched with the most attentive eye, and thwarted every attempt at amelioration.

The plan of the party, of which the powerful family of Potocki was the head, consisted principally in the abolition of the *liberum veto*; in the creation of a permanent and supreme council, which should have the power of appointing to all the great offices of the crown; in strengthening the power of the executive and reforming the laws; but they remained attached to elective monarchy and the extensive privileges of the Equestrian Order. Sensible of the great influence which Russia and Austria exercised in the country, and aware of their opposition to every measure which would tend to restore order in Poland, they endeavoured to obtain the support of the court of Versailles. An attempt of that party was made in 1753; but having failed, they postponed the execution of their views until the interregnum.

The other plan of reform, laid down by the two brothers, the Princes Czartoryski, was of a totally different character. To abolish the *liberum veto*—to augment the prerogative of the sovereign—to establish hereditary monarchy—to limit the authority of the great officers of the crown—to extend the independence of the tribunals—to abate the power and the influence of great families—to augment the immunities of the towns—to raise the lower classes of the nation—these were the leading points of the reform of the Czartoryskis; these, in their opinion, were the only means of restoring to the country order and prosperity at home, strength and influence abroad. Though their measures attacked the preju-

dices and popular feelings of the great bulk of the Equestrian Order, *i. e.* of the whole political body, and though, on that account, no statesman ever undertook a more difficult task, yet never was reform conducted with more skill, perseverance and firmness.

It is true, that no sooner were the greater part of these measures carried in the Diet of 1763, than they were overturned by foreign influence; but short and transient as was the existence of that reform, it remains nevertheless most intimately connected with the further and ultimate destiny of Poland. Indeed, the impulse given to the public mind by the advocacy of its principles secured to the Poles, twenty-eight years after, the triumph of the constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791, generally known and admired in Europe; the reform of 1763, therefore, must be considered as the foundation-stone of political and social re-organization in Poland, and for these reasons deserves a closer examination. We proceed to this, by introducing here a brief account of its history.

As early as the end of the reign of Augustus II., the two brothers, Michel and Augustus, Princes Czartoryski, began to distinguish themselves by their opposition to the court, whose power rested entirely upon foreign influence*. "During that period," says Ruhlière, "the Russians had in Poland no enemies more determined or more implacable†." When, after the death of Augustus II., the ex-king, Stanislaus Leszczynski, was for the second time called to the Polish throne by his countrymen, the Czartoryskis, aware of his opinions in favour of reform, supported him with all their influence, talents and energy. During the short war which ensued, Stanislaus, in his good and bad fortune, had no subjects more faithful, no friends more devoted; and the elector of Saxony, afterwards king of Poland (Augustus III.), had no opponents more obstinate. But when Louis XV. abandoned the cause of his father-in-law, and thus obliged him to abdicate for the second time, the resentment of the Czartoryskis towards the French cabinet, which both in the time of Louis

* It will be remembered that Augustus II. was placed upon the throne of Poland by the aid of Russia.

† Vol. i. p. 198.

XIV. and on the present occasion had failed to support its ally, grew into absolute distrust.

The powerful influence which Russia exercised in Poland after the election of Augustus III., added to the credit of the court of the prince, who complied with all her wishes, was too great to allow the Czartoryskis to hope for any success in an open contest. Though possessed of immense wealth, and enjoying great influence among their countrymen, they had neither sufficient elements of opposition at home, nor any support from abroad. They therefore determined to employ that very foreign influence which they so much deplored, and had formerly opposed with so much energy, to their own ends and purposes. They resolved to carry into execution, by the aid of Russia herself, the measures which they had prepared for the salvation of their country,—a plan, no doubt, the boldest and most dangerous that could be conceived, but at the same time, perhaps, the only one which remained to be adopted.

With this view the two Czartoryskis joined the court, and by their talents and skill soon acquired the confidence of Augustus III., whom they had so ardently opposed during his election. Perceiving, however, that neither the king, nor his favourite, the Saxon minister, Count Brühl, could ever comprehend the depth of their political schemes, or the importance of the reform which they meditated, though ostensibly attached to the political system pursued by the court, they resolved to form private connexions on their own account with the cabinets of England*, Russia and Austria.

During the period of their favour with the king, they succeeded in filling the important offices of the state with men whose talents and opinions, with respect to reform, placed them in their party. Holding themselves the high dignities of the crown, (Prince Augustus, the younger, was Palatine of

* Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the English ambassador at the court of Poland at that period, was not only admitted into the entire confidence of the Princes Czartoryski, and cognizant of the whole plan of their intended reform, but he was also most active in demanding for them the support of his own cabinet during his embassies in Poland and in Russia. It was he who introduced the young Stanislaus Poniatowski, a nephew of the Czartoryskis, at the court of St. Petersburg, little aware that the individual whom he took as secretary to his embassy would, in a few years, mount the throne of Poland.

Russia*, and Prince Michel, Great Chancellor of Lithuania,) they were enabled to procure for their friends and supporters important appointments, both military and civil. Besides these means of securing power and influence, which they might use at any proper time, to carry their plans into execution, they were also most active in re-establishing order and integrity in the different branches of administration, and especially in the courts of justice, by causing the law to re-assume its power and authority. The increasing influence of the Czartoryski party soon awoke the jealousy of Count Brühl, the favourite minister of Augustus III. and of the court. It became more violent, in consequence of an accidental intrigue, which afterwards led Poniatowski, a near relative of the Czartoryskis, to the Polish throne, and of the dispute which arose between the cabinet of St. Petersburg and the king of Poland, on account of the investiture of the grand-duchy of Courland being given by the Polish Diet to Prince Charles, King Augustus's son, in spite of the remonstrances of Russia. The Czartoryskis seized that opportunity to secure for themselves her exclusive protection. Feeling now too powerful and too near their long-cherished object to yield any longer to the court, or by any condescension to endanger the projected reform, they ventured upon an open rupture, which continued to divide the country during the remainder of that reign.

According to ancient custom, new laws were generally enacted at the *Diets of Convocation*, assembled after the decease of monarchs. The Czartoryskis awaited that opportunity with impatience, determined then to bring forward their measures, and trusting that by their great influence they should be able to establish a new government in Poland. At the death of Augustus III. (1763), the *Diet of Convocation* met at Warsaw, and the two Czartoryskis appeared as its leaders. An eminent French writer† thus describes the labours of that Diet, and the means which the two princes employed to carry their plans into execution :—

“ La Diète dirigée par les Czartoryskis continuait ses séances. Ils

* *Russia* was the name of a palatinate or county of Poland: it comprised a portion of the present Galicia, and the government of Volhynia. The dignity of palatine corresponded with that of lord-lieutenant in this country.

† Ruhlère, vol. ii. pp. 211, 212.

s'étaient proposé de renverser la forme du gouvernement et d'établir une véritable monarchie sur les débris des mauvaises lois qui avaient perdu la Pologne. Ils travaillaient à dérober leurs vues à la nation elle-même, et à ses dangereux alliés. Le Grand Chancelier de Lithuanie (Prince Michel Czartoryski), poursuivant ce vaste dessein, marchait dans un chemin hérissé de difficultés, et qu'il fallait encore environner de ténèbres. Il sentait qu'une si grande opération entraînait mille injustices particulières, et il se livrait par occasion à toutes ses vengeances et à toutes ses haines. Résolu d'élever le trône sur les ruines des grandes charges et des principales maisons, il unissait l'idée du bien de l'état au plaisir de dépouiller ses ennemis, écrasant à la fois toutes les mauvaises lois et toute morale, et cachant aux yeux des ennemis naturels de la Pologne, ses profondes vues politiques sous l'apparence de satisfaire ses animosités personnelles. Le vieux Kayserling* était moitié gagné, moitié trompé. Ce vieillard ne sortait plus de sa chambre; on le flattait par tous les moyens auxquels il était sensible; on le prévenait dans tous ses goûts dispendieux; on lui envoyait de superbes chevaux, les meubles du luxe les plus recherchés, les livres les plus curieux, les instrumens de musique les plus rares. Comme il n'entendait pas la langue Polonoise, on s'était assuré du secrétaire qui traduisait pour lui tous les projets en Latin, et au moyen de quelques équivoques, les lois nouvelles en paraissant fidèlement traduites, avaient, cependant, un sens plus ou moins étendu dans la langue originale.

"Repnine† ne connaissait rien à tout ce labyrinthe de lois et de droit public. Les jeunes Polonais de cette faction menait avec lui une vie licencieuse; leurs chefs étaient convenus de lui payer une somme annuelle; etc., etc."

It was under such difficulties that the Princes Czartoryski succeeded, during the session of the Diet (1763), in carrying a great number of new laws, which gave a very different aspect to the government of Poland. The departments of finance, of war, of police and of justice, received a new organization. At the same time, laws improving the condition of the peasants and limiting the power of the landlords, were passed.

"C'est ainsi," adds the same French writer‡, "que le Grand Chancelier de Lithuanie parvint à changer le gouvernement de son pays en une véritable monarchie, sous le voile de rétablir simplement un meilleur ordre dans quelques parties de l'administration, et sans que les puissances qui protégeaient cette faction, intéressées à tenir les Polonais dans l'abaissement, s'appercussent qu'on employait leur protection à donner une nouvelle constitution à la république. Ce que les rois de France ont eu peine à faire en plus de quatre siècles; l'abolition des grandes charges, dont l'autorité était presque indépendante de celle du roi; l'abaissement des grandes fa-

* The Russian ambassador.
Vol. ii. p. 221.

† The colleague of Kayserling.

milles ; la noblesse, affaiblie par la diminution de son pouvoir sur les esclaves ; l'abrogation des privilèges particuliers des grandes villes, et leur réduction à l'obéissance immédiate ; les provinces entières dépouillées de leurs droits ; les sectes de la plus grande partie des leurs ; l'établissement arbitraire des impôts ; tout cela fut l'ouvrage de six semaines, etc."

The reform being thus carried by the legislative assembly, it was now necessary to secure stability to that government and to those laws which had just been introduced. For these reasons, it was most important to secure, at the ensuing election, a king who would fully appreciate the merit of the recent changes. The reign of the Saxon dynasty, for more than half a century, had brought on Poland so many calamities, both political and moral, and so much of foreign influence, that no Pole could wish any more for a king of foreign origin. From these motives, as well as from his personal qualities, influence and elevated rank, Prince Augustus Czartoryski was designated by the universality of the Poles to occupy that exalted station. But motives of state prevailed with that illustrious patriot over considerations of personal ambition. When he found that Stanislaus Poniatowski was promoted to the throne by the cabinet of St. Petersburg, in order to avoid all contest, he at once gave his support to that individual, wishing now only for the maintenance of the new laws. Hence, in spite of the reproaches of his friends and partisans, he not only refused to oppose his nephew, but gave him his entire support during the election, and became his most devoted and active minister after his accession.

The change of the principle of government, and the improving state of Poland, did not, however, escape the vigilant eye of a neighbour more keen than Russian ministers, more artful and more powerful by his genius than any monarch of his age. Frederick II., of Prussia, fully appreciated the changes introduced into Poland. The manœuvres of the Czartoryskis could not deceive him, nor could their solicitations dissuade him from the line of conduct which he had adopted with respect to their country. Determined to raise his own monarchy at the expense of his neighbours, enriched and emboldened by the conquest of Silesia, he saw in the weakness and anarchy of the government of Poland, the easy, if not the only means, of gaining new and most important ac-

quisitions. He resolved, therefore, to oppose every improvement or change in the constitution of that country. Whilst acquiescing in the demand of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, not to oppose the election of Poniatowski, he desired and obtained from that court the most solemn assurance, that *the ancient laws of Poland will not be allowed to undergo the slightest alteration*. But when the Diet of Convocation, headed by the Czartoryskis, passed those measures which were calculated to restore to Poland peace, order and power, and when the accession of Stanislaus Augustus to the throne seemed to secure to the Czartoryskis the means of strengthening these laws, and the possibility of carrying into execution their further political views, the king of Prussia hastened to represent to the Empress Catherine the importance and the bearings of the new laws adopted by the Diet, and the consequent danger to Russian influence in Poland of allowing them to remain. With all the anger which offended pride and awakened jealousy could create, the Empress Catherine joined Frederick II., in the view not only of destroying what had been lately accomplished in Poland, but at the same time of hastening the complete ruin of the country.

Vain were the efforts of Poland to obtain in her favour the interference of Austria, France and England ! the cabinets of these powers remained indifferent or undecided ; vain were the opposition of the diet, the government and the king, in defence of the new laws ! the Russian and Prussian ambassadors insisted with the utmost violence upon their repeal :

X " Ils n'accordèrent aux états," says Ruhlière*, " qu'un délai de vingt-quatre heures. Le ministre de Prusse annonça, au nom du roi, son maître, que douze mille Prussiens avaient ordre d'entrer en Pologne, si cette affaire souffrait un plus long retard, etc."

Not contented with the repeal of the new laws, obtained by the grossest violence, and insults to the person of the king, his ministers and senators, Russia and Prussia resorted to other schemes too. They excited political animosities and religious dissensions almost unknown and unthought of in Poland ; they offered their protection to all those who, attached to the ancient form of government, had feared in the new laws

* Vol. ii. p. 343.

the foundation of despotism. The partisans of the *liberum veto*, of elective monarchy, and of all republican abuses, now received the patronage of the most despotic powers in Europe; and finally the confederation* of Radom (1764), formed under their inspiration and auspices, annihilated, *de jure*, all that Russia and Prussia had previously annihilated *de facto*.

Such was the end of the reform of the Czartoryskis,—a work of forty-five years of labour, zeal and most persevering patriotism. The reform being once repealed, the confederates of Radom soon found out that the protection given to them by Russia was as short as insincere. The nation flew to arms; the partial resistance of the confederates of Bar, which lasted four years, was vain. The first dismemberment (1772) then took place. This melancholy event united all feelings and all opinions among the Poles. The progress of ideas, under the lessons of adversity and misfortune, is more rapid; it was no longer a few individuals, or a party, but the nation at large, which saw the soundness of the principles of the reform of 1763. Yet before these principles could attain a complete success, before they could obtain a national triumph by finding their way into a constitution called for by the people, passed by the diet, and sworn by the king, many years of great efforts and unabated zeal were required on the part of the leaders of the Polish patriots. So great were the difficulties of a thorough and wise reform in a state, which had been exposed so long to disorder and abuses of every kind, and so much greater still were now the obstacles, jealousy, intrigues and violence of surrounding powers to oppose its success. At last, after twenty-eight years of moral contest between the Polish nation and her enemies, the seeds of reform, thrown upon the fertile soil of Poland by the Princes Czartoryski, brought forth their fruit in 1791, and on the 3rd of May, amidst universal gra-

* The general assemblies of the nobility, whether for the purpose of electing the deputies for the diet, or for raising a *levée en masse* in time of great need, commonly took place by virtue of royal circulars. But when the nobility assembled without, or against royal authorization, for the purpose of considering the state of public affairs, such an act received the name of *Confederation*. The confederations were legal when met for the public good, or when the power of the diet or of the government was not adequate to the necessities of the moment. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this *legality* of the confederations led, for the greater part, to many abuses and confusion. In truth, *confederations* were intended to remedy the evil, but in almost every case the remedy was worse than the evil itself.

tulations, a new constitution was promulgated. By this constitution the *liberum veto* was at last abolished, the authority of the crown extended, hereditary monarchy proclaimed, the servitude of the peasants swept away, and order in all branches of the administration introduced. To it the king, the diet, the clergy, the civil and military authorities, and the whole nation, with unanimous feelings of joy and hope, gave their full and cordial assent. But if the constitution of the 3rd of May, 1791, must be considered as a glorious triumph of great and long efforts on the part of the Polish people to re-assume their rank amongst the powerful nations of Europe, to introduce good government, order and improved laws into the country, it ought to be no less praised as a noble monument of the legislation of the eighteenth century; for when we remember, that besides the reform of the government, the constitution of 1791 laid at the same time the broad foundation of a *social* reform in Poland, without a single drop of blood being shed, without one single act of violence being committed, we cannot but admire the wisdom and prudence of its authors, and the beauty of the monument. In this classical country of true liberty, in the British Parliament, such statesmen as Burke and Fox pronounced eulogiums upon the constitution of 1791. The opinion of these and other eminent men will secure to it an everlasting respect, and stand with posterity as a strong shield against the calumnies of Russia, Austria and Prussia, who, in denouncing its principles as dangerous to social order, were only anxious for a pretext for new aggressions and the final ruin of Poland. In 1792, and during the insurrection of Kosciuszko in 1794, the Poles fought both for the independence of their country and in defence of their *new* constitution, which had now become the cause of war on the part of the surrounding powers. The resistance however of a nation, which then only began to reorganise itself, against the numerous and combined armies of the three spoliators, proved unavailing. Europe looked on with apathy and guilty indifference. The Poles were disarmed; the final dismemberments of the country (1793-1795) were effected; but when this was completed, and a numerous nation compelled to bend, for a time, beneath the foreign yoke, the feeling of past errors sank deep into their hearts, and

their attachment to the constitution of 1791 became the more powerful and the more universal, as they saw in it not only an adequate remedy for the abuses to which they were so long exposed, but also, if allowed to exist, a most certain guarantee of peace and national greatness for the future.

It would be superfluous in this place to enter upon speculative considerations of what would have been the immediate consequences of the reform alluded to on the moral and political state of Poland, had the Poles been permitted to proceed as they had begun, and had not foreign invasion stopped short all improvements, and destroyed all independent action and self-government in the nation. Our object here is to examine the effects of the partition of Poland upon the Polish nation itself, and more especially to bring to notice facts which will amply show, that notwithstanding the invasion and protracted occupation of the country by foreigners, the nation has not perished; that *she lives* in the full vigour of her nationality, of her desire for independent existence, of the remembrance of her past and hope of future efforts. It may, indeed, be naturally asked, how it happens that Poland, deprived as she has been, for more than half a century, of all independent and political existence, does not sink into oblivion? How is it, that notwithstanding all the efforts of Russia, Prussia and Austria, to annihilate her religion, language and hopes of future regeneration, her people still retain their distinct national features, and are far from becoming either Russians or Germans? What is the cause, that amidst constant persecution and the most cruel tyranny committed upon the flower of her people, amidst the streams of her blood and the blood of her foes, amidst the devastation of the country and the sufferings and misery of all classes of its inhabitants, their nationality stands unshaken, and as pure as ever?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to consider in the first place the social condition of the people in Poland as it existed formerly; and the effect upon it of that moral and political reform which we have just described, and which, preceding the final dismemberment of the country, filled the Polish people, on the eve of their destruction, with new life and fresh vigour.

From what has been previously stated respecting the internal

condition of Poland, it is evident that, during a long period before the partition, she possessed no real government. There was a nation, a society ; but a government, an authority directing the moral and physical capabilities of the country, did not exist in Poland. To this consummation she had been brought, partly through the deficiency of that public spirit which induces men to sacrifice their individual interests for the sake of the public welfare, and which may be called the element of State (*état*) ; and partly in consequence of the superabundance of the spirit of individuality, which makes men bend with difficulty under authority, and wish for their personal independence, their own comfort and prosperity, in preference to the interest and prosperity of the state,—a spirit which forms the social element of a people, and which for a long time was the principal feature of the Polish nation. Indeed, the vitality of the social element in Poland, its superabundance, stifled the feeble existing element of State ; it controlled and limited the power of the crown ; it deprived the executive of strength and union ; it introduced into it anarchy and confusion ; it brought upon the country general weakness and disorganization, and led to its ruin. But it happened that the very abundance of the social element, which caused the downfall of Poland, preserved her from destruction. With the limited power of the king, with the absence of cabinet and government, of treasury and army, Poland, as we have just observed, long before the partitions, ceased to exist as a *state*, as an *empire* ; she existed, during that period, as a nation, a *society*, or, to express it more strongly—she existed in the individuality of every Pole. Hence it is, that in dismembering the country, and effacing it as a *political state* from the map of Europe, Russia, Austria and Prussia may be said to have destroyed nothing but what had already ceased to exist, and had left entire that social or individual element in which alone the nation then existed *de facto*. Hence it is that, while undergoing a foreign yoke as a *state*, it remained unsubjugated and distinct as a *nation* ; and that by the side of a prostrate Poland we behold at this very moment another, still unconquered and struggling.

Foreign invasion did not weaken that social element of the Polish people, which, in the midst of anarchy and disorgani-

zation, has been the palladium of their national existence for more than two hundred years. On the contrary, in adding to its strength and vitality by wounding the patriotic feelings of the Poles, it fully awoke at the same time among them—(by pointing out the presence and magnitude of the danger, and the necessity of order, government and collective strength,)—that dormant element of State, the absence of which had brought upon them the calamity of a foreign yoke; which, previous to foreign occupation, the patriotic efforts of Polish reformers had endeavoured to strengthen, and which now began rapidly to increase. From that moment both of these elements, far from opposing each other, as was the case before, united together; they assist each other; nay, they have now the same direction, the same tendency and the same object in view, viz. independence. And while we must ascribe to the first of them, that Poland, even after its complete dismemberment, without a chief and without the representative of a national dynasty, was able to break out into such frequent and powerful insurrections, we must ascribe to the increase of the other, that advance of political ideas among the Poles, which, during the misfortunes of their country, led them to the triumph of a most judicious political reform.

The two reforms of 1763 and 1791 had also an immense influence on that new life of the Polish nation which followed the partition of their country. The seed of regeneration was, indeed, sown in good time, nor did the hurricanes which overran her fields endanger its fruitful harvest. To judge of the progress of political ideas in Poland, during the period which elapsed between the two reforms just mentioned, we have but to compare the articles of the constitution of 1791 with the measures of 1763. Without referring to the articles respecting the lower classes of the nation, and the abolition of serfage, as connected with the social improvement of Poland, the fundamental laws of state provided by that constitution are much more advanced than those proposed by the reformers of 1763. Thus, for instance, the abolition of the anarchical law of unanimity (*liberum veto*), which the Czartoryskis could not carry*, and the establishment of an hereditary throne—which they did not even dare

* They succeeded only in *limiting* the power of that law.

to propose to the Diet of 1763—were now adopted unanimously as fundamental laws of the state. Nor did the progress of political ideas among the Poles subside after the events of 1793 and 1795. On the contrary, in the general wreck of the country, which those events brought upon it, the conviction of having lost their political existence, not in consequence of the want of physical force and resources, but in consequence of the want of order and good government, in consequence of the absence of *moral* force and organization, became as powerful and as vivid as the wish for independence itself. Hence, amidst the public calamities, a steady and progressive advance in the understanding of sound political ideas—an advance which, exciting in its turn the wish for independent national existence, exercises a paramount and beneficial influence upon the actual threatened life of the Polish nation.

The progress alluded to is still more apparent in the form of the successive governments, established during that long series of insurrections which have followed one after the other since the first partition. Jealous as we saw the Poles in former days of the authority of their rulers, we now behold them make every successive government, set up by their insurrections, stronger and more concentrated than the preceding one had been: with each new insurrection the power and authority of the executive increases. During the insurrections the popular cry is never against the government because *too* despotic, but because not sufficiently energetic, because vacillating, and thought pusillanimous as regards its vigour and activity, both at home and abroad. Thus taking, for instance, a period of about sixty years, we find an immense progress of ideas respecting the executive, and the attributes of insurrectional government, from the old-fashioned anarchical government of the Confederation of Bar (1768–1772), when every one commanded but no one obeyed, when devotion and pure patriotism stood in lieu of discipline and union, to the conception of dictatorial authority during the last insurrection (1830–31), when every one preferred obeying to commanding; and when the universal spirit of subordination was carried so far, that many good patriots preferred doing violence to their own consciences and understandings by acquiescing in the system of negotiations adopted by the

Dictator, against which their feelings revolted, to weakening the authority of a man to whom once the destiny of the country had been committed,—a man who, by his obstinacy, most bitterly disappointed the hopes of the nation.

How this moral progress is appreciated by native writers, the following passage, extracted from the ‘History of the Insurrection’ during the years 1830–31, by M. Mocknacki, will serve to show. This eminent writer thus concludes his observations respecting the establishment of a dictatorial government immediately after the outbreak of 1830:—

“In former days, the Polish nobility, haughty and egotistical, took advantage of foreign intrigues to tear piece after piece from the royal purple which adorned the throne of their kings. Effeminate, licentious and degenerate, yet when the day of misfortune arrived, when the country had been partitioned, they endeavoured in every quarter of ancient Poland to shake off the yoke imposed upon them by foreign treachery. More lately and up to the present time, they are seen by turns conspiring, fighting and emigrating, still always jealous and irritable, always cherishing above all things their individual liberty. During that long historical career, they may boast of two truly glorious moments: the first at the time of the constitutional diet (1788–1791), when, reforming the abuses introduced into the laws by their ancestors, they acknowledged their former faults, and voluntarily admitted the burgesses to the right of citizenship, with the intention of farther extending the political franchises from towns to villages; and the second when, after the 29th of November, 1830, in the first and most generous impulse, as soon as the troops of the Czar retired from Warsaw, they submitted spontaneously, in order to enable the government to act vigorously, to the iron rule of a soldier, one of their own countrymen. At the former period (the constitutional diet) an improved social order was proclaimed; at the latter, the *means* of the reconstruction of Poland were pointed out; means consisting in this great truth, that when national existence is at stake, an enemy, possessed of a despotic power, ought to be fought with his own arms, viz. with the energy of despotic rule.

“The conduct therefore of the Polish nation was wise and politic. Insurrection in Poland can, indeed, breathe only under a cuirass; it can only step and advance accompanied with the clang of warlike attire; it can only think with *one* head, covered with a steel helmet. Hence, a military dictatorship was the first law and condition of a war with Muscovy.”—*Vol. ii. pp. 342, 343.*

We have dwelt at some length upon the progress of political ideas among the Polish people, because this subject, notwithstanding its extreme importance, has never, that we know of, been considered before. But since it is certain, unequivocal and notorious, because testified by public and hi-

historical evidence, because marked by national and authentic acts, its effects upon the future prospects of Poland must be of immense moment, especially when we remember that the deficiency of these very ideas was the primitive and cardinal cause of her ruin. Indeed, in proportion to the moral advancement of the nation, her physical forces assumed a more imposing character, and in the same proportion as the former were steadily progressive, did the latter likewise increase. Hence, every succeeding insurrection has been more general and more powerful than the one preceding; hence, every new war has shown more resources in the nation and brought into the field more numerous and better-trained armies, and consequently obtained more success than the last. Thus, after the insignificant forces of the Confederates of Bar (1768-1772), we see under Kosciuszko (1794) an increased and regular army of from 20,000 to 30,000 men. In 1807 the Duchy of Warsaw, though less than one-fourth of ancient Poland*, had a standing army amounting to 30,000; in 1812 it amounted to 60,000. During the war of 1830-31, no less than 100,000 men bore arms in regular corps, besides numerous detachments of insurgents, the former being perfectly equipped and most regularly paid. Such a progressive display of physical force and financial resources not only shows that the former insurrections did not exhaust the country, but, on the contrary, it proves that each of them had the effect of preparing, whether in generals, officers and soldiers, or experienced civil functionaries of every description, new and more abundant resources for the following one.

A question of great difficulty and vital interest to the regeneration and stability of Poland arose from the non-existence of an ancient and acknowledged national dynasty. Important as we consider it to be to every European state, because offering the best guarantee of order, internal peace and independent political existence, a national dynasty was still more desirable for Poland, whose national institutions and political independence were now both placed in so great peril. The authors of the Constitution of 1791, fully appreciating the vitality of this great question, provided for its settlement by a

* See Atlas, Map V.

special Article. This Article* declared that, after the death of king Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, who had no issue, the throne of Poland should pass to the elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus, son of the late king of Poland, Augustus III., and be hereditary in his dynasty. The nation remained true to these principles and provisions. When, in consequence of the insurrection of 1806, in the Prussian part of Poland, that part was constituted, by the treaty of Tilsit (1807) into the Duchy of Warsaw, the Poles appealed to the provisions of the Constitution of 1791, and obtained that Frederick Augustus, then king of Saxony, should be placed upon the throne of the Duchy. After the disasters of the campaign of 1812, when the downfall of Buonaparte brought ruin upon himself and his allies, the devotion of the Poles towards their sovereign Frederick Augustus remained unshaken, until he himself called upon them to submit to Russian arms, and absolved the people from their allegiance. By the treaty of Vienna, 1815, the crown of the *new* kingdom of Poland† was delivered up to the imperial dynasty of Romanoff; and it scarcely needs mentioning that this arrangement, committing Poland to the hands and discretion of her most powerful enemy, could never be acquiesced in by her people, or considered otherwise than as a temporary and a forced one. In this new transition of Poland her peril did not lie so much in the alliance with Russia thus imposed upon her by force, as in the absence of a legitimate heir to her throne, in the deficiency of a representative of her national dynasty, and of her rights to an independent political existence. The stipulations of the treaty of Vienna, with reference to Poland, did not, indeed, abate the hope or diminish the desire and unshaken tendency of the nation to regain its ancient independence: on the contrary, those articles which acknowledged the sacred rights of the Polish people, which guaranteed to them the enjoyment of their national institutions, which declared the *moral union* of all parts of ancient Poland (as it existed before 1772), notwithstanding the political boundaries of various foreign governments dividing her territory, which proclaimed that it is of interest to Europe, that this *moral union* of the whole of Poland, and

* § VIII.

† Atlas, Map VII.

this distinct nationality of her people, should never perish*, inspired the Poles with new hopes and fresh confidence. But in order to develop the moral and physical forces of the nation so as to enable her to regain independence itself, it was necessary to surmount another paramount difficulty. That difficulty consisted, as we have just observed, in the absence of a natural and legitimate chief of the nation, of a legal pretender to the Polish throne, of a living standard round which all patriotic efforts of the Poles could unite and concentrate. Thus, amidst the thousand obstacles with which Poland, groaning under a cruel foreign yoke, had to struggle, amidst the thousand difficulties she had to overcome in order to secure from destruction her nationality, her rights and her hope of future regeneration, she was deprived even of that assistance which would arise from a dynasty of her own; a circumstance which has been proved by the experience of all times to be the most powerful support, if not the first condition of success, in national struggles against foreign despotism. To fill up that vacancy of an hereditary head of the nation, was difficult, perhaps impossible at that time. On the one hand, the nation was reluctant to break its connexion with the Saxon dynasty, which the Constitution of 1791 had sanctioned; on the other, no services of any illustrious patriot, however important they might be, could, during a period of peace, produce on the minds of the bulk of the people such an effect as to induce them to look up to him with the feelings of subjects.

Thus the insurrection of 1830 found the Poles without a national chief. Impressed with the idea that the fate of their country must be decided on the field of battle, their unanimous choice fell upon an experienced soldier; he was made Dictator; but at the same time, the Diet hastened to declare that this form of government was temporary, and proclaimed constitutional monarchy. The provisional government lost no time in appealing to the reigning House of Saxony, and reminding it of its rights to the Polish crown, sanctioned by the Constitution of 1791. The Saxon princes, however, would not think of them. During the time of the struggle they

* Articles 1st and 2nd of the General Treaty of Vienna, as well as the Articles 24, 25, 26, 28, 29 of the separate treaty between Austria and Russia; and 22, 23, 24, 25, 28 and 29 of the treaty between Russia and Prussia.

evinced no sentiments but those of perfect indifference. Hence the connexion which existed between them and the Polish nation is broken for ever—their right henceforth is extinct and forgotten. Other reigning dynasties were then applied to. The Poles offered the crown of their country to any prince of royal blood. But in order to lift it up, it was necessary to bend for it on the field of many bloody battles; it was necessary to go through a thousand difficulties and dangers, which a Pole, animated with the most ardent patriotism and self-devotion, could alone wish to encounter. This idea came too late, at a moment when the provisional government had exhausted the greater part of its resources, and discouraged many a hope.

Providence, indeed, seemed to designate to that exalted station a man from among the Poles themselves,—a man whom all of them agreed to acknowledge as by far superior to each of them, and who, by his illustrious birth, was not inferior to any foreign prince. This man was Prince Adam Czartoryski. Descended from the younger branch of the royal family of Jaggelon, the traditions of whose glorious reign for more than two centuries are so endeared to the Polish people, possessed of immense fortune and influence, he, by his long personal services and devotion to the country, added still greater lustre to the name he bore. But the short time of the duration of the insurrection elapsed before the thought, which had been in the minds of all, could germinate, shoot out and be put into execution. Perhaps also this illustrious patriot, this statesman, tried by forty years of public service, was wanting, on that important occasion, in that noble ambition, which would have determined him at once to mount upon a throne surrounded with so many difficulties.

Whatever be the case, it may be positively asserted, that the above idea and regret for not having put it into execution in due time, have remained deeply rooted in the mind of the nation. The disinterestedness of Prince Czartoryski during the insurrection, and his subsequent sacrifices and devotion, have had the effect of raising him still higher in the national estimation. And while thus the people of Poland look to him with confidence, while they acknowledge him as their chief and their national standard; while, on the other hand, Europe continues to see in his person a representative

of the Polish cause, it is impossible not to perceive the immense benefit which the above circumstance must exercise on the future prospects of Poland.

Many interesting publications on this important subject have appeared in the Polish tongue. A pamphlet, entitled 'On the National Dynasty of Poland,' published in Paris last year, and written with much talent, thus concludes its appreciation of the eminent station which the family of Czartoryski have filled in Poland for more than a century:—

"From the above statement of historical facts, we perceive that the Czartoryskis are the personification of a salutary reform; that they are representatives of national resistance against a foreign yoke; and, if we may express so, the germ of regenerating Polish monarchy. In the eighteenth century everything useful and desirable was introduced by them; they instructed, guided, and made efforts to save Poland; but when all circumstances conspired against her independence, it was they who still prevented her total destruction. Whether it be a foreign hero who re-establishes Poland, or whether it be the heroic people themselves, who by their own efforts endeavour to restore their native land to independence, the Czartoryskis are always placed at the head, they are always looked to as chief of the nation. This similarity of the family history with the history of the nation, this coincidence of Napoleon's genius with the sound sense of the representatives of the last insurrection, the accord of such various elements, alarms the enemies of the Czartoryskis; they are numerous, for all enemies of Poland are theirs also; but in proportion to this, grows more powerful in strength, number and loyal discipline, the national legion of patriots, and forms round its chief a more concentrated column. Indeed, the nearer the day of the re-establishment of Poland, the nearer are the Czartoryskis to the Polish throne.

"The Czartoryskis are of the blood of the Jaggelons—a living tradition of hereditary monarchy; they are the natural opponents of foreign rule and of republican abuses; they are the followers of Batory, Sobieski, Leszczynski, and of all other enemies of republican anarchy. The Czartoryskis were the Mentors of Stanislaus Augustus, their nephew, after whose death the crown was to remain hereditary, and who left no issue; they are therefore the nearest to the last dynasty, the nearest to the last king. Hence, the Czartoryskis inherit the monarchy of the Jaggelons; they inherit it out of the national will, and not in virtue of so called *right divine*; but they inherit it in consequence of the divine interposition in favour of the Polish people. The nearest to the Polish throne by the right of blood, the Princes Czartoryskis are the nearest to it by the right of merit also. It was they who lifted up Poland when she was abandoned to her own lot by the discouraged Leszczynski and by corrupted France, and who for a hundred years have led her till our days without interruption. When we consider that the moral revolution which Poland has undergone during that period was their exclusive work; that the political reform was accomplished by their solicitude and exertions; that, in conse-

quence of their ability, displayed during their connexion with Russia, a portion of Poland, under German rule, was restored to independent existence; when we recollect that the nation allowed them to accomplish those changes, that it allowed them to reform the whole of its organization, both in reference to its social and diplomatical condition; that during the whole century it supported them in their efforts, that it placed them always at its head and entrusted them always with authority; we cannot but look to the Czartoryskis as the real kings of our society, as kings *de facto*; kings, not usurpers, for none during that long period disputed or denied their exclusive supremacy."

The Polish nation therefore now possesses that vital element of reconstruction, of which before and during her last insurrection she stood so much in need. She owes it, we repeat, in the first instance, to the gracious interposition of Providence, who preserved in her own bosom a man able to represent and guide her; but she owes it also to the progress of her political wisdom, which enables her to appreciate the whole magnitude of this blessing, and entrust with unbounded confidence him, from whom henceforward she awaits the signal of a new combat, which shall lead her to independence.

ARTICLE II.

Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries. By HENRY HALLAM, F.R.A.S. Vols. 2, 3, 4. London: 1839.

THE expectations we had formed from the first volume of Mr. Hallam's History of Literature are now gratified by the completion of the work. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add, that to the larger and more arduous portion of his task the author has brought the same discriminating spirit and comprehensive knowledge that made the introductory volume so welcome an accession to critical literature. In a field difficult to divide from the connexion, and to arrange from the variety of its departments, he treads with equal security the dark places of ethics and metaphysics, the steep and far-stretching range of the Baconian philosophy, or the pleasant mazes of fiction and poetic creation. Mr. Hallam is cautious, but he

is also catholic in his tastes. He is ready to acknowledge, in its proper sequence and degree, every form of excellence from the 'Pilgrim's Progress' to 'Paradise Lost;' and the moderation of his censure and his praise is to our feelings more impressive than the eager eulogies, or the acrid zeal, with which Bouterwek and Schlegel are wont to approve or condemn. Neither has he fallen into a common mistake of literary historians, an exclusive preference for certain schools and eras of literature. The predilections which are excusable and even natural in an editor or the revivers of old books, are inconvenient in the wider sphere of the historian, who has to adjust rather than advance claims of literary precedence, and who must, with rare exceptions, subordinate the station of an author to the general character of his age. Mr. Hallam makes honourable mention of many whom he still would not exalt into the high places of literature. His allegiance to Shakspeare does not diminish his admiration of Molière and Racine. He is devout without bigotry, and is equally vigilant against his exotic as against his national prejudices. To some passionate admirers of particular fashions in literature, and to theological and political zealots generally, Mr. Hallam's pages will often appear cold and lifeless, especially in an age seemingly well inclined to fight over again some old quarrels; but Mr. Hallam's work is not meant for readers of this description. They will best profit by it who, willing to form a dispassionate judgement of modern cultivation, so far as it is derived from literature, will take for their guide, or if they have already explored the way, for their companion, a writer whose patience in research and candour in disquisition are exemplary, whose taste is generally manly and pure, and whose habits of mind and composition unite discretion with earnestness, and eloquence with simplicity of language.

If we found it difficult to present our readers with such a survey of Mr. Hallam's former volume as might compress without injuring, or display without anticipating its contents, our task is now infinitely less easy, not merely from having to deal with three to one, but from the greater importance and variety of the literary history of Europe subsequent to the Reformation. A critical historian, who, among the libraries of Attalus and the Ptolemies, should have undertaken to write a synoptical and æsthetical account of Greek literature, could scarcely have

failed to impart something of an artistic unity to his work. However numerous the volumes he would have had to unroll, in the master-works of that language he would have traced the gradual evolution of certain intellectual laws; in the secondary works a series of reflected images more or less faithful to their common type. But the history of modern European literature affords fewer facilities for arrangement. Within the period of Mr. Hallam's labours it is divided by theology into two principal segments, which are again broken up by the original differences of language and of race. Beyond any of these causes, however, the objects to which the historian must direct his researches are multiplied and perplexed by the incomparably wider range of intellectual activity in modern times. If the ancients discussed nearly every problem in moral and metaphysical philosophy the sophistic or scholastic mind can invent, they had, at least in their purer ages, no theology. Their books of ritual, the almanac and rubric of Pagandom, awakened no religious emotions; and their treatises on the 'Divine Nature,' on 'Fate' or 'Divination,' agitated only the lecture-rooms of the philosopher. On the other hand, the development of their poetic forms was so regular, that a work was at once referred to the epic, the dramatic, or the lyrical class. Those born out of due time, like the Argonauts of Apollonius, were easily distinguishable as a parasitical species, indebted for whatever strength and succulence they exhibited to their adherence to the forms of a more genial age. But how wide are the individual distinctions even within the numerous sections of modern literature! Butler and Milton are poets; Böhmen and Barrow theologians; yet with what compasses can we trace orbits so apart from one another as those of 'Hudibras' and 'Comus,' the 'Aurora' and the 'Sermons on the government of the tongue.' Of the various races that make up the political aggregate of modern Europe, there is scarcely one which has not in some degree had a national, at least a local literature of its own. Of these some, like the Sicilian, have been too short-lived; some, like the low-Dutch, too provincial; or some, as the Swedish, too remote from the centres of politics and commerce, to influence the general progress of society; while from other causes, an entire family, the Slavonic, has remained without the pale of European cultivation. Yet

with all these deductions, the subdivisions of literature, since the revival of learning, present an almost inextricable variety to the historian. Mr. Hallam has managed his synchronisms with great skill; his transitions are easily remembered, and his necessary brevity in many departments of his work is attended with few sacrifices of what is really interesting or instructive. In our notice of the first volume we have, however, entered more fully upon his merits in these respects. We must now hasten to lay before our readers such an analysis of the larger portion of the work before us as our limits will allow, omitting, as before, what may be called the statistics of literature, and such sections as we cannot abridge without injury. We must, therefore, content ourselves with a general recommendation of Mr. Hallam's account of Bodinus and Bacon, of Hobbes and Descartes, not merely as among the more valuable portions of the present volumes, but as accessions of no common worth to the exegetical part of moral and political science. Our extracts, as well as our remarks, will rather be confined to such chapters as relate to the initiative or progressive periods of intellectual cultivation, and to the more striking phenomena in the character of literature and learning.

The first chapter is devoted to the progress of classical learning and philology from the middle to the close of the sixteenth century. This period eminently deserves the title of an age of scholars, and has filled our public libraries with immense fruits of literary labour. The immediate effects of the revival of ancient literature were, it is well known, to repress invention and independence of thought, and to induce a mistaken but generous despair of emulating in the ruder dialects of modern Europe the exact harmony of classical models. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, however, this intellectual servility was on the decline, especially on this side the Alps; and the Italians, who still submitted to it, already began to be less conspicuous as critics and philologists. The greater vigour and earnestness of the Teutonic mind displayed itself even in scholarship, and the fame of Manutius, Panvinus, and Sigonius was equalled or eclipsed by that of Ruhnken, Casaubon and Scaliger. In speaking of Manutius, Mr. Hallam says, that "his letters, though addressed to the "great classical scholars of his age, and exclusively on literary

"subjects, deal chiefly in generalities; and the affectation of "copying Cicero in every phrase gives a coldness and almost "an air of insincerity to the sentiments." In point of mere style there can be no comparison between the letters of Sadolet or Manutius on the one hand, and those of Scaliger, Lipsius, or Casaubon on the other. The former, however, have "but one note, the praise of learning, yet they rarely "impart to us much information about its history and progress." The others are "full of animation and pregnant with knowledge." In the middle of the sixteenth century, some far from uncommon writers had not yet been given to the press, but most of the rest had gone through several editions; and the means of acquiring an extensive, though not in all respects very exact erudition, might perhaps be nearly as copious as at present. The character of learning, as Mr. Hallam observes, in consequence, probably, among other reasons, of these augmented stores, underwent a change. "It became less polished and elegant, but more laborious "and profound. The German or Cisalpine type, if I may "use the word, prevailed over the Italian, the school of Budaëus over that of Bembo." One advantage, however, that Italy derived from its enthusiasm for antiquity, Mr. Hallam has omitted to notice. Its learned men gained the most distinct and lively view of the character of ancient Rome; and although many sources of more accurate information have subsequently been opened, we have but recently surpassed the clearness and completeness of the old Italian philologists in this department of study. The air they breathed, the ground they trod on, the ruins with which that land is strewn, and the affinities of their native language, impregnated their whole being with the spirit of ancient Rome, and inspired them in their antiquarian labours with something like the faculty of divination. Mr. Hallam has carefully, and we think justly, characterized the merits of the French and German scholars of this half century, 1550-1600. His admiration chiefly rests, as that of every scholar will always do who can estimate what he has inherited from great minds and what he owes to their memory, upon the younger Scaliger. His arrogance and intolerance were those of his age; yet are they less offensive, not merely than the ruffianism of Scio-

pius, but than the irritable vanity of his father Julius and the fickleness of Lipsius. His intellect was little less comprehensive, his learning more exact than that of Leibnitz. His work, '*De Emendatione Temporum*,' in which, with the confident strength of genius and with boundless learning, he laboured at restoring Eusebius, placed him at the summit of universal philological learning. The friendship and correspondence of Casaubon cheered and confirmed him in his researches. He left behind him some illustrious disciples, but no successor; and the intervals between the greater luminaries of philology, between Scaliger and Bentley, between Bentley and Niebuhr, resemble the distant manifestations of the epic muse.

Mr. Hallam's second chapter is a necessary but most instructive digression into the domain of political history. The revolutions of opinion immediately affect the forms and the development of literature, and the sources or the effects of opinion must be sought in the records of the church or the state. A decree of the diet of Augsburg in 1555, confirming the pacification of Passau, recognized the members of the Lutheran confession as an established Christian society, whose rights from that period became part of the public law of Germany. The consequences of this decree are among the most interesting phenomena of the Reformation; and the lesson to be derived from them is of peculiar moment to a transitional period of opinions like the present, when both Protestantism and Catholicism seem destined to undergo farther changes, perhaps to revive their ancient collision. The progress of the reformed religion was at first signally rapid and triumphant; most of the Franconian and Bavarian nobility, and the citizens of every considerable town, though subjects of Catholic princes, became Protestant. The reports of the Venetian envoys are remarkable for their judiciousness and accuracy; and an ambassador of that republic in 1558 estimated the Catholics of the German empire at only one-tenth of the population. In France the common people still frequented the churches, but all other classes, and especially the nobles, had fallen off. The defection was most remarked in the rising generation. The earnestness of England, the violence of Scotland in embracing the various forms of Protestantism, are well known:

the more genuinely Teutonic races of these countries had always evinced a preference for abstract and intellectual doctrines, and imperfectly sympathized with the more sensuous devotion of the South. But even where, from analogy, ancient prejudices and a semi-idolatrous form of worship might have been supposed most acceptable to the people, the new religion was cordially entertained; and Protestantism gained innumerable converts along the shores of the Danube, the Drave and the Vistula. It is not surprising that this religious ferment affected the political relations of many countries. In Southern Europe, indeed, the orthodoxy of the Catholic sovereigns was protected or confirmed by the more resolute bearing of the church; while in the passive submission of the lower orders to their spiritual guides the new opinions found no resonance to the appeals of argument or invective, but rather a stubborn or a passionate obstruction to their approach. But beyond the Alps some Catholic governments wavered for a time, and hesitated to oppose the weakened and undefined barriers of an ancient system to the rude assaults of popular feeling and inquiry, lest in the prostration of ecclesiastical authority the civil power might not escape unharmed. The emperor Ferdinand I. was tolerant in disposition, and, at least before the pacification of Passau, had his private reasons for desiring an accommodation. His successor, Maximilian II., incurred the suspicion of a secret leaning towards the reformed tenets. In Bavaria there seemed little prospect of the permanence of Catholicism; and although Sigismund Augustus did not quit the church of Rome, yet he probably wavered in his allegiance, and the Polish court and nobility became extensively Protestant. In Austria and Hungary the nobles and the burghers who professed the doctrines of the Reformers were so numerous, that they obtained a full toleration and equality of privileges. Under the weak and youthful successor of Henry II. the spirit of reformation broke out in France with an impetuosity proportioned to the severity with which it had been restrained. The Low Countries very early caught the flame, and presented in their northern states the august spectacle of a people whom persecution for conscience-sake elevated from the condition of a subject-province to the dignity and importance of a free, intelligent and powerful confede-

ration. "In the year 1560," says Mr. Hallam, "every Protestant in Europe doubtless anticipated the overthrow of Popery; the Catholics could have found little else to warrant hope than their trust in heaven. The late rush of many nations towards democratical opinions has not been so rapid and so general as the change of religion about that period." Yet in a few years the tide was setting the other way, and "it is important and interesting to inquire what stemmed this current."

The unity of the visible church has in all ages been a powerful plea, a pleasing delusion, or a useful prejudice. In the formative ages of modern Europe the church was the only centre around which the warring elements or the imperfect affinities of crude civilization could find a resting-place. By this common soil some of them were presently absorbed and disappear altogether,—the feeble and immature germs which had no root in themselves. Others were concealed for a time until a more genial season or climate allowed of their expansion, and others immediately struck root and flourished as the archetypal forms and ideas of a rude but vigorous era. In the Middle Ages, when the most living of these forms and principles were established, and Christian Europe in its political structure exhibited a grand but irregular combination of what was permanent in the old, and of what was progressive in the new order of things, the unity of the church, although less secure and conspicuous than before, was still the acknowledged centre and bond of the Christian federation, and retained and exerted its proper position and its legitimate functions. The civil power had outgrown its infancy, but had not yet reached the first period of its manhood; and if it was beyond the nurse, it still required the salutary and uniform discipline of an instructor. Up to this point, therefore, as the supremacy of the ecclesiastical power was useful, its outward unity at least was essential; and it was equally the interest both of the guardian and the ward to avoid the indecorous blots of schism. But in the sixteenth century the European states had passed the period of tutelage. For the most part they were capable of self-government, and stood in need of such an external union only as would combine the welfare of the whole Christian republic with the free and na-

tural expansion of its several members. From this epoch the unity of the church became inefficient, perhaps impracticable, since it was exposed to the accidents of place and circumstance, and to the varying tempers of individuals and nations. By the Reformation Europe was parted into two principal fragments, which even after their schism retained many points of resemblance, yet whose re-union was impossible, since the rent was at the foundation. Each of the dissident parties in its attempts at accommodation admitted the importance of unity as a principle, while each in its anxiety to form of itself an integral and independent body confessed the necessity of separation. The equal attraction of these polar forces from the sixteenth century to the present has involved Christendom in manifold controversies both of the pen and the sword, and imparted to modern history some characteristics equally unknown to the earlier times of the church, and to every age of the ethnic world. We shall follow Mr. Hallam in briefly tracing the principal features of the change, and of the causes of that singular re-action which, by the close of the sixteenth century, seemed very nearly to have repaired the mischief sustained by the ancient church.

The first of these causes was the disunion of Protestants themselves. In religious dissensions the language of the weaker party is in favour of toleration, but it is generally the first to forget its own claims to an indulgent hearing, when any fortunate accidents have put it in possession of security or power. The concessions they had extorted at the Diet of Augsburg from the Romish church the Lutherans refused to extend to their Helvetic or Calvinistic brethren; and though both asserted a common principle—the necessity of an orthodox faith—yet “this orthodoxy,” Mr. Hallam justly adds, “meant evidently nothing more than their own belief as opposed to that of their adversaries.” They had agreed in demolishing the idea of an infallible church, when the claim to infallibility was set up by a common opponent; yet each of the reformed communities maintained its own exemption from error, and in one breath rejected and appealed to some unquestionable standard of authority. That both parties proved their cause by reason and Scripture was rather an argument in favour of their ancient adversary; since the ge-

neral consent of the church in all ages, as the Catholics defined tradition, could be met only by proving either that this "general assent" was insufficiently or fraudulently assumed, or by substituting for it a universal consent, or by recurring to the right of private interpretation. But private interpretation the Reformers utterly abjured; or if they seemed when driven to extremities to concede it in words, in practice they rigorously denied it, and generally with a zeal in proportion to the success of their cause. A more universal assent their perpetual disputes and irreconcilable animosities prevented them from establishing; nor under the influence of the fierce and tumultuous spirit of the times could they calmly dissect church-antiquity, and employ the arguments from essentials only against their various opponents. Thus in the sixteenth century, as in the earlier and darker periods when the church stood between a dissolving empire and its destroyers, men of moderate and truthful dispositions, now that the grosser abuses of the hierarchy were softened or withdrawn, became more anxious for repose than for victory, and preferred the lighter bondage of the ancient faith to the unquiet liberty of the new opinions. The outworks of the church of Rome had been broken down, but its doctrines had not been compromised; and the peaceful but sincere professor might find within its precincts a shelter from the turbulence of the times, and sufficient latitude in its doctrines for the peculiarities of his own belief.

But the ancient church had not merely withdrawn some of its pretensions, and cast a decent veil over its more palpable abuses; a spirit of renovation, coincident with Protestantism, had arisen within its own bosom. "Even in the court of 'Leo,'" says Mr. Hallam, "a small body was formed by men 'of rigid piety, and strenuous for a different species of reform.'" While they adhered generally to the doctrine of the church, they aimed at a stricter separation from the world, at a more active discharge of sacerdotal duties, the revival of the ancient discipline, and the removal of every just cause of complaint. At the same time ecclesiastical authority was extended to some quarters where, during the previous era of security or indifference, it had occasionally slumbered. "No 'Catholic,'" says Schmidt, as quoted by Mr. Hallam, "dared

"after the Reformation to say one hundredth part of what Gerson, Peter d'Ailly, and many others had openly preached." And in works of poetry and fiction the dangerous licence of Boccaccio and Ariosto, or the indignant reclamations of those pre-reformers, Dante and Petrarca, would not have passed the censorship of the sixteenth century. Among the consequences of this better spirit in individuals, and of awakening activity in the government of the church, must be reckoned one which enlisted popular enthusiasm on the side of the establishment, and thereby employed against the Reformers one of their most efficient weapons. Several of the religious orders were reformed, others were instituted; and, by recurring to their ancient functions, these Catholic missionaries revived in the sixteenth century by their eloquence in preaching, their works of charity and mercy, their self-denial and aloofness from the world, the admiration excited by the Franciscans in the thirteenth.

"It must be acknowledged," says Mr. Hallam with his wonted candour, "that there was a principle of vitality in that religion, independent of its external strength. We readily acknowledge the prudence, firmness, and unity of purpose that for the most part distinguished the court of Rome; the obedience of its hierarchy, the severity of intolerant laws, and the searching rigour of the Inquisition; the resolute adherence of great princes to the Catholic faith; the influence of the Jesuits over education; but these either existed before or would at least not have been sufficient to withstand an overwhelming force of opinion. By the side of its secular pomp, however, its relaxation of morality, there had always been an intense flame of zeal and devotion. Superstition it might be in the many, fanaticism in a few; but both of these imply the qualities which, while they subsist, render a religion indestructible*."

The Jesuits are "among the links between religious opinions and literature:" within our limits, however, it would be impossible to trace their influence even on the intellectual world alone; while their singular organization as a society, far more compact, intelligent and pervasive than the similar priestly corporations of Babylon, Memphis, or Benares, is beyond the province of literary history or criticism. And we have the less scruple in passing them over, since Mr. Hallam has briefly and emphatically described their relation and their services to literature in the following passage:—

* We have slightly altered the arrangement of this passage.

"We have seen with what spirit they took the lead in polite letters and classical style, with what dexterity they made the brightest talents of the rising generation, which the church had once dreaded and checked, her most willing and effective instruments. The whole course of liberal studies, however deeply grounded in erudition, or embellished by eloquence, took one direction, one perpetual aim—the propagation of the Catholic faith. They availed themselves for this purpose of every resource which either human nature or prevalent opinion supplied. Did they find Latin versification highly prized? their pupils wrote sacred poems. Did they observe the natural taste of mankind for dramatic representations, and the repute which that species of literature had obtained? their walls resounded with sacred tragedies. Did they perceive an unjust prejudice against stipendiary instruction? they gave it gratuitously. Their endowments left them in the decent poverty which their vows required, without the offensive mendicancy of the friars." "Their three duties were preaching, confession and education, the most powerful levers that religion could employ. Indefatigable and unscrupulous, as well as polite and learned, accustomed to consider veracity and candour, when they awakened an argument, in the light of treason against the cause, (language which might seem harsh, were it not almost equally applicable to so many other partisans,) they knew how to clear their reasonings from scholastic pedantry and tedious quotation for the simple and sincere understandings whom they addressed; yet, in the proper field of controversial theology, they wanted nothing of sophistical expertness or of erudition." "Whatever may be objected, perhaps not quite so early, to their system of casuistry, whatever want of scrupulousness may have been shown in their conduct, they were men who never swerved from the path of labour, and, it might be, suffering in the cause which they deemed that of God. All self-sacrifice in such circumstances, especially of the highly-gifted and accomplished, though the bigot steels his heart and closes his eyes against it, excites the admiration of the unsophisticated part of mankind."

Mr. Hallam thinks that the culminating point of Protestant intolerance was the execution of Servetus, and that a milder spirit may be said to have risen out of his ashes. However this may be, the Reformers could not be blind to the effects of their own virulence, bigotry and disunion, nor to the advantages derived from their conduct by the Romish church. The milder influence of Erasmus and Zuingle again revived; and if the writings of Melancthon, especially after Luther's death, and Cassander, may be received as general exponents of their respective parties, the moderate Lutherans and Romanists were not far removed from an accommodation. The rigid Lutherans and the Calvinists, without drawing nearer to each other, were almost equally opposed to both;

and Mr. Hallam conjectures with great probability, that their religious acrimony was aggravated by political feelings. The sternest zealots of Luther's school flocked to the university of Jena; the followers of Melancthon to that of Wittenberg; and between the subjects of the elector Maurice and those of the Ernestine line, in the duchies of Weimar and Gotha, there had arisen from recent events the animosity which the victims of ambition must always entertain towards a politic and prosperous usurper. The principal of several controversies which agitated the two great divisions of the Protestant name, was still that of the real presence. On this point Melancthon was suspected of leaning to the Helvetians, while he offended the high Lutherans by rejecting their antinomian exaggerations, and by his willingness to concede to the Romanists the primacy of the Pope and the jurisdiction of bishops. "It is easy, however," says Mr. Hallam, "to be mistaken as to these theological subtleties, which those who write of them with most confidence do not really discriminate by any consistent or intelligent language." But as the century drew near its close, the disputants on all sides seem to have become weary of merely abstract and notional dogmas, and to have agreed in selecting a more tangible point of attack and defence. The papal power was the most vulnerable quarter of the Romish church; it rested neither on apostolic nor patristic authority, and long before the Reformation, had been called in question by the Catholics themselves. Under this later form, which dates from the writings of Bellarmine, the controversy, which is hardly extinct in our own times, divided the theological literature of the next century. It raged with equal obstinacy, but with less fierceness than its predecessors; and, by creating a division between the temperate and the rigid Romanists, was favourable to the Protestant cause. From this period the re-action in favour of Catholicism may be said to have gradually abated; and since every section of the Reformers regarded the Pope merely as a metropolitan bishop, the unity of Protestantism was, at least externally, strengthened. To literature the most important result of these controversies was, after some time, to leave the scholastic theology almost exclusively in the possession of the Romanists. The strictness of that method,

and the reverence it inculcated for authority, probably impeded, among other causes, in the latter half of the next century, the intellectual development of Southern Europe.

We cannot dismiss Mr. Hallam's acute and candid analysis of the theological opinions of the sixteenth century without adverting to his character of the Council of Trent. It has been fashionable of late years in England to impute to this assembly not merely an aggravation of the errors of Romanism, but to represent it among the principal causes of the decline of the ancient church. Mr. Hallam, however, and Professor Ranke, perhaps the ablest of living historians, have applied a timely corrective to an hypothesis of which the most remarkable feature is its hardihood. "No general council," observes the former, "ever contained so many persons of eminent learning and ability." It might be added, that none ever comprised, upon the whole, a larger proportion of rational and earnest piety, nor, in spite of its internal struggles, ever passed through so critical a period with less compromise of principle, or less indulgence to the vices of the clergy. For patience and acuteness, for temper and desire of truth, none of the early councils, unless they are greatly belied, will bear comparison with it. Upon points less strictly defined before, such as justification, their decrees were mostly conformable with the sense of the most illustrious schoolmen and fathers; and upon what are usually reckoned the distinctive characteristics of the church of Rome, transubstantiation, the invocation of the saints and the Virgin, and purgatory, they asserted nothing but what was so ingrafted into the faith of Southern Europe as to have been rejected by no one without suspicion or imputation of heresy:—so remote from truth is the prevalent notion that the Tridentine Fathers made important innovations in the doctrines of the Western Church! That it defined more rigidly the doctrine of transubstantiation was an accident of its position. It had been already asserted by a prior council, the fourth Lateran, in 1215, and the Reformed communities had disturbed without settling the tenet.

The council was indeed divided in itself on points of discipline as well as of doctrine. The Spanish and Cisalpine divines were anxious for the removal of abuses, which the Pope

and the Italian party struggled to retain. Yet even their angriest discussions were rivalled in the next century by some proceedings in the synod of Dort, and in the Westminster assembly. By its enactment of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the council of Trent prevented those controversies on the real presence, which agitated the Protestant communions. By lowering the ambitious vices, and by arousing the sluggish ignorance of the clergy, it diminished the causes of complaint; and if the church of Rome has not rapidly advanced since the commencement of the seventeenth century, it has preserved for two centuries an imposing outward unity, and, behind the Tridentine decrees, has steadily resisted the assaults or the example of the Reformed communities.

We have allowed a considerable space to this portion of Mr. Hallam's present volumes, both from its general importance, and from the necessity of confining ourselves to the principal sources and phenomena of literature. But we gladly turn aside from the "still-vext" domain of theology to the more peaceful regions of poetry and eloquence. It is impossible to behold without emotion, or a mingled sense of pride and humility at our intellectual inheritance, the forms of the Christian mind of Europe rising up in equal but dissimilar beauty beside the fragments of the Ethnic. We have already noticed the family-resemblance between the master-productions of antiquity: is it possible to trace a corresponding law of unity in the wider and more populous circle of modern literature? In the former volume of Mr. Hallam's history, Italian, or at least Provençal literature, and scholastic philosophy were the centres around which the other productions of the European mind naturally grouped themselves. In the present, however, Italy rather recedes from the field, and, with the brilliant exception of Tasso, especially in works of imagination; while one of the most important effects of the Reformation was to awaken into intense activity all the energies of the Teutonic mind. In Spain, the church; in England, Protestantism, and in France, the wars of religion were the principal stimulants of literature. It is remarkable how little the grand results of maritime discovery affected works of imagination, at the time they excited throughout Western Europe the most lively and personal interest. Perhaps they

were too distant, too vague, or too gorgeous for representation: the actors were lost in the magnitude of the events; the events scattered over an illimitable scene, and the scene itself unattached to any of those moral sympathies that rendered the wars with the infidels and the triumphs of the church the perpetual themes of heroic song. The most truly epic of Christian poets, Camoens, is indebted for the reputation and success of his poem less to his excursions into the "gorgeous East" than to the art with which he has enwoven among them his own personal experience, and the historical glories of his native land. In the poetry of our own times, the subjective being of the poet has become a legitimate and frequent argument of song; but in the seventeenth century, when poetry was much more a representative art than the utterance of individual feelings, it was required of the poet to work up in new combinations the objective materials he inherited, either from medieval myths or from ethnic art, and to make his work a continuous reflection of the forms of his great predecessors. Hence lyric poetry bore for so many ages the impress of Petrarch, and the epos that of Virgil and Ariosto. At two very different stages of modern art, Tasso and Milton, as the representatives of the opposite hemispheres of Christian poetry, selected from every region of literature whatever was most perfect or most capable of elaboration, and imaged forth in ample and regular forms, the one the mystic and sensuous temperament of the South, the other the masculine and imaginative genius of the Teutonic mind. A like harmony exists between Calderon and Shakspeare, with a similar difference in its mode of operation. The one with the devout feelings of a recluse, whose meditations and whose dreams derive their form and colour from the presence of his tutelar saint, and who, in his daily communings and in the watches of the night, drinks in perpetual inspiration from what to other eyes is but the rude or feeble work of the limner, bent down before the loveliness of art, with the glad and docile faith of a disciple. Hence, in his purely imaginative works—the fertility of his fancy in his comedies of intrigue is more the national than the personal characteristic of the poet—Calderon is the passive recipient of the beautiful, rather than, like Shakspeare or Goethe, the creative artist,

who beholds from the beginning the perfect form of his work, and surveys it when finished no longer as a portion of his own being, but of the objective world around him. To equal susceptibility, and, when the occasion warranted, with the same resignation of themselves, the Teutonic poets assert their creative privilege, and compel the protean spirit of beauty to acknowledge the higher energy of the will and the reason. The freedom of Shakspeare is the just and reasonable service of an intellectual soul, the embodied representative of that rushing and mighty spirit which awakened and ushered in the intellectual manhood of Christian Europe in the sixteenth century. The devout and luxuriant sentiment of Calderon is the reflection of an equally profound, but of an earlier and less active state of the European mind; more deeply imbued with romantic feeling, more mythic in its affinities and its forms, and harmonizing more readily with subtle and remote idealisms than with the earnest or sportive realities of life. To these analogies, which, if our limits permitted us to follow them out, would be found to include the fontal conditions, the unity and the contrasts of Christian literature, we may add a third, which, if less close and correlative, embraces equally with the foregoing its points of union and divergence, and illustrates, perhaps better than either, the opposite and various elements of modern poetic art. Camoens and Spenser, to both of whom misfortune seems to have been the inseparable shadow of genius, drew from the most opposite sources the subject and the materials of their respective works. The one held up to his own times the mirror of an ideal world, in which actual qualities and even personal characteristics were invested with new bodies, and animated with new principles of action, while vice and virtue, beauty and deformity, were always represented as extremes. The other projected his own experience and the familiar adventures of his countrymen, in which the eldest of the poet's own contemporaries might have shared, into a world partly remote in time, partly imaginary; so that history was not less plastic than fiction, and a voyage in the Eastern seas yielded not in marvels to wanderings in Faëry Lands.

The proper myths of Europe are not the deities and the

legends of the ethnic world, although, from their higher elaboration and the beauty of the languages which embodied them, these usurped in modern art nearly the same station they rightfully occupied in ancient; but the martyrology and miracles of the church, the sublime or the grotesque forms of super-human natures, and the deeds and traditions of the Teutonic heroes and tribes. And one of the points of resemblance between the *'Lusiad'* and the *'Fuëry Queen'* is the greater admixture of Christian myths in the events and machinery of these poems. Both Spenser and Camoens are indeed greatly indebted to the several authors of the cyclic lays of Orlando for the mixed, and sometimes the grotesque ornaments of their works. Each, however, by the earnestness and faith with which he regards his own creations, is equally removed from the incredulous and sarcastic temper of Boiardo and Ariosto. The poets themselves, though always susceptible and voluptuous, were less influenced than their Italian predecessors by the graceful but somewhat superficial character of the Latin muse. They were less of "antique Romans" than earnest and contemplative spirits, under the two-fold influence of Christian and Teutonic sentiment. In Camoens action assumes an ideal form; in Spenser idealism is embodied in action; in neither do we meet with the simple resonance of act and image which characterizes ethnic and even Hebrew poetry. From this and from the preceding parallels of Tasso and Milton, of Calderon and Shakspeare, we obtain a clue for the arrangement of a philosophical history of literature. Public life was in the ethnic world the common parent of the epos and of eloquence—the sister-fountains, the eros and anteros, of art. In the Christian world, on the contrary, individual life, and that incorporation of the individual life with the remotest past and the illimitable future, the church, are the twin sources from which the painter and the poet, the sculptor and the theologian—for he also in certain relations is an artist—derive their inspiration. In the dark and medieval periods of European history, the church—not a fluctuating body the priesthood, but the entire pale and circle of the Christian world—absorbed whatever survived of the exhausted civilization of the empire, and adopted whatever was most vigorous and vital in the ruder energy of

the barbarians. From the fourteenth century to our own times it has spontaneously or reluctantly yielded up its accumulated wealth for the active, the learned and the meditative to work it up into new forms, and to impress it with a transient or a perpetual image. From this centre, of which the circumference though wide is definite, the forms of modern literature regularly diverge; their unity consists not in resemblance of form, nor in continuity or reflection of a common archetype, as the ode, the drama and history were evolved from the ethnic epos; but it is to be traced in that oneness of spirit which, divested of formal and temporal accidents, pervades the European mind in all its master-works from the fourteenth century, when it revealed itself in Dante, to its last manifestation in the 'Paradise Regained,' in the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century, which must be regarded as the preparation for a new era—that of the critical philosophy—does not fall within the compass of Mr. Hallam's present volumes.

Mr. Hallam's analysis of the merits of the 'Jerusalem Delivered' is marked equally by discrimination and feeling; but we cannot concede to him that Voltaire has justly observed, "in the choice of his subject Tasso is superior to Homer." Neither is the remark by which the verdict is confirmed altogether accurate. "Whatever interest," Mr. Hallam says, "tradition might have attached among the Greeks to the wrath of Achilles and the death of Hector, was slight to those genuine recollections which were associated with the first crusade. It was not the theme of a single people, but of Europe; not a fluctuating tradition, but certain history; yet history so far remote from the poet's time, as to adapt itself to his purpose with almost the flexibility of fable." If we wished to define the cause of the universal interest of the *Iliad*, we could scarcely do better than borrow this sentence from Mr. Hallam. As a comparison, however, it is defective, and its deficiency lies at the common root of erroneous criticism—a false position in viewing the question. That modern readers should regard the Trojan war with less interest than the crusades is natural; but that the Greeks, at the time when the Homeric poems were composed and long after, were less affected by the memorial of their early expeditions to Asia than the

Christians of the Middle Age by the records of the holy war, is difficult to conceive. However unreal or typical the siege of Troy may be, the belief in it was earnest and universal, and it therefore formed the broadest basis for the legitimate *Epopœia*. We should have passed without notice so slight a blemish in Mr. Hallam's criticism, did not its origin lie deep in a common misconception of the character of the ancient and modern epos. To place Homer and Virgil, Tasso and Milton in the same class of poets, proves either that æsthetics are in their infancy, or that the merest accidents of form are enough to constitute an organic resemblance. The source of the confusion is, however, easily detected. The modern epos is the lineal descendant, if not the immediate offspring, of the *Æneid*, and like its parent has little affinity with the genuine Homeric lays. The Romans, who neglected their national legends because they had forgotten the language of their forefathers, adopted from a foreign literature its later and feebler forms; and the Alexandrian poets, who were innovators as well as copyists, and introduced sentiment and rhetoric into heroic verse, were easier and more attractive models to a partially corrupt age than Homer or Sophocles. The fame of Virgil was hardly obscured in the darkest periods of barbarism; and it was the first to rise with undiminished and even intenser light, when the floods which had burst over the empire retired or subsided. The guide of Alighieri, the companion and oracle of Petrarca, it is no wonder that he should also become the glass and pattern of the modern *Epopœia*. But there were other reasons for the preference. An acquaintance with Greek literature is comparatively of modern, a critical discrimination of its character entirely of recent growth. The exiles who fled to Europe at the fall of the Eastern empire, and the scholars who succeeded them, merely transmitted for some generations a few feeble and distant torches, quite unable to pierce the gloom which enveloped Greek erudition. The names of Homer and Demosthenes were repeated with enthusiasm, but the works of Cicero and Virgil were really studied by the learned. Gregory of Nazianzum, it is well known, attempted to Christianize the epic and dramatic arts of Greece; but that language, however pliant to home-born legends, was inflexible to those

of exotic growth. In the formation of his composite Tuscan, Dante borrowed freely from the 'bello stile' of his Mantuan guide, and the Italian poets in all ages have followed his example, and acknowledged the majesty of Virgil. The Christian sentiments and ideas, that found no proper exponent in the severe and sensuous dialect of Attica, entered readily into the Latin idiom, and when that idiom gave way to its living descendants, many of its peculiar forms were retained in them. Thus, on the re-appearance of the epos, Virgil and Statius were anxiously studied even by those whose genius was luxuriant and inventive; and although their influence neither controlled the fancy nor limited the excursions of Ariosto, it concealed from him the purer sources of epic art. The story of Charlemagne and his paladins derived its interest from the recollections of chivalry, and from the artificial system of manners which arose from them and still survived in the fifteenth century; but as those recollections died away and the manners became obsolete, the deeds of Orlando and his compeers awakened fewer sympathies. It was the peculiar felicity, or we should more correctly say the exquisite judgement of Tasso, which he displayed in a critical work written in his twenty-first year, to choose a subject that reconciled the popular belief with the most regular forms of the Latin epic. Like Milton's 'Fall of Man,' it was the common property of all Christendom, as the Homeric war of Troy was the common property of all Greece. In every epic poem, as Coleridge has remarked, there must be a mythology or a *quasi-mythology*; and the supernatural agents of the 'Jerusalem' are the intermediate natures whom the church represented, and the vulgar and the learned of that age received as the appointed dispensers of weal or of woe to men, whose forms painting had rendered equally familiar in the cottage and the palace, and who, therefore, answered every purpose of art, without demanding any sacrifice from the understanding or the imagination.

With Tasso Italy completed her great quaternity of poets; and possessed in him, by a not uncommon coincidence, one of her most learned and profound critics. In the 'Jerusalem' he aimed at uniting the romantic epos of Ariosto with the secondary classic epos of Virgil; in other words, ex-

pressing in the few and simple terms of ancient art the multitudinous groupings and characters of modern. In the 'Amadigi' of Bernardo Tasso, whose memory has been almost effaced by the splendour of his son, and the 'Italia Liberata' of Trissino, Torquato Tasso found nearly every excess that is fatal to the permanent reputation of a poem; in the one languor, diffuseness and redundant description; in the other an ill-chosen subject, and the absence of life, of variety and truth. The errors of Bernardo's style were, however, less easily avoided—especially in a language so seductively copious and musical as the Tuscan—than the cold and rigid manner of Trissino; and the stanza of the 'Jerusalem,' the *ottava rima*, is at once the cause and the apology of excess. The conceits so often censured in Tasso, though not quite so numerous as his critics discover or insinuate, are attributable in some measure to the Petrarchists, a school restored by Bembo, and nearly affecting both the poetry and the prose of Italy at this period (1550–1600). Were a similar wreck to that which has befallen Greek erotic poetry to reduce Italian literature to a few fragments, the sonnets of the sixteenth century would probably be accounted among its most precious remains. When taken collectively, however, we become indifferent to the unity, the felicity and grace, which so many of these compositions display, and accuse them of what, under other circumstances, we might possibly commend, their recurring metaphors, their uniform structure and the unfailing sweetness of their versification. Mr. Hallam has not noticed the minor poems of Tasso, although they are entitled to a high place in this department of poetry. The study and example of Petrarca harmonized with the melancholy and voluptuous temperament of the poet of Rinaldo, yet even in his youthful works he frequently stands apart in strength of conception and in purity of diction from the Petrarchists, who, with the peculiar jealousy of imitators, were among the opponents of the 'Jerusalem.' The genuine philosophic spirit of the great founder of this school, which in the copyists, as in the later academicians, too often is a mere form of words, burnt with a clear and intellectual light in the being of Tasso. His Leonora, like the Beatrice and the Laura of his illustrious precursors, was partly the shrine, and partly

the indwelling spirit of Love, which if kindled at an earthly lamp, aspires, by its proper and instinctive motion, to the eternal and the infinite; and has necessarily a two-fold aspect to the outward spectator—being of earth to the earthly eye, but to the inner and purified sense the image or reflex of the Beautiful.

The personal history of the authors whose works are passed in review is excluded from these volumes, yet it is sometimes inseparably connected with that of their works; and although it is safer, perhaps, to admit no exceptions in a deliberately-laid plan, in some cases the rule has its inconveniences. Ginguené observes, that the lives of epic poets especially have been for the most part unfortunate; nor has posterity always made amends for the caprice or the calamity they endured. The history of Camoens, although one of action rather than retirement, out of his own country is comparatively unknown; yet his great poem, and his numerous lyrical works, acquire a new interest when we are able to view in them the records of experience, of misfortunes and of hope. And who does not derive fresh pleasure from the story of the 'Captive' in *Don Quixote*, or even from the strange and intricate drama, the '*Trato de Argel*,' when he becomes aware that they contain portions of the adventures of Cervantes himself? The life of Tasso—one of the most interesting and affecting stories in literary biography—is more generally known; yet we question if any but professed students of Italian literature are acquainted with the many beautiful reminiscences of sentiment and of suffering, of hope deferred or renewed, which are scattered profusely through his lyrical works, or how intimately the biography of the poet is interwoven with the composition, the appearance and the reception of the '*Jerusalem*.' The earthly lot of Camoens was equally unfortunate, but it was not clouded with the mental disease of his Italian contemporary. The melancholy and irritable temperament of Tasso bears some analogy to the spiritual depression of Cowper. He had not indeed the occasional flow of gay and buoyant feeling, nor is there any trace of his possessing that sense of the humorous in connexion with imaginative powers and morbid melancholy, which made the later poet's case so remarkable.

But in their religious terrors, in the predominance of the fancy over the understanding, converting its irregular notions and desires into the bodily presence and the audible suggestions of a tempter, in their early religious impressions, in their common disappointment, there is often a singular resemblance. In a future edition of Mr. Hallam's work we should gladly welcome a few of his pregnant and graphic sentences upon this most interesting portion of literary history, which we can only indicate and hasten away from.

We cannot, however, take a final leave of Italian literature and of Tasso without presenting our readers with the concluding paragraphs of Mr. Hallam's observations upon the 'Jerusalem.' His judgement of the poem is admirably illustrated by his knowledge and feeling of the sister-art. In precision his parallels remind us of the better parts of Johnson, but Mr. Hallam's are more genial and comprehensive.

"It is easy to censure the faults of this admirable poem. The supernatural machinery is perhaps somewhat in excess; yet this had been characteristic of the romantic school of poetry, which had moulded the taste of Europe, and is seldom displeasing to the reader. A still more unequivocal blemish is the disproportionate influence of love upon the heroic crusaders, giving a tinge of effeminacy to the whole poem, and exciting something like contempt in the austere critics, who have no standard of excellence in epic song but what the ancients have erected for us. But while we must acknowledge that Tasso has indulged too far the inspirations of his own temperament, it may be candid to ask ourselves whether a subject so grave, and by necessity so full of carnage, did not require many of the softer touches which he has given it? His battles are as spirited and picturesque as those of Ariosto, and perhaps more so than those of Virgil; but to the taste of our times he has a little too much of promiscuous slaughter. The Iliad had here set an unfortunate precedent, which epic poets thought themselves bound to copy. If Erminia and Armida had not been introduced, the classical critic might have censured less in the 'Jerusalem'; but it would have been far less also the delight of mankind.

"Whatever may be the laws of criticism, every poet will best obey the dictates of his own genius. The skill and imagination of Tasso made him equal to descriptions of war; but his heart was formed for that sort of pensive voluptuousness which most distinguishes his poetry, and which is very unlike the coarser sensuality of Ariosto. He lingers around the gardens of Armida as though he had been himself her thrall. The Florentine critics vehemently attacked her final reconciliation with Rinaldo in the twentieth canto, and the renewal of their loves; for the reader is left with no other expectation. Nor was their censure unjust, since it is a sacrifice of what should be the predominant sentiment in the conclusion of

the poem. But Tasso seems to have become fond of Armida, and could not endure to leave in sorrow and despair the creature of his ethereal fancy, whom he had made so fair and so winning. It is probable that the majority of readers are pleased with this passage, but it can never escape the condemnation of severe judges.

"Tasso, doubtless, bears a considerable resemblance to Virgil. But, independently of the vast advantages which the Latin language possesses in majesty and vigour, and which render exact comparison difficult as well as unfair, it may be said that Virgil displays more justness of taste, a more extensive observation, and, if we may speak thus in the absence of so much poetry which he might have imitated, a more genuine originality. Tasso did not possess much of the self-springing invention which we find in a few great poets, and which, in this higher sense, I cannot concede to Ariosto; he not only borrows freely, and perhaps studiously from the ancients, but introduces frequent lines from earlier Italian poets, and especially from Petrarch. He has also some favourite turns of phrase, which serve to give a certain mannerism to his stanzas.

"The '*Jerusalem*' was no sooner published than it was weighed against the '*Orlando Furioso*,' and neither Italy nor Europe have yet agreed which scale inclines. It is indeed one of those critical problems that admit of no certain solution, whether we look to the suffrage of those who feel acutely and justly, or to the general sense of mankind. We cannot determine one poet to be superior to the other without assuming premises which no one is bound to grant. Those who read for a stimulating variety of circumstances and the enlivening of a leisure hour, must prefer Ariosto, and he is probably on this account a poet of more universal popularity. It might be said perhaps, by some, that he is more a favourite of men, and Tasso of women. And yet in Italy the sympathy with tender and graceful poetry is so general, that the '*Jerusalem*' has hardly been less in favour with the people than its livelier rival, and its fine stanzas may still be heard by moonlight from the lips of a gondolier, floating along the calm bosom of the Giudecca.

"Ariosto must be placed much more below Homer, than Tasso falls short of Virgil. The Orlando has not the impetuosity of the Iliad; each is prodigiously rapid, but Homer has more momentum by his weight; the one is a hunter, the other a war-horse. The finest stanzas in Ariosto are fully equal to any in Tasso, but the latter has by no means so many feeble lines. Yet his language, though never affectedly obscure, is not so pellucid, and has a certain refinement which makes us sometimes pause to perceive the meaning. Whoever reads Ariosto slowly will probably be offended by his negligence; whoever reads Tasso quickly will lose something of the elaborate finish of his style.

"It is not easy to find a counterpart among painters for Ariosto. His brilliant and fertile invention might remind us of Tintoret, but he is more natural, and less solicitous of effect. If indeed poetical diction be the correlative of colouring in our comparison of the arts, none of the Venetian school can represent the simplicity and averseness to ornament of

language which belong to the 'Orlando Furioso'; and it would be impossible, for other reasons, to look for a parallel in a Roman or a Tuscan pencil. But with Tasso the case is different; and though it would be an affected expression to call him the founder of the Bolognese school, it is evident that he had a great influence on its chief painters, who came but a little after him. They imbued themselves with the spirit of a poem so congenial to their age, and so much admired in it. No one, I think, can consider their works without perceiving, both the analogy of the place each hold in their respective arts, and the traces of a feeling caught directly from Tasso, as their prototype and model. We recognise his spirit in the sylvan shades and voluptuous forms of Albano and Domenichino, in the pure beauty that radiates from the ideal heads of Guido, in the skilful composition, exact design, and noble expression of the Caracci. Yet the school of Bologna seems to furnish no parallel to the enchanting grace and diffused harmony of Tasso; and we must, in this respect, look back to Correggio as his representative."

One of the most interesting departments of the literary history of Europe, within the limits of Mr. Hallam's volumes, is the rise and development of modern prose literature. The temper and genius of a people are generally seen in its poetry, or in the direction it gives to the plastic arts; but it is in the various forms of its prose composition that we must seek for the strength and tenacity of the national character, for the earnestness of its moral feelings, for the depth, the subtilty or the pliancy of its intellectual powers, and for its influence upon the general progress of science and opinion. The opposite effects of the Reformation upon the Teutonic and the Latin mind of Europe, for so we may perhaps be allowed to distinguish the general idiosyncrasy of those races in which Latin was the dominant element of the language, are exhibited more pervasively in prose literature than in any other species of intellectual operation. An indifferent poet is scarcely tolerated and speedily forgotten; but an indifferent prose writer may be an excellent or a dangerous casuist, may kindle or may scatter in innumerable hearts the flames of controversy or the germs of ennobling or neglected truths, or lay open new fields of knowledge or speculation. The assiduous cultivation of pure Latinity, injured, if it did not destroy, the vernacular prose-dialect of Italy. In England, on the other hand, it braced and educated the art of composition. The Ionic copiousness and sweetness of Boccaccio, the masculine and Doric nerve of the language of Machia-

velli, are almost the alpha and omega of classical eloquence among Italian writers. Even Sarpi, although his faults are disguised by the fullness of his thought and the fertility of his illustration, cannot be ranked among good authors, since his periods so often betray a want of rhythm, precision and progress. It is scarcely necessary to add, that in Guicciardini we are perpetually wishing to punctuate, in Bembo to vary, and in Bentivoglio to harden the diction. But in our own language a variety of fortunate accidents combined to produce at successive periods a vernacular style, that, incorporating sometimes the stateliness of the Roman, sometimes the force and freedom of the Teutonic dialects, divested each of its merely local and peculiar attributes, and transferred to itself the various cadences and the plenteous vocabulary of both. Erroneous fashions have been, indeed, frequent among our native writers, but seldom of long duration. The bold and unattractive, or the quaint and homely style observable in the works of the early Reformers, was corrected in the massive grandeur of Hooker's composition; and his manner, which was liable to assume "a barbaric pomp," was prevented from becoming a standard of composition by the necessity of defending the church against the Catholics and the Puritans, in the assembly of the people as well as at the tribunal of the learned. The dialectics of the Puritans were seldom "married to" eloquence; the writings of the mystics were deficient in perspicuity; but the works of Taylor, the Cicero and the Chrysostom of the English Church, united the opposite powers of the understanding and the fancy. A great theological writer has a better chance of being remembered under every change of manners and taste than the philosopher or the historian, since, however theoretical a system of divinity may be, it must recognise as its groundwork a few elementary principles of Scripture; but the moralist and the historian are liable to be superseded by more plausible and popular speculations, and by the natural progress of knowledge and criticism. From this cause it has arisen, that we are comparatively unfamiliar with our earlier national writers of history. The language and method of Sir Thomas More, in his '*Lyfe and Deathe*' of Richard the Third, are beyond his age. Mr. Hallam assents to John-

son's character of Knolles, the historian of the Turks, who has certainly a sort of Rembrandt-depth of colouring in his descriptions, and, we quite agree, has more vigour than Robertson, when they tread upon common ground. Raleigh's 'History of the World,' in style alone, is an extraordinary instance of genius; it is unequal, but some chapters are of the finest order of composite architecture in language. This is not the place to notice its philological value; but we may remark, that the diligent study of Aristotle's politics had given the author a far deeper insight into ethnic history than, with much better materials, such writers as Mitford ever attained. Mr. Hallam remarks upon the purity and ease of Daniel's language. Although his merits are chiefly negative, the avoidance of the pedantry and antithesis of his contemporaries, he had formed a style, unusual in that age, which gained him deservedly the appellation of the "*well-languaged*" Daniel. "It would require," says Mr. Hallam, "a good deal of critical observation to distinguish his prose even from writings of the reign of Queen Anne; and where it differs from them (I speak only of the second class of works, which have not much individuality of manner,) it is by a more select idiom, and by an absence of the Gallicism or vulgarity which are often found in that age." The style of Bacon and Milton partakes too much of the idiosyncrasy of those great minds properly to belong to any age. That of Milton, like the structure and eloquence of his poetry, is eminently composite in manner, and grand in its dimensions. It resembles sometimes the most solemn, sometimes the most stirring music, and he often passes at once from the most voluptuous cadences to the most harsh and irregular discords. In his 'Areopagitica' we seem listening to an English Demosthenes, in an appeal, not to the passions of a mixed audience, but to the judgement of a chosen tribunal, or, at least, to the feelings of a great people in its better mood. Yet so uncertain, in an artistic view, is the diction of even the most illustrious of our prose-writers at this period, that in his polemical works Milton frequently sinks in an instant from such high thoughts as had not been uttered before to ribaldrous vulgarity, to harsh inversions violating every rule of national or universal language; to wit, without ease or mirthfulness;

to pedantic phraseology, and to personalities that no provocation can excuse. The language of Bacon is the befitting garb of a colossal intellect, sometimes marred of its fair proportions by impatience at the insufficiency of words for the dimensions of his thoughts; occasionally, as in his 'History of Henry VII.,' by the ambition of writing eloquently, and sometimes by the moral unsteadiness of his character. "He is "elaborate," says Mr. Hallam, "sententious, often witty, "often metaphorical; nothing could be spared; his analogies "are generally striking and novel; his style is clear, precise, "forcible; yet there is some degree of stiffness about it, and "in mere language he is inferior to Raleigh." At a somewhat later period our language was overwhelmed with Latin forms and words, in a less absurd and injurious degree, however, than the German of the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century; since, although our national forces were perhaps outnumbered by our allied, we did not trust entirely to mercenaries, nor admit them into the stronger forts and metropolis of our speech,—a precaution that, when the fashion had passed away, enabled our writers—the Burkes, the Southey's and the Landor's of recent times—to restore the proper and natural balance between the Saxon and the Latin elements of our tongue. The works of Sir Thomas Browne, more particularly his 'Urne-Burial,' at once the most grandiloquent and the most chastised of his productions, are perhaps the best example of the virtues; the 'Resolves of Feltham' of the abuse, of this exotic fashion. The prose of Ben Jonson, apart from the dialogue of some of his best comedies, can scarcely be taken into the present account, since it consists principally of detached paragraphs and aphorisms, in the structure of which excellence is comparatively easy. Yet, if in any continuous work he had displayed in proportion the same vigour, roundness and perspicuity which distinguish his 'Sylvæ,' we know not of any native writer who could have been more appropriately placed between Machiavelli and Lessing. As at the close of our former great age of poetry English eloquence poured forth all its accumulated and indigenous wealth in the 'Paradise Lost,' so the language opened all its less recondite stores to furnish with appropriate forms the profound experiences of Claren-

don and the masculine reason of Barrow. To this solid thinker and unrivalled master of the English language, Mr. Hallam, who has evidently deeply considered, as he often fulfils, all the conditions of a good style, we think has hardly shown sufficient reverence in the volumes before us. Without, in this place, dwelling upon his qualities as a divine, or an ethical writer, the universal activity of his intellect, his clearness, his force, or his supremacy in argument, or the perfect balance between his reasonings and his illustrations, Barrow is at once the Basil and the Augustine of the modern pulpit. His appeals to the learned portion of his audience are intelligible to the less instructed; his addresses to the humbler and less capable hearers are replete with profound and universal truths. His eloquence is in turn appropriate to a council of the church, a philosophical dialogue, or an assembly of the people; it is severe in its economy, and affluent in its resources. The sumptuary laws which later times have imposed on rhetoric, in speaking and in composition, would retrench some of the periods, and relegate some of the merely colloquial phrases in Barrow; but they would, perhaps, take something away from his universality and animation.

In the rapid and necessarily imperfect sketch we have made of the rise, and, up to a certain point, the progress of English prose eloquence, we have passed over an order of writers, who, though for the most part they laboured for their own day, have some of them achieved a permanent station in literature, and, as a class, have conferred important benefits on the language. The language of the court and the learned does not always express the wants or the feelings of the people; and a separation between the dialects of these different orders, if of long continuance, is little less injurious to literature than formal and distant barriers of rank to political society. The Romans purchased their Augustan age by the sacrifice of all that was most beautiful and impressive in their native poetry; and the reign of Louis XIV. has, until lately, depressed and encumbered the imaginative feelings of the French. We have in many periods of our literature approached nearly to a similar crisis, but it has been eluded by the fortunate proportion our vernacular writers have always

borne to the more courtly and erudite. An under-current of original and healthy eloquence has constantly moved along with the more ambitious stream of polite literature, from the days of Latimer to those of Cobbett; nor is our language more indebted to Taylor and Hooker, to Browne and Hall, for enriching it, than to Johnson (the Whig), to Asgill and Defoe, for preserving its simplicity and freedom. While, however, we admit the services of such writers, we would not, any more than Mr. Hallam, advance them into the high places of literature. Next to the acquisition of a correct taste, the preservation of a catholic one is the condition of all good criticism; and it is an equal error in judgement unduly to exalt the lowly, and fastidiously to recognise none but the conventionally classic names of literature.

About twenty years since, and certainly within the memory of most of our readers, there prevailed for a short time two coincident fashions in literary taste, analogous to the archaistic spirit that appeared in the age of Hadrian, but, from the superiority of the proposed models, less absurd and unnatural. The one consisted in decrying and condemning French literature, the other in an attempt to resuscitate the English of the seventeenth century. The satires of Nash and Hall, the fugitive pieces of Green and Peele, the works of Skelton and Gascoyne, were read, at least were praised, with avidity; and even the more judicious represented the language of the Elizabethan era as perfectly symmetrical and worthy of imitation. That Mr. Hallam did not share in the *craze*, from which his early acquaintance with foreign literature, if not his individual taste, preserved him, appears from the following passage:—

“ It must be owned, however, by every one not absolutely blinded by a love of scarce books, that the prose literature of the Queen’s reign, taken generally, is but very mean. The pedantic Euphuism of Lilly overspread the productions which aspire to the praise of politeness; while the common style of most pieces of circumstance, like those of Martin Mar-prelate and his answerers (for there is little to choose in this respect between parties), or of such efforts at wit and satire as came from Greene, Nash and other worthies of our early stage, is low, and, with few exceptions, very stupid ribaldry. Many of these have a certain utility in the illustration of Shakespeare and of ancient manners, which is neither to be overlooked in our contempt for such trash nor to be mistaken for intrinsic merit. If it is alleged that I have

not read enough of the Elizabethan literature to censure it, I must reply, that, admitting my slender acquaintance with the numberless little books that some years since used to be sold at vast prices, I may still draw an inference from the inability of their admirers, or at least purchasers, to produce any tolerable specimens. Let the labours of Sir Egerton Brydges, the British Bibliographer, the '*Censura Literaria*,' the '*Restituta*,' collections so copious and formed with so much industry, speak for the prose of the Queen's reign. I would again repeat, that good sense in plain language was not always wanting upon serious subjects: it is to polite writing alone that we now refer. Spenser's '*Dialogue upon the State of Ireland*,' the '*Brief Conceit of English Policy*,' and several other tracts, are written as such treatises should be written, but they are not to be counted in the list of eloquent or elegant compositions."

The gradual improvement of English eloquence dates from the reign of Charles, when the politest and most popular writers in the French language were studied and emulated. And the same influence, however injurious to poetry, has been at various times the means of condensing and enlivening our prose literature.

"Via prima salutis,

Qua minime reris, Graiâ pandetur ab urbe."

The genius of France has generally been the middle point between the Latin and the Teutonic mind of Europe. The lively and susceptible temper of the people is perhaps adverse to the more lofty and earnest kinds of poetry: the language, notwithstanding the metrical triumphs of Racine and De Lamartine, is certainly ill-suited to the modulations of verse. But in the prose of Bossuet and Fenelon, of Pascal and Rousseau, these difficulties vanish; and from Montaigne downward the literature of France can boast a succession of eminent writers in nearly every department of prose composition. We are justly proud of the essays of Cowley, and of the prefaces of Dryden; but, allowing for the different sympathies and genius of the two nations, we are hardly warranted in asserting their superiority to Montaigne, Balzac and Voiture. Mr. Hallam, indeed, is of the contrary opinion; and our remarks apply entirely to prose eloquence as an art. In metaphysical subjects they are inferior to our own writers, even if we overstep our present limits, and anticipate the name of Cousin. Their vocabulary is less affluent, and though clear and methodical, they seldom reason with a convincing earnestness; but in theological or political controversies, in

which questions of immediate interest rather than universal principles are discussed, the point, the closeness and perspicuity of the reasoning, are only exceeded by the grace, the animation and the propriety of the style. In historical composition, the Spanish and English are occasionally more picturesque, the Italians more subtle; but in the mechanical arts of arrangement and grouping, and in lucid and sustained ease, the French are models of narrative. Mr. Hallam justly regards the essays of Montaigne as in several respects an epoch in literature. "They were the first *provocatio ad populum*, the first appeal from the porch and the academy to "the haunts of busy and of idle men, the first book that "taught the unlearned reader to observe and reflect for himself on questions of moral philosophy." No author since Lucian has so completely exhibited the character of his own times, without however, like Lucian, aspiring to be their censor or satirist. Montaigne was learned without being technically so; he, therefore, never deters the uninstructed reader by the parade of distinctions or quotations. He had speculated much upon questions that concern all men, and at times present themselves to all but the unthinking, without calling in to his aid either the terminology of the schools or inventing one for his own thoughts. He starts neither theory nor solution of doubts. His own experiences, or, if that term is objectionable, as indicating more earnestness than Montaigne displays, his own prejudices, are a part of our common nature, which he subjects to examination, and calmly leaves the result to the skill or the temper of his readers. His pyrrhonism, unlike a sceptical philosophy in general, leaves behind it no sense of vacancy or desolation. He is content to *talk* with his readers, where others instruct or dictate: nor do we suspect how suggestive the conversation has been, or that we have discoursed with one wiser than ourselves, until we have leisure to review the notions or the insights we have gained, and compare them with the usual promptings and operations of our own minds.

"Montaigne," says Mr. Hallam, "is the earliest classical writer in the French language, the first whom a gentleman is ashamed not to have read. So long as an unaffected style and an appearance of the utmost simplicity and good-nature shall charm, so long as the lovers of desultory and cheerful

conversation shall be more numerous than those who prefer a lecture or a sermon, so long as reading is sought by the many as an amusement in idleness, or a resource in pain, so long will Montaigne be among the favourite authors of mankind."

The following remarks upon the intellectual habits, and the mode of composition of this kindly and entertaining author, are excellently conceived and expressed :—

"It is a striking proof of the felicity and brightness of Montaigne's genius, that we cannot help believing him to have struck out all his thoughts by a spontaneous effort of his mind, and to have fallen afterwards upon his quotations and examples by happy accident. I have little doubt but that the process was different; and that, either by dint of memory, though he absolutely disclaims the possessing a good one, or by the usual method of common-placing, he had made his reading instrumental to excite his own ingenious and fearless understanding. His extent of learning was by no means great for that age, but the whole of it was brought to bear upon his object: and it is a proof of Montaigne's independence of mind, that while a vast mass of erudition was the only regular passport to fame, he read no authors but such as were most fitted to his own habits of thinking. Hence he displays an unity, a self-existence, which we seldom find so complete in other writers. His quotations, though they make perhaps more than one half of his essays, seem parts of himself, and are like limbs of his own mind, which could not be separated without laceration. But over all is spread a charm of a fascinating simplicity, and an apparent abandonment of the whole man to the easy inspiration of genius, combined with a good-nature, though rather too epicurean and destitute of moral energy, which, for that very reason, made him a favorite with men of similar dispositions, for whom courts, and camps, and country mansions were the proper soil.

"Montaigne is superior to any of the ancients in liveliness, in that careless and rapid style, where one thought springs naturally, but not consecutively from another, by analogical rather than deductive connexion; so that, while the reader seems to be following a train of arguments, he is imperceptibly hurried to a distance by some contingent association. This may be observed in half his essays, the titles of which often give us little insight into their general scope. He sometimes makes a show of coming back from his excursions, but he has generally exhausted himself before he does so. This is what men love to practise (not advantageously for their severer studies) in their own thoughts; they love to follow the casual associations that lead them through pleasant labyrinths—as one riding along the high-road is glad to deviate a little into the woods, though it may sometimes happen that he will lose his way and find himself far remote from his inn. And such is the conversational style of lively and eloquent old men. We converse with Montaigne, or rather hear him talk; it is almost impossible to read his essays without thinking that he speaks to us; we see his cheerful brow, his sparkling eye, his negligent but gen-

demianly demeanour; we picture him in his arm-chair, with his few books round the room, and Plutarch on the table."

Our limits, and the diversified nature of Mr. Hallam's work, render it difficult, if not impossible, to present our readers with such a selection of its contents as will be in any degree just to the author or satisfactory to ourselves. We must now skip over a long interval of time, and pass at once to the opposite extreme of French prose-literature, whether we regard the date of the productions, the genius of the writers, or the structure of the language. The simple, lively, and somewhat negligent style of James Amyot and Montaigne, and of French writers generally in the sixteenth century, was perhaps destitute of those higher qualities of language which the study of the ancients had taught men to admire. It was nearly confined to lighter literature, or inappropriately introduced in public harangues, in pleadings and in sermons, to relieve the tiresome pedantry of their graver sections. Du Vair was the first who endeavoured to bring in a more elaborate and elevated diction. But the era of composition, of which Pascal and Bossuet are the greatest ornaments, is dated from 1625, when the letters of Balzac were published. Balzac, according to his editor in 1665, found the French language full of provincial idioms and incorrect phrases, and he was the first to regulate the cadence of his periods, and to show the capacity of his native tongue for rhythmical collocation. The predisposing cause, however, of the artistic structure which controversial and pulpit eloquence assumed in France, was the numerous and excellent translations from the classical writers, especially the historians and orators of Rome. In the preceding century, Amyot had re-produced rather than translated Plutarch; and his version not only made this historian and moralist the most popular of the ancients for a long time in France, but its effects in enriching and giving a standard to the language resembled those of our own translation of the Bible. The translation of Florus by Coeffeteau, at a later period, was reckoned a master-piece of French style; and the antithetical periods of this historian, and of Velleius Paterculus, who is no mean artist in rhetorical collocation, may be regarded as the type upon which the orators and the preachers of the seventeenth century moulded their

ornate and ambitious eloquence. A similar contrast of manner to that which we have noticed in our own language, between those who wrote for the people and those who composed for the learned, prevailed also in France, but with this difference; that in the latter country, except in the pamphlets that swarmed in times of political tumult, the people were not thought of in trials of eloquence, but on the one hand the court, on the other the coteries, were the arbiters of the contest between the pulpit and light literature. Voiture, La Bruyère and Rochefoucault preserved the idiom, Bossuet, Pascal and Bourdaloue, and at a later period Massillon, consulted the dignity of the language. The life of France was concentrated in Paris; and an idle aristocracy, to whom a country life was insupportable, and religion and politics were forbidden, or at least dangerous occupations, exhausted their leisure in public exhibitions of every kind. The stage, the pulpit and the literary circles were the arena of ambitious minds, and the points of excitement and attraction to all who were eager for amusement and removed by their station from the necessity of useful employment. The popular actor and the popular preacher divided the year between them. In Advent and in Lent the performance was indeed more solemn, but scarcely less exciting to those who listened to the arguments of Bourdaloue and the rhetoric of Bossuet, than the representation of the 'Phédre' or the 'Tartuffe' in the profaner intervals. The sermon and the preacher were commanded at such seasons by royal authority, as the comedy and Molière were bespoken on particular nights. In the coteries, the actors and the scene were changed, indeed, but the exhibition was equally dramatic and stimulating; and Paris might have adopted in the most brilliant period of its literature, "*Mundus agit histrio*," as the motto of the city arms.

The circumstances under which eloquence was perfected at Athens are well known. Every free citizen lived in public, and intimately participated in every occasion of business and pleasure. The conditions of French rhetoric were less genial and ennobling, yet excellently adapted to the genius of the people, and to their capacity, at that period, for intellectual cultivation. To compare their pulpit-eloquence with our the-

ology, is to substitute contrast for distinction, or to impose upon a judicial assembly the laws which are proper in a theatre or a church. Mr. Hallam has described, with his usual acuteness, the leading characteristics of French religious oratory. The style was to be the perfection of French eloquence, the reasoning persuasive rather than dogmatic, the arrangement more methodical and distributive than at present, but without the excess we find in our old preachers. He then proceeds to trace the several manners of Bourdaloue, Bossuet and Fléchier, and contrasts them with the general style of the English pulpit. We have only room for his account of the celebrated 'Oraisons Funèbres' of Bossuet.

"Few works of genius, perhaps, in the French language, are better known, or have been more prodigally extolled. In that style of eloquence which the ancients called demonstrative (*ὑποδεικτικὸς*), the style of panegyric or commemoration, they are, doubtless, superior to those justly celebrated productions of Thucydides and Plato, that have descended to us from Greece; nor has Bossuet been equalled by any later writer. Those on the Queen of England, on her daughter the Duchess of Orleans, and on the Prince of Condé, outshine the rest; and if a difference is to be made among these, we might, perhaps, after some hesitation, confer the palm on the first. The range of topics is so various, the thoughts so just, the images so noble and poetical; the whole is in such perfect keeping, the tone of awful contemplation is so uniform, that if it has not any passages of such extraordinary beauty as occur in the other two, its general effect on the mind is more irresistible.

"In this style, much more of ornament, more of what speaks in the spirit, and even the very phrase, of poetry, to the imagination and the heart, is permitted, by a rigorous criticism, than in forensic or in deliberative eloquence. The beauties that rise before the author's vision are not renounced: the brilliant colours of his fancy are not subdued; the periods assume a more rhythmical cadence, and emulate, like metre itself, the voluptuous harmony of musical intervals; the whole composition is more evidently formed to delight; but it will delight to little purpose, or even cease, in any strong sense of the word, to do so at all, unless it is ennobled by moral wisdom. In this Bossuet was pre-eminent; his thoughts are never subtle or far-fetched; they have a sort of breadth, a generality of application, which is peculiarly required in those who address a mixed assembly, and which many that aim at what is profound and original are apt to miss. It may be confessed, that these funeral discourses are not exempt from some defects, frequently inherent in panegyrical eloquence; they are sometimes too rhetorical, and do not appear to show so little effort as some have fancied: the amplifications are sometimes too unmeasured, the language sometimes borders too nearly on that of the stage; above all, there is a tone of adulation, not quite pleasing to a calm posterity."

The opposite effects of the Reformation upon the Teutonic nations of Europe present one of the most remarkable contrasts in literary or political history. Germany, after the decline of the Suabian dynasty, affords no great names, if we exclude science and theology, to the historian of literature, until late in the eighteenth century. Her central position between the principal dissidents in religion, the variation in her creeds, when a creed was a political as well as a theological symbol, and at a time when men maintained their orthodoxy with the sword, as eagerly as they now do in Protestant Associations and at county meetings, subjected her fairest provinces, first to the peasants' war, and then to the armies of Wallenstein and Gustavus, to the "black-bands" of Spain, and to the little less terrible militia of Sweden; thirty years of desolation and anarchy were naturally succeeded by a long period of exhaustion. A central government, by attracting to the capital the most wealthy and intelligent of the provincials, cherishes, even if it does not too rapidly mature, a national literature. But a number of ducal or episcopal cities, even where they afford a general protection to learned men, is by no means equally favourable to the nurture of genius. Literature either dwindles into an accomplishment, or becomes the aliment of personal cabals, when, as so frequently happens in limited courts, it is taken into partnership with majesty. The want of a sufficiently remote, yet capacious centre, was not compensated, as in Italy, by the predominance of one dialect for literature, which successive generations would improve, or at least preserve. The general use of Latin by the learned, threatened at one time to cast over the High-German, in despite of Luther's labours and creative energy in establishing its forms, as complete an oblivion in European literature as has really befallen the Low-Dutch. Looking back from the nineteenth century, we may apply to the German *mind* the expressive metaphor by which Fuller describes the nature of German *enthusiasm*, at the epoch of the Crusades:—"Though Germanie was backward at the first, yet, afterwards, it proved the main Atlas of the Warre; that nation, like a heave bell, was long a raising, but, being got up, made a loud sound." During the whole period, however, over which Mr. Hallam's volumes extend, he would have been a hardy

prophet who had foretold, from the dawnings of Opitz and Bodmer, the appearance of the most imaginative and philosophical literature of modern times.

But in England circumstances were singularly favourable to the growth of a masculine and diversified literature. The "great deeps" of the Teutonic mind seem to open at once in the reigns of Elizabeth and her immediate successors. The Reformation had aroused, not exhausted, the nation; her insular situation protected her from invasion; the temper of the sovereign, and, with some exceptions, the inclinations of the people, were averse to foreign war; a rich mercantile class was growing up beside a splendid aristocracy; their natural emulation was directed, in a long interval of peace, to the encouragement of intellect and art. Rome was still a formidable adversary, and controversy borrowed new weapons as her old ones became feeble or blunted, from secular literature. The discovery of new regions in the western seas, and the description which the voyagers gave on their return, seemed to justify the most sublime or the most extravagant imaginations: the objective resources of the age were increased by an active intercourse with the continent, and, on all sides, fulfilment seemed to tread on the heels of ever fresh and boundless promise. At different periods of this era, the pulpit and the schools, the philosopher in his study and the poet from the stage, alternately instructed and delighted an awakened and earnest, if not a susceptible people; the boundaries of knowledge were advanced, the sources of intellectual pleasure multiplied; nor is it easy to determine whether, in such an age, genius shone most bright in action or in seclusion, in sacred or in secular studies, or whether it were the prerogative of the times, to blend in Sidney and Raleigh, in Bacon and Falkland, the usual distinctions and qualities of men.

Among the foremost representatives of this extraordinary expansion of the intellectual life of a nation, was Edmund Spenser, whether we regard his productive or his recipient powers, or his poetic mission, in evolving the hidden wealth and harmonies of the English language. He did not, like the father of Tuscan eloquence, indeed, fix and bequeath to the laureate fraternity who came after him, a perpetual dialect, for the expression and accompaniment of whatever was lofty or

beautiful, profound or luminous, in conception and sentiment. The language was already beyond the conditions, perhaps it was originally too organic to admit of such legislation. But that neither fancy nor imagination might hereafter, in excuse of their own feebleness or indolence, plead that their lot was cast in a barren or a limited idiom, the 'Faëry Queen' seems to have been intended by the variety, the pliancy and the resonance of its diction, to satisfy every demand that could be made upon it. There is but one correlate to Spenser, in abundance of illustration and in prodigality of ornament; and we can never read the 'Holy Living and Dying,' or the 'Life of Christ,' without feeling that the same pencil and the same colours are employed, but on a different ground. We cannot agree with Mr. Hallam, although his remarks on the style of Spenser are just, that his language, like that of Shakspeare, is an instrument manufactured for the sake of the work it was intended to perform: or if we can assent to him, it is because the language of both these poets, like the pavilion in the Arabian tale, is capable of infinite change in its proportions, and can, with equal ease, contain the multitudinous groupings of fancy, and the unadorned and solitary presentments of truth. In the few notes that have been preserved of Mr. Coleridge's lectures, the characteristics of Spenser's intellectual being are traced, with his wonted insight into the distinctions of the beautiful. We shall, therefore, merely refer to the first volume of his 'Literary Remains,' and lay before our readers a small portion of one of the most eloquent passages in Mr. Hallam's work:—

"It has been justly observed by a living writer of the most ardent and enthusiastic genius, whose eloquence is as the rush of mighty waters, and has left it for others almost as invidious to praise in terms of less rapture, as to censure what he has borne along in the stream of unhesitating eulogy, that 'no poet has ever had a more exquisite sense of the beautiful than Spenser.' In Virgil and Tasso this was not less powerful; but even they, even the latter himself, do not hang with such tenderness of delight, with such a forgetful delay, over the fair creations of their fancy. Spenser is not averse to images that jar on the mind by exciting horror or disgust; and sometimes his touches are rather too strong; but it is on love and beauty, on holiness and virtue, that he reposes with all the sympathy of his soul. The slowly-sliding motion of his stanza, 'with many a bout of linked sweetness long drawn out,' beautifully corresponds to the dreamy enchantment of his description, when Una, or Belphebe, or Florimel, or Amoret are

present to his mind. In this varied delineation of female perfectness, no earlier poet had equalled him ; nor, excepting Shakspeare, has he had, perhaps, any later rival.

"Spenser is naturally compared with Ariosto. 'Fierce wars and faithful love did moralize the song' of both poets. But in the constitution of their minds, in the character of their poetry, they were almost the reverse of each other. The Italian is gay, rapid, ardent ; his pictures shift like the hues of heaven ; even while diffuse, he seems to leave in an instant what he touches, and is prolix by the number, not the duration, of his images. Spenser is habitually serious ; his slow stanza seems to suit the temper of his genius ; he loves to dwell on the sweetness and beauty which his fancy portrays. The ideal of chivalry, rather derived from its didactic theory than from the precedents of romance, is always before him ; his morality is pure, and even stern, with nothing of the libertine tone of Ariosto. He worked with far worse tools than the bard of Ferrara, with a language not quite formed, and into which he rather injudiciously poured an unnecessary archaism, while the style of his contemporaries was undergoing a rapid change in the opposite direction. * * * * * Spenser may be justly said to excel Ariosto in originality of invention, in force and variety of character, in strength and vividness of conception, in depth of reflection, in fertility of imagination, and above all, in that exclusively poetical cast of feeling, which discerns in everything what common minds do not perceive. In the construction and arrangement of their fable, neither deserves much praise ; but the *Siege of Paris* gives the '*Orlando Furioso*,' spite of its perpetual shiftings of the scene, rather more unity in the reader's apprehension than belongs to the '*Faëry Queen*.' Spenser is, no doubt, decidedly inferior in ease and liveliness of narration, as well as clearness and felicity of language. But, upon thus comparing the two poets, we have little reason to blush for our countryman. Yet the fame of Ariosto is spread through Europe, while Spenser is almost unknown out of England ; and even in this age, when much of our literature is widely diffused, I have not observed proofs of much acquaintance with him on the continent."—*Vol. i. pp. 325-328.*

"The admiration of this great poem was unanimous and enthusiastic. No academy had been trained to carp at his genius with minute cavilling ; no recent popularity, no traditional fame (for Chaucer was rather venerated than much in the hands of the reader) interfered with the immediate recognition of his supremacy. The '*Faëry Queen*' became at once the delight of every accomplished gentleman, the model of every poet, the solace of every scholar. In the course of the next century, by the extinction of habits, derived from chivalry, and the change, both of taste and language, which came on with the civil wars and the restoration, Spenser lost something of his attraction, and much more of his influence upon literature ; yet, in the most phlegmatic temper of the general reader, he seems to have been one of our most popular writers. Time, however, has gradually wrought its work, and, notwithstanding the more imaginative cast of poetry in the present century, it may be well doubted whether the '*Faëry Queen*' is as much read, or as

highly esteemed as in the days of Anne. It is not, perhaps, very difficult to account for this ; those who seek the delight that mere fiction presents to the mind (and they are the great majority of readers), have been supplied to the utmost limit of their craving, by stores accommodated to every temper, and far more stimulant than the legends of Faery-land. But we must not fear to assert, with the best judges of this and of former ages, that Spenser is still the third name in the poetical literature of our country, and that he has not been surpassed, except by Dante, in any other."—*Vol. i. p. 333-34.*

The new light in which women were regarded in christian literature, appears in Spenser, the initiative poet of England, as it had already done in Dante and Petrarca, the initiative poets of Southern Europe. The Greeks, with perhaps the exception of Homer, seem to have had no means of making their women interesting, but by unsexing them ; and the characters of Medea, Electra and Antigone, owe their attractions to a lofty and masculine tone of heroism. Chaucer, indeed, in the tale of Palamon and Arcite, has drawn an exquisite outline of feminine portraiture in Emily, but he is too much the painter of classes of manners to trust himself far beyond the limits of the actual, and too often the satirist to sympathise earnestly with the ideal. In the Amoret, the Belphebe, the Florimel, and the Una of the 'Faëry Queen,' we have, however, distinctly before us, the higher reverence for womanhood, the spirit of sentiment and courtesy, which, derived from religion, was nurtured in chivalry, and after having for centuries been absorbed in the mythology of the popular creed, emerged, at the end of the mediæval period, in the renovated art and poetry of Christendom. In Spenser also, as Coleridge remarks, we see "the brightest and purest form of that nationality which was so common a characteristic of our elder poets." There is nothing harsh, nothing contemptuous in it ; its source is not in the ignoble pleasure of comparison, but in the legitimate and lofty satisfaction which the idea of order and unity produces in the philosophic mind ; since to every people its station and destiny are assigned, and in a free and worthy nation men are not the blind and undistinguishable atoms of quantity, but the living members of an intelligent and individual whole.

We have mentioned Taylor as the prose-correlate of Spenser. Mr. Hallam devotes several pages to an account of the

'Liberty of Prophesying,' in which he delineates, with his accustomed fidelity, the characteristic features of that eminent writer as a controversialist. He seems to us, however, to have rather slighted Taylor's devotional works, more particularly his 'Life of Christ.' Less argumentative, and to a certain degree less generally important than the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' the 'Life of Christ' is not merely an historical and religious expansion of the gospel narrative, but a manual of divine philosophy, compiled from every imaginable source, from the scriptures, the fathers and the schoolmen, from the poets and moralists of antiquity, from the annals and the legends of the church, from the "Jews' books," and from devious tradition. The marginal references and quotations are only exceeded by Burton, whose 'Anatomy of Melancholy' is almost a centonism of extracts; yet, like the irregular forms and intricate colours of cathedral windows, they produce a solemn and religious harmony, of which the effect is more apparent than the cause or the components. A careful editor, such as the works of Taylor have never met with, should, throughout this volume, be perpetually on the watch for such of the original sources as Taylor has not indicated. Liberal as his acknowledgments are of the aid he employed in its composition, he has transferred the imagination, if not the language, of the Greek fathers, into many of the more luxuriant or emotional passages of the 'Great Exemplar.' The structure of his work is not less composite than that of the 'Faëry Queen,' or 'Paradise Lost'; but it differs from the latter in the arabesque variety of its detail, and in the author's having merely arranged and not reminted his materials, so as to impress them with his own idiosyncrasy. It resembles the former in the amplitude, the recurrence, and the richness of its departments, by the flexible outline, and the ideal rather than the formal unity of the plan. It removes from the broad and searching daylight of controversy into the twilight of holy and imaginative feelings, questions, which had been for centuries the world's debate; and, although on their coming forth from this Goshen they are again seized by active and angry disputants, it is well to know their peaceful precincts and their temporary repose.

The 'Liberty of Prophesying' is, upon the whole, the most

powerful appeal against the justice or the expediency of intolerance, which has proceeded from the reformed church. But, nearly coincident in time with Taylor, a celebrated champion of religious freedom appeared on the continent. Partly his own conclusions, partly the ill-usage he experienced at the hands of those who boasted their exemption from papal tyranny, had inclined Grotius to regard the Anglican church with admiration, and the Roman, at least, at the close of his life, with complacency. His annotations on the 'Consultations of Cassander,' his 'Animadversions of Rivet,' in his 'Votum pro Pace Ecclesiastica,' and other tracts, display a uniform and progressive tendency to defend the church of Rome in everything that can be deemed essential to her creed. In his conduct Grotius was equally exempt from preferences. For several years he continued in an isolated state, neither approving the Reformation nor the Church of Rome. In his latter years, when he held the honourable station of ambassador from the court of Sweden to Paris, he seems to have prided himself that he did not live as a Protestant. The Huguenot ministers of Charenton requested him to communicate with them, which he declined. He was at that time brooding over a scheme of union among Protestants; but he soon laid so hopeless a scheme aside, and perceived, or persuaded himself, that there could be no practicable re-union, except with Rome itself, nor that, except on an acknowledgment of her superiority. In 1640, says Mr. Hallam, from whom, indeed, we abridge this account, of perhaps the greatest of the Arminian divines, his letters are full of sanguine hopes that this delusive vision would be realised. He seems at this time to have had the countenance of Richelieu, who, though himself a theological writer, and a good Catholic, took great care that no extreme principles of the papacy should affect the liberties of the Gallican Church. By 1642, Grotius had become wholly averse to the Reformation. Auratus (d'Or), a sort of chaplain to Grotius, became a Catholic about this time, and in his reply to Wytenbogard, who had justly observed the moral impossibility of tracing historically, for ourselves, the doctrine of the church, Grotius referred him to a visible standard. The latter years of his conversion or defection are thus described by Mr. Hallam:—

"In proportion as he perceived how little of concession was to be obtained, he himself grew more ready to concede ; and though at one time he seems to deny the infallibility of the church, and at another would not have been content with placing all things in the state they were before the council of Trent, he came ultimately to think such a favourable sense might be put on all the Tridentine decrees, as to render them compatible with the confession of Augsburg."

The above remarks are freely adopted from Mr. Hallam for the purpose of introducing a curious and instructive passage from the same volume. The history of literature, when treated by a philosopher, has a twofold value, as the record of the forms, and a table of the varieties of human opinion. Our own times are in evil repute in some quarters for pseudo-liberalism, for an impertinent and mischievous propensity to disturb what is established, especially within the precincts of the church. Whatever our demerits in this respect may be, they are, at least, not original ; since in the following sentiments of Grotius we find some very analogous principles to the dangerous pretensions of our own days :—

"The magistrate can alter nothing which is definitely laid down by the positive law of God ; but he may regulate the circumstantial observance even of such ; and as to things undefined in Scripture he has plenary jurisdiction ; such as the temporalities of the church, the convocation of synods, the election of pastors. The burthen of proof lies on those who would limit the civil power by affirming anything to be prescribed by the divine law. The authority attributed in Scripture to churches does not interfere with the power of the magistrate, being persuasive, not coercive. The whole church has no coercive power by divine right. * * * * In a chapter on the due exercise of the civil supremacy over the church, he shows more of a Protestant feeling than would have been found in him when he approached the latter years of his life ; and declares fully against submission to any visible authority in matters of faith, so that sovereigns are not bound to follow the ministers of the church in what they may affirm as doctrine. Ecclesiastical synods he deems often useful, but thinks the magistrate is not bound to act with their consent, and that they are sometimes pernicious. The magistrate may determine who may compose such synods ; a strong position he endeavours to prove at great length. Even if the members are elected by the church, the magistrate may reject those whom he reckons unfit ; he may preside in the assembly, confirm, reject, annul its decisions. He may also legislate about the whole organisation of the established church. It is for him to determine what form of religion shall be publicly exercised ; an essential right of sovereignty, as political writers have laid it down. To the objection, from the danger of abuse in conceding so much power to the sovereign, he replies that no other theory will secure us better. On every

supposition the power must be lodged in men, who are all liable to error. We must console ourselves by a trust in divine providence alone."—*Ibid.* iii. pp. 97-100.

The storms that had checked the resuscitation of Catholicism, had comparatively little effect upon the Western Peninsula of Europe; and Spain and Portugal, whose internal changes and maritime discoveries communicated so great an impulse to the rest of the continent, have partaken but slightly in their turn of its social and intellectual revolutions. The insulated position and the national elements of those kingdoms presented many obstacles to the common movements of Europe; and, at the time they were most susceptible of change, they were the dominant people beyond the Alps, and in a considerable portion of the countries on this side of them. The reign of Charles V. deluded them with the prospect of a universal monarchy; but if, in their want of union, the states of Italy and Germany resembled the provincial subjects of Rome, they were severally too powerful and enlightened for subjection and control. The era of Spanish supremacy was short; and when its provinces were rent away, and, under the jealous and gloomy administration of Philip II., the spirit of enterprise was crushed, the heart of the empire proved to have been long withered, and the extremities alone the seat of vitality. The national literature of Spain, if we include the lyric romances and songs in the old popular style, extends over a long interval of time; but if we extend that term to such productions only as spring from the common romantic and ethnic bases of European art, it was of remarkably brief duration. It is, indeed, almost contemporary with the lives of Lope de Vega, Cervantes and Calderon, a limit which includes the best of the Spanish historians. In this department of his subject, Mr. Hallam relies principally on Bouterwek, although he occasionally checks the enthusiasm of the German critic by the more phlegmatic tone of Sismondi. The general qualities of Spanish poems, according to a noble critic, whom he cites, independently of those intended for representation, are smoothness of versification and purity of language, and facility rather than strength of imagination. The practice of *improvising* was as frequent in Spain as in Italy; and even the nobility of Philip the Fourth's time

were wont to converse for some minutes in extemporaneous verse. Yet it has been found experimentally that excessive facility of production is good neither in land nor in learning; it makes slovenly agriculturists and careless metrists; and the Teutonic dialects, more unpliant at first, have been cultivated more successfully in the end, both as regards the harmony and the precision of verse. According to Mr. Hallam, the Spanish ballads have enjoyed their full share of reputation; their authors, at least those of earlier date, paid little regard to invention, or to correctness of execution; and those written at a later period, perhaps by poets of Valladolid or Madrid, the contemporaries of Cervantes, though improved in method and eloquence, are inferior in simplicity and vigour. In the older romances, Mr. Hallam remarks "a certain prolixity and hardness of style, a want of connexion, a habit of repeating verses or entire passages from others." In other words, they are precisely what might be looked for in the age of their composition, and the critic is on this occasion somewhat ungracious. We are inclined to think that poems of this kind are not within the conditions of criticism, any more than the original lays of the Theban or the Trojan war would have been, had they come down to us untouched by the Homerids. It is more in accordance with probability, to believe with Bouterwek, that when an impressive story of poetical character was found, the subject and the emotions it would awaken were seized with such a truth and vivacity, that the parts of the little piece linked themselves spontaneously, the intense sympathy of the hearers supplied the absence of connexion, and the office of the bard was neither to create nor to decorate, but simply to give to each situation and character its proper colouring and effect. The period at which Spain and Italy maintained the closest political and literary relations, was coincident with that of Ariosto's first celebrity. But the Spaniards always remained strangers to the chivalrous epopee. The mixture of the comic with the serious was not congenial to their taste; they were proud of their national spirit of chivalry; their religious sentiments were earnest, if not enlightened; and the careless levity of the Italians seemed to them unworthy of men who had not yet learned to prefer intrigue to valour. The serious epic, on the other hand, was a favourite

with Spanish poets. Besides the *Araucana* of Ercilla, which Voltaire has praised absurdly, and Bouterwek condemned excessively, not less than twenty-five poems of this class appeared in Spain within little more than half a century. But in the epopee the Spaniards have repeated the mistake of their Roman progenitors, and celebrated events of recent occurrence. The sixteenth century was the illustrious age of Castille, and the most worthy of epic renown. A Spanish Homer could sing of no hero so appropriately as of him who was styled by all native writers of that age the "never-conquered" (*el nunca vencido*), their favourite Charles V. But the attempt in which, with considerable powers and with a highly cultivated language, Lucan and Silius had failed, was unsuccessful; and the epic art of Spain is nearly as much a blank as the dramatic art of Italy had been until the appearance of Alfieri.

The world in general is content to be amused and even instructed without much reflection upon the causes of its profit and delight; and some of our readers are perhaps unaware of the very different opinions that prevail as to the real intentions of Cervantes in his "history of that ingenious gentleman, *Don Quixote of La Mancha*." According to Bouterwek, the venerable knight of *La Mancha* is the immortal representative of all men of exalted imagination, who carry the noblest enthusiasm to a pitch of folly; because with understandings, in other respects sound, they are unable to resist the fascinating power of a self-deception, by which they are led to regard themselves as beings of a superior order. It is impossible to form a more mistaken notion of this work than to consider it merely as a satire, intended by the author to ridicule the absurd passion for reading old romances of chivalry. *Don Quixote*, however, would have been just as likely to have lost his senses by the study of Plato or Aristotle. The primary idea is that of a man of elevated character, excited by heroic and enthusiastic feelings to the extravagant mood of wishing to restore the age of chivalry. According to Sismondi, the fundamental idea of *Don Quixote* is the eternal contrast between the spirit of poetry and that of prose. Men of an elevated soul propose to themselves, as the object of life, to be the defenders of the weak, the support of the oppressed, the

champions of justice and innocence. Like Don Quixote, they find on every side the image of the virtues they worship ; they believe that disinterestedness, nobleness, courage, in short, knight-errantry, are still prevalent ; and with no calculation of their own powers, they expose themselves for an ungrateful world, they offer themselves as a sacrifice to the laws and rules of an imaginary state of society. Mr. Coleridge is, perhaps, entitled to claim the merit of a third discovery, that Don Quixote, without, however, losing the least trait of personal individuality, is the personification of the reason and the moral sense, divested of the judgement and the understanding. "Sancho," he proceeds, "is the converse ; he is the common sense without reason or imagination." To such theories Mr. Hallam naturally objects, that, although Cervantes possessed a very thoughtful mind and a profound knowledge of humanity, yet that the generalisation they require for the leading conception of Don Quixote, besides being a little inconsistent with the valorous and romantic character of its author, belongs to a more advanced period of philosophy than his own. We may add, generally, that the union of analytical with creative powers in the same mind, is comparatively a recent phenomenon.

Mr. Hallam appeals from the critics to the author himself, and very ably defends the popular belief of two centuries, that Cervantes had no more profound aim than he assigns to his readers.

"If the fashion," he remarks, "of reading bad romances of chivalry perverted the taste of his contemporaries, and rendered their language ridiculous, it was natural that a zealous lover of good literature should expose this folly to the world by exaggerating its effects on a fictitious personage. It has been said by some modern writer, though I cannot remember by whom, that there was a *prose side* in the mind of Cervantes. There was indeed a side of calm strong sense, which some take for unpoetical. He thought the tone of those romances extravagant. It might naturally occur how absurd any one must appear who should attempt to realise, in actual life, the advantages of Amadis. Already a novelist, he perceived the opportunities this idea suggested. It was a necessary consequence, that the hero must be represented as literally insane, since his conduct would have been extravagant beyond the probability of fiction on any other hypothesis ; and from this happy conception germinated, in a very prolific mind, the whole history of Don Quixote."

We have not space for Mr. Hallam's remarks upon the ge-

neral excellence of this universally known romance, but must content ourselves with strongly recommending them to our readers. In one respect, however, they strike us as incomplete, since he leaves unnoticed the peculiar beauty of Cervantes' style. Bouterwek commends the speech of the shepherdess Marcella, as in the true prose collocation of Cicero; and if his remark is confined to the particular passage, it may pass, although the comparison is neither very just nor very intelligible. If, indeed, a prototype must be sought for the style of Cervantes, Plato's will afford a better analogy. Compact, transparent, progressive—the eloquence of the philosopher and of the novelist is the atmosphere which permeates and embraces their thoughts. So easily and aptly does it unfold them, that we seem to be looking through air at forms and colours, at motion and repose, so distinctly present, that we no longer remember the beauty of the intermediate language. And so universal are the qualities of Cervantes' diction, that foreigners who cannot enter into all the associations of memory and sentiment that a native enjoys, may, notwithstanding, without presumption, avow their delight in its pure, and sunny and pellucid flow. Even translations, and our own language in particular contains many bad ones, cannot quite obscure the fresh and delicate beauty of the original.

We must confess ourselves somewhat disappointed in Mr. Hallam's cursory notice of the second great name of Spanish literature, Calderon de la Barca. However difficult it is in works of this nature to determine the exact space which each national literature shall occupy in relation to the whole compass of the subject, a writer, who, more perhaps than any other of his age, represents under its most perfect and ennobling form one of the principal elements of the European mind, claims, as his peculiar right at least, an outline of his general characteristics. Mr. Hallam, however, pays more attention to the form of Calderon's plays, with reference to the European drama, than to the sources of art and feeling, from which those forms arose. The analysis he gives of the '*Vida es Sueño*' is not accompanied by an attempt to mark the species of Calderon's very various dramatic productions, nor to point out the different eras of the poet's psychological development. Neither is the play itself, although beautiful certainly and cla-

borate, by any means a *generic* specimen of his powers as an artist. Mr. Hallam holds the balance between the perhaps excessive praises of the German, and the frigid, and, considering the obligations of their own stage to the Spanish, the somewhat ungrateful estimate of the French critics of Calderon; but it is easy to see that he inclines rather to the opinions of Sismondi than of Schlegel. In terming Calderon the poet of the Inquisition, and as belonging to one age alone, and that the wretched epoch of Philip IV., it may be questioned whether Sismondi has not confined his view to what is excrescent and accidental in the works of Calderon, rather than extended it to the national idiosyncrasy of the Spanish people. Of all the native varieties among the western provincials of Rome, the Iberian was the most difficult to eradicate or to modify; and the Gothic conquerors of the Peninsula seem to have inherited the strong and tenacious temper of the earlier inhabitants. The wars with the Moors, the diversion of the national energies in maritime discovery, the somewhat antipapal character of the Spanish church, which, standing apart from the more grievous abuses of Catholicism, was not involved in its decline, tended to sever Spain, in some measure, from the organic movements of Europe; and even the influence of Italy upon its literature was confined to a few departments, and was quite unequal to impose *Provençal* or classical fetters upon its bold and incontrollable Gothic spirit. Hence Spanish is the most decidedly national poetry in modern Europe; and since the partly sensuous, partly mystic character of Roman-Catholicism pervades, and indeed represents the temperament of the people from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, every branch of Spanish art is deeply imbued with an earnest spiritualism, even when, as in the drama, its objects and its attributes are strictly and necessarily popular. Next to religion, the splendour of the monarchy, down to the middle of the seventeenth century, immediately influenced the poetry of Spain.

The propensity for public spectacles, wherein the passion for excitement rather than the love of the beautiful was gratified, surrounded the Spanish drama, at least when exhibited before the court of Madrid, with complicate and imposing accompaniments; and although the printed editions of Calderon

have fewer "stage directions" than the old copies of Shakspeare and his contemporaries, yet the plot and situations of his dramas involve multitudinous groupings, and rapid changes, and a tumult and life approaching to the modern melodrame. It is only necessary to supply in the mind's eye to the 'Vida es Sueño,' the 'Principe Constante,' or the 'Cenobia,' the pomp and circumstance of representation, to understand the importance of the machinist and the property-man to the Spanish stage. The classic economy which the French and Italian dramatic writers borrowed from ancient models, and frequently from the spurious and turbid source of Seneca, would have seemed meagre and insipid to a Madrid audience, whom the bull-fight and the auto-da-fé had accustomed to more stimulating diet. The habitual parsimony of Elizabeth, and the less advanced state of the English people, withheld from the tragedies and the histories of Shakspeare the accompaniments which they pre-suppose, and which date only from the elder of the Kembles; and under her more lavish successors, the costliness and care that would have appropriately adorned the higher drama, were bestowed entirely upon the 'Masque.' It is as the exponent of these combined elements of dramatic art, that a really competent and generous criticism will regard the works of Calderon. In universal truth of feeling he is inferior not merely to Shakspeare, but to most of Shakspeare's contemporaries. He has produced no 'Lear,' no 'Othello,' no 'Hamlet.' In rapid and poignant wit he is inferior to Beaumont and Fletcher, in the ordonnance of a story to the 'Alchemist,' and the 'Every Man in his Humour.' But in richness and depth of colour, in the musical involution of poetry through whole scenes, and sometimes through an entire action, in the art with which, as in the 'Magico Prodigioso,' the central group of the drama is reflected in all its changes, and in the purely medieval character of the earnestness and the sport, of the imagery and the emotion of his plays, Calderon must be regarded as the representative of the romantic drama, and is not directly amenable to the laws which Sophocles and Shakspeare imposed upon themselves. However justly a Protestant may condemn the doctrines and the aggressions of the Romish church, he cannot deny it the praise of making

an ample provision for the imaginative and susceptible portion of our nature. The logical understanding requires proofs for its assent, and rejects with dread or suspicion the illusions of the senses; but the poet, the painter and the musician, surrender their whole being to the separate or the mingled influence of form, and colour and harmony, without questioning the source from which they flow. By lavishing upon the hierarchy the pomp and magnificence of the pagan spectacles, the church drew into itself the objective wealth of the dark and medieval eras of Europe, and kept alive susceptibilities which, in the surrounding scenes of barbarism and desolation, must otherwise have perished under the fierce and malignant aspect of the times. The worship of saints, while it concealed the true nature of mediation, represented to a gross laity the idea of a superintending Providence; and the adoration of the Virgin satisfied those gentler natures upon which the ignorance or the dangers of the age pressed most heavily. But, although as the new forms of society established themselves, the expedience of these adumbrations of the spiritual in man became less evident, the impressions they had made habitual, survived; and even when their symbolic uses had quite passed away, men of imaginative minds, who generally have more delight in bringing back the past than in welcoming and moulding to artistic uses the present, found themselves more strongly attracted to the devout symbolism of the ancient church, than to the logical plainness of the reformed communities. We have already noticed the partial recurrence of Germany, and the adherence of Italy to the spirit of Catholicism. But Spain had scarcely wavered in her allegiance to the medieval faith; and although her theologians remonstrated against the vices of Borgia and the ambition of Caraffa, neither her court, her church, nor the people accepted the renovated forms which were opposed by Rome and in Southern Germany to the advances of Protestantism. The earnest and meditative character of the nation was not incompatible with humour, or even with wit; but both wit and humour in Spain are something very different from the sprightliness of the French, and the coarse but genuine mirth of the old German temperament. Their disposition also was essentially warlike; and, like the Ro-

mans, they delighted in the pomp of procession and spectacles, and in the poetry which easily combined with them. On the other hand, the imposing features of Spanish Catholicism, alternately grave and gorgeous, and inheriting from remote times a disinclination to the lighter and more graceful forms of the Italian ritual, gave a meditative and mystic cast of thought to the people. They flocked to the *autos* with mingled reverence and delight; and the faith of the audience almost exempted from restraint the fancy of the poet and the caprices of the scene. That we cannot sympathise under totally different circumstances of cultivation with the emotions which were called forth by the 'Purgatorio de San Patricio,' or the 'Devocion de la Cruz,' is no sufficient cause for excluding them from the domain of legitimate art, since, with all our traditional admiration of the Greek drama, it is not at all clear that we enter into its leading idea, the perpetual conflict between destiny and the will of man. In estimating Calderon, it is more than commonly incumbent on the critic to take up such a position as shall command a region of art of genuine but peculiar beauty; and if Schlegel has been perhaps bewildered by the novel and the various features of the prospect, it is certain that to much of it Sismondi is insensible, from the erroneous selection of his point of view.

Next in value, and equally discriminating with his analysis of our great ethical and metaphysical writers, are Mr. Hallam's observations upon Shakspeare and the elder school of the English drama. In no branch of æsthetics has so rapid and so important a change for the better taken place, as in that which treats of the laws of dramatic composition, and the particular qualities of our dramatic poets. Neither is the improvement in this case wholly attributable to foreign influence, although much of it is certainly due to our Teutonic kinsmen. The notes which Lamb affixed to his 'Specimens,' gave a genuine and racy spirit of nationality to this department of criticism, while the lectures of Coleridge furnished the groundwork of a deeply scientific analysis. Mr. Hallam makes honourable mention of Mrs. Jameson's 'Essays on the Female Characters of Shakspeare,' in which all who read them will probably concur. Nor should the late Mr.

Hazlitt's merits be overlooked, who, with many intellectual deficiencies, extended the love and perception of art among his contemporaries, and whose lectures on Shakspeare are a popular form of the deeper feeling of Lamb, and the more subtle philosophy of Coleridge. It is no longer necessary to combat the old fallacy of the "wildness and irregularity of Shakspeare's genius;" it is laid asleep with some other defunct superstitions of the last century. But a remark of Mr. Hallam's deserves notice in passing, that the present apotheosis of our greatest poet was originally the work of what has been styled a frigid and tasteless generation, the age of George II. The stage has not yet repaid, and probably never can discharge, its infinite obligations to the art of Shakspeare; but, in return, it has done much to render him intelligible to the sluggish or the devious imagination of the public. Whoever has arrived at a just conception of the manifold ways in which the pleasures of the eye and ear act upon the inner being of a people, will estimate the importance to national education of an art which presents to the multitude the intellectual truths and the creations of poetry. None but shallow observers will think it a matter of indifference whether Cato appears on the scene in a "bag-wig, flowered gown, and lackered chair," or with the classic accompaniments, and under the majestic impersonation of the elder Kemble. The revived taste for the simpler and sublimer forms of our national poetry is nearly coincident with the representation of King John and of Henry IV., as they were produced with the exactness of an antiquary, the eye of a painter and the conception of an artist, under the direction of his equally gifted brother. Darwin and Merry, Hayley and Cumberland, faded away together; and in spite of a fallacy that Lamb strangely encouraged in one of his most thoughtful essays, the memory of Garrick is inseparably and rightfully associated with that of the "mighty master," whose creations he interpreted to a nation gone far astray after the misshapen and puny idols, that from the days of Dryden usurped and deformed the dramatic pantheon of Shakspeare and his contemporaries. Mr. Hallam justly assigns much importance to the chronology of dramatic compositions. The order of production is the legitimate canon for tracing and analysing the

successive phases of intellectual growth; and although, both from positive evidence and from ingenious theory, we are better able than formerly to follow the expanding or ascending circles of Shakspeare's conceptions, we still await a critic, who combining the acuteness of Tieck with the sensibility of Ulrici, shall apply to our own drama the æsthetic principles upon which Gruppe has so ably illustrated the rise, the maturity and the limits of the Athenian.

Mr. Hallam necessarily subordinates his chapters on dramatic literature to the general designs and proportions of his work; it would be therefore unreasonable to look for an analysis of particular plays, or more than a cursory view of the subject in his pages. Yet in no section do his powers of condensed and generalized observation appear to greater advantage. From Marlowe to Shirley, the alpha and omega of our elder school, the progress is immense, but the decline and exhaustion of dramatic power is also very apparent. Marlowe, Peele and Green, stand in a somewhat similar relation to Shakspeare as Phrynichus to Sophocles; and Shirley and Cartwright resemble the transitional poets, of whom Euripides was the first, and in concurrence with the altered spirit of the age, the model and the corrupter. In the 'Faustus,' and the 'Jew of Malta,' the dramatic elements are rude, mixed up with much that is distorted or debasing in art, but yet replete with promise and vigour. The balance between earnest and sport, which Shakspeare held so firmly, yet so imperceptibly, the lyrical evolutions by which he reconciled these polar forces of the romantic drama, were not attained by these writers. They have many points in common with the modern French and the early German school, limiting the uses of poetry to the production of excitement; and in the sixteenth century, excitement could be wrought out of very crude and incongruous materials. Marlowe's better dramas, his 'Edward II.,' his 'Faustus' and 'Barabbas,' are capable of being worked up again, as Shakspeare, from the cumbrous plot, the barren scenes and the inflated dialogue of the preceding age has frequently moulded a *rifacimento* full of life and harmony, and "excellent music." Neither let a dramatic poet of our own times be so ambitious of originality, a questionable and delusive aim at best, as to think

meanly of thus building on another's foundation. The 'Electra' of Sophocles is, almost scene by scene, such a *rifacimento* of the 'Choephoræ' of his great precursor; and the most meagre of our play-writers are generally at the pains to invent their story.

We cannot follow Mr. Hallam through even the few pages he has allotted to this interesting department of literary history; but our concluding extracts from his works shall be taken from them. He does not, like Mr. Coleridge, profess a reverence all but unconditional for Shakspeare; he weighs Fletcher and Massinger, and the lesser luminaries, in a carefully graduated balance, neither detracting from their merits where their orbit diverges from that of the "star of poets," nor, as was the fashion when our elder drama began to be again appreciated, attributing to the period that produced their works something mysterious and unapproachable in excellence. Nor from temperament, or the *perfervidum ingenium* of continental critics, is he inclined to discover in their compositions more profound and subtle combinations than the necessities of art require, or in their diction and characters such recondite meanings as an audience could seldom have apprehended, and which, if apprehended, would have broken the continuity of action or marred the spontaneity of illusion. The tone of his criticism, if sometimes less lofty and generous than that in which some other writers on Shakspeare have indulged, and if it occasionally fails in that plastic sympathy which stands in the same relation to the art of analysis as invention and imagination to the process of production, is yet cheerful in the discovery, catholic in the acknowledgment, and warm in the delineation of excellence; nor does it merit the less confidence because it allows as much weight to considerations derived from history and general experience as to theories of art, however ingenious, accommodating or new.

"Of William Shakspeare, whom, through the mouths of those whom he has inspired to body forth the modifications of his immense mind, we seem to know better than any human writer, it may be truly said that we scarcely know anything. We see him, so far as we do see him, not in himself, but in a reflex image, from the objectivity in which he was manifested; he is Falstaff, and Mercutio, and Malvolio, and Jaques, and Portia, and Imogen, and Lear, and Othello; but to us he is scarcely a determined

person, a substantial reality of past time, the man Shakspeare. The two greatest names in poetry are to us little more than names. If we are not yet come to question his unity, as we do that of 'the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle,' an improvement in critical acuteness doubtless reserved for a distant posterity, we as little feel the power of identifying the young man who came up from Stratford, was afterwards an indifferent player in a London theatre, and retired to his native place in middle life, with the author of Macbeth and Lear, as we can give a distinct historical personality to Homer. All that insatiable curiosity and unwearied diligence have hitherto detected about Shakspeare, serves rather to perplex us than to furnish the slightest illustration of his character. It is not the register of his baptism, or the draft of his will, or the orthography of his name that we seek. No letter of his writing, no record of his conversation, no character of him drawn with any fulness by a contemporary can be produced.

"The name of Shakspeare is the greatest in our literature—it is the greatest in all literature. No man ever came near to him in the creative powers of the mind; no man had ever such strength at once, and such variety of imagination. Coleridge has most felicitously applied to him a Greek epithet, given before to I know not whom, certainly none so deserving of it, *μυρικός*, the thousand-souled Shakspeare. The number of characters in his plays is astonishingly great, without reckoning those, who although transient, have often their individuality, all distinct, all types of human life in well-defined differences. Yet he never takes an abstract quality to embody it, scarcely perhaps a definite condition of manners, as Jonson does; nor did he draw much, as I conceive, from living models; there is no manifest appearance of personal caricature in his comedies, though in some slight traits of character this may not improbably have been the case. Above all, neither he nor his contemporaries wrote for the stage in the worst, though most literal, and of late years the most usual sense; making the servants and handmaids of dramatic invention to lord over it, and limiting the capacities of the poet's mind to those of the performers. If this poverty of the representative department of the drama had hung like an incumbent fiend on the creative power of Shakspeare, how would he have poured forth with such inexhaustible prodigality the vast diversity of characters that we find in some of his plays? This it is in which he leaves far behind, not the dramatists alone, but all writers of fiction. Compare with him Homer, the tragedians of Greece, the poets of Italy, Plautus, Cervantes, Molière, Addison, Le Sage, Fielding, Richardson, Scott, the romancers of the elder or later schools—one man has far more than surpassed them all. Others may have been as sublime, others may have been more pathetic, others may have equalled him in grace and purity of language, and have shunned some of its faults; but the philosophy of Shakspeare, his intimate searching out of the human heart, whether in the gnomic form of sentence, or in the dramatic exhibition of character, is a gift peculiarly his own. It is, if not entirely wanting, very little manifested, in comparison with him, by the English dramatists of his own and the subsequent period, whom we are about to approach.

"These dramatists, as we shall speedily perceive, are hardly less inferior

to Shakspeare in judgement. To this quality I particularly advert, because foreign writers, and sometimes our own, have imputed an extraordinary barbarism and rudeness to his works. They belong, indeed, to an age sufficiently rude and barbarous in its entertainments, and are of course to be classed with what is called the romantic school, which has hardly yet shaken off that reproach. But no one who has perused the plays anterior to those of Shakspeare, or contemporary with them, or subsequent to them, down to the closing of the theatres in the civil war, will pretend to deny that there is far less regularity, in regard to everything where regularity can be desired, in a large proportion of these (perhaps in all the tragedies) than in his own. We need only repeat the names of the Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet, Macbeth, Othello, the Merry Wives of Windsor, Measure for Measure. The plots in these are excellently constructed, and in some with uncommon artifice. But even where an analysis of the story might excite criticism, there is generally an unity of interest which tones the whole. The 'Winter's Tale' is not a model to follow, but we feel that the 'Winter's Tale' is a single story: it is even managed as such with consummate skill. It is another proof of Shakspeare's judgement, that he has given action enough to his comedies without the bustling intricacy of the Spanish stage. If his plots have any little obscurity in some parts, it is from copying his novel or history too minutely.

"It does not appear probable that Shakspeare was ever placed below, or merely on a level with the other dramatic writers of this period. That his plays were not so frequently represented as those of Fletcher is little to the purpose: they required a more expensive decoration, a larger company of good performers, and, above all, they were less intelligible to a promiscuous audience. But it is certain, that throughout the seventeenth century, and even in the writings of Addison and his contemporaries, we seldom or never meet with that complete recognition of his supremacy, that unhesitating preference of him to all the world, which has become the faith of the last and the present century. And it is remarkable that this apotheosis, so to speak, of Shakspeare, was originally the work of what has been styled a frigid and tasteless generation, the age of George II. Much is certainly due to the stage itself, when those appeared who could guide and controul the public taste, and discover that in the poet himself which sluggish imaginations could not have reached. The enthusiasm for Shakspeare is nearly coincident with that for Garrick; it was kept up by his followers, and especially by that highly-gifted family which has but recently been withdrawn from our stage."—*Vol. iii.*

Mr. Hallam has accurately characterised the principal Shakspeare-commentators; but he has not sufficiently adverted to the phenomena or the effects of the enthusiasm for the elder drama which all our readers will remember, and in which many of them doubtless participated. It arose partly from the labours of Farmer, Malone and their colleagues; partly from the spirit of bibliomania, which had its uses as well

as its follies; and partly from the theories and the practice of individuals, whose genius enabled them to create and impel a strong current of archaism into the broad stream of popular literature. We are now beginning to enjoy the substantial benefits, and to discard the inherent extravagancies that spring necessarily from every one-sided system. In the age of Augustus and of Hadrian a similar tendency prevailed at Rome: it was, however, shorter lived, while its permanent results were less salutary; since the enthusiasm of the few was really opposed to the feelings of the many, and to the intellectual character of the age. Nor in a literature, altogether exotic in its substance, had the leaders of the fashion such strong precedents to advance, or any impregnable points, like Chaucer or Spenser, upon which to retire. But we are now agreed, in practice at least, that if in prose composition the theologians and moralists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are inexhaustible mines of dialectics, a resumption of their forms of diction would be as ill-suited to the intellectual wants and the better-assorted knowledge of the present age, as a return to their cumbrous vestments or their artificial modes of ceremony and address. In poetry the necessity of independence is even more obvious, especially as regards the forms of the elder drama. A person who had studied our dramatic poets in 'Lamb's Specimens' alone, would probably entertain of their collective worth—Shakespeare, it need hardly be remarked, is both a genus and a species in himself—a far higher conception than one who had read pervasively the collections of Steevens and Dodsley, or the excellent editions of Gifford and Dyce. Were the 'Broken Heart' and 'Perkin Warbeck' the only relics of Ford, we should attribute to him a unity of design, a simplicity of evolution, little if at all inferior to Sophocles himself. The trial scene in the 'White Devil' is a *torso* of faultless proportions; the entire texture of the drama is loose and unequal. The 'New Way to pay Old Debts' needs little retrenchment: the 'Bondman' would be unendurable on the stage. And we are persuaded that, with a few exceptions, the same test might be applied to nearly every contemporary of Shakspeare. It is, as Mr. Hallam remarks, by such a comparison we perceive that the formative faculty in our greatest poet equalled the

productive; that the criticisms of Diderot and Voltaire, when they contain any particle of truth, apply to any one rather than to him; that where his satellites approach him, it is in sudden outbursts of passion and eloquence, in coruscations, and in the sweep and sway of irregular moments of grandeur; but that in harmony, in repose, and in foreseeing the end from the beginning, Shakspeare is remote, inaccessible, a twin-spirit with Sophocles alone.

With these remarks we reluctantly close the volumes before us. There is, indeed, one objection to their encyclopædic form, which may not perhaps be left altogether unanswered. Would it not be better, it may be asked, to refer at once to works that professedly treat of ethical and political philosophy, of æsthetics or bibliography, rather than to a necessarily compendious and cursory survey, when we would arrive at just conceptions of Locke and Bacon, of Grotius and Spenser, or of the various fortunes of books and opinions? The critical or philosophical student, who is earnest in his vocation, will necessarily resort to the most exhaustive writers in his peculiar researches. Yet for him even a work like Mr. Hallam's, so comprehensive and so impartial, will be a valuable auxiliary. Historians of a single branch of science and literature are too apt, and frequently in proportion to the extent and solidity of their information, to magnify the interest or the importance of their own pursuits, and to disregard the relative bearings of other studies: they lay down well enough the lines and angles of a single county or kingdom, but it is upon the scale of a map of the world. Mr. Hallam's work is meant for the general reader as well as the exclusive student. To both it will convey instruction, but in different degrees. The latter will learn from it to understand the worth of collateral studies: it will lead him to find in quarters where he might not have looked for them, aids and illustrations of his own theories and researches; he will be taught in these pages that history and poetry are sometimes the handmaids of science; and on the other hand, that the imaginative mind may steady or extend its flight by the stricter discipline of the schools. The history of literature, thus presented, by its successive pictures of the varieties of error, and of the slow and toilsome, but finally triumphant progress of

truth, teaches more impressively than the most ingenious plea for toleration, the inexpediency of forwarding or of checking opinion by any material instruments. It exhibits also the infinite forms under which the beautiful and the true manifest themselves, and the impotence of rules to impose upon any age the conditions of its development, which has not previously forfeited its birthright of creative and continuous energy. From the same pages, in the attractive delineation or the lucid analysis of a particular department of literature, the general reader may discover an inducement to restrain his hitherto vague curiosity, and to submit to such mental discipline in the pursuit of a single object, as alone can render intellectual labour either self-recompensing or useful to others. For these ends—and how important they are will be acknowledged by every one who can bring back into distinct consciousness his own feelings of the necessity and the want of such a guide, when in early life he was first released from the straighter bonds of instruction, and perplexed by the separate pleasantness of the many ways before him—Mr. Hallam's volumes will be an excellent manual; ushering him into nearly every department of literature that can interest or satisfy his intellectual ambition, but leaving to himself the pleasures of comparison, of freedom and of choice.

ARTICLE III.

The Education Question.—Special Religious Instruction.

IT seems to be at length a settled point among men of all parties and persuasions, that the people of the United Empire shall be educated; but the universal agreement as to the desired end does not bring us much nearer to its accomplishment. We have advanced, indeed, one step farther in unanimity on the subject. It is acknowledged without a dissentient voice,

that the people ought to be *religiously* educated.—Here, however, all harmony ceases, and a strife has commenced which threatens to impede every measure of a national kind for their instruction.

The cause of this strife is sufficiently notorious. It is insisted that Scriptural doctrines shall form part of the teaching to be given to the poor at the public schools. An outcry is forthwith raised, and a struggle ensues among the religious bodies of the kingdom, as to the degree of influence they are severally to possess over this branch of education. The Church of England demands the entire possession of it for herself. The Dissenters claim their proportionate share. The Catholics aspire to a similar participation. The Church maintains her ground against both the others, but is joined by the Dissenters in resistance to the Catholics. Here, then, has a religious feud broken out on the very threshold of the undertaking! The object of the undertaking itself is banished from the view by the acrimony excited among the parties. The rights of justice are scoffed at in the desire for ecclesiastical supremacy. The claims of the poor are set at nought amidst the fury of sectarian intolerance. Like all other things in this land of liberty, religion is made the theme of party vehemence, resentment and recrimination, and her own divine charity is trampled under foot in the affected eagerness to promote her interests.

We mean not at present to enter into the special merits of this controversy; our intention is, at once to challenge the principle whence it originates, by denying the propriety of introducing Scriptural doctrine as a subject of instruction into schools. We believe the practice to be attended with imminent danger to the spiritual welfare of the young; and, if we can show that such is the case, we may assist in removing the obstacle to a uniform plan of national education. We know the opposition we have to encounter. We know the misapprehension, the misconstruction, the misrepresentation to which all are exposed, who dispute the soundness of a principle or practice, identified in the minds of men, with even the *apparent* interests of religion. But we are not deterred. It is in behalf of its *real* interests that we appeal to the judgment of the public; these have not always been advanced by means that were long

received as most fitted for the purpose. The light in which we consider the subject will be at once explained by the three following propositions, which we shall endeavour, to the best of our ability, to establish:—

First, that the practice usually pursued, and declared to be indispensable in a system of education, namely, of teaching the doctrines of Scripture—during childhood and in school—and after the manner in which ordinary instruction is given, so far from being favourable to the formation of a Christian character, has a powerful tendency to impair the true influence of religion, to render the belief in it formal and inoperative, and even to endanger its hold on many minds.

Secondly, that there are in society abounding evidences of this tendency, in the kind of influence which religion exercises over men professedly zealous, and the extent to which a spirit of sectarianism is substituted for the spirit of the Gospel, sufficient to warn us against the application of the practice to the instruction of the poor.

And lastly, that *Scriptural instruction* does not in itself imply what is properly understood by a *religious education*; that such education, up to a certain period, may be most judiciously conducted without it, and should in all ordinary cases be left to the parents of youth, aided in due time by the Christian minister, whose office it is, and not that of the schoolmaster, to teach the doctrines of religion.

For the clearer understanding of all we have to advance on the subject, it may be well to state at the outset what we conceive to be the character of our religion as regards its comprehensive design for the moral purification of mankind, through the regenerating power of grace. We know no words better adapted to our purpose than the following simple and succinct account of it by Locke:—

*“The Christian religion we profess is not a notional science
“to furnish speculation to the brain, nor discourse to the tongue,
“but a rule of righteousness to influence our lives.”*

We can scarcely anticipate an exception to this brief description of the purpose which Christianity was intended to serve with the great body of believers. Now, then, as to the first proposition.

It might seem obvious, even on a cursory view of the mat-

ter, that in order to make youth religious, some other mode is of necessity required, than that which we employ in making them acquainted with any branch of science, or letters, or art. In the latter case we have to deal with the mental faculties, and with them only. The memory and understanding are the channels through which all knowledge of the kind is conveyed and obtained, and through which it is gradually sifted and refined to the highest state of perfection. *The work of instruction begins and ends with them.* But in the former case we have to call other agents into play, on whose influence we must mainly rely for the success of our undertaking. There we can do little or nothing, unless we interest the heart, and engage its affections in the task. *They* are the great instruments to which we must have recourse, in childhood, for the purpose of making man "wise unto salvation;" for it is through them the influences of God themselves work for the production of a lively and active belief. The profoundest knowledge of sacred things may be acquired, with little or no effect on the disposition or the life. The critical interpreter of Scripture is often void of the Christian spirit, while it burns with a lambent flame in the breast of the unlearned reader*; yet we trust to the mental faculties with similar confidence for accomplishing the intended object in both cases. We believe this to be a fatal mistake in the education of children, and the grounds of our belief we shall shortly explain.

So far as ordinary acquirements are concerned, a child must profit, to a certain extent at least, by instruction at school. Though he should even go there "grudgingly, or of necessity," the tasks he is compelled to learn convey useful information to the mind. The memory of the young is tenacious, and easily retains what is read. The progress of the individual may be slow, and his labour may be painful; but knowledge is, notwithstanding, imbibed, and this (speaking merely of the *nature* of the thing) is all that is required. The end is therefore gained. But as regards religious acquirement, where is the gain, or in what does it consist? Daily

* Experience thus satisfactorily proves the existence of some medium distinct from that of intelligence, through which religious truth must penetrate, so that it may effect its benign purposes on the moral nature of man.

lessons from Scripture may be got by rote, the memory may be stored with the language of inspiration, the mind may be conversant with the words of doctrine, and what then? If nothing were needed but to furnish the understanding with ideas for its future employment on the subject, well and good; but if it be necessary for our purpose to move the affections, what is all this but at best a useless expenditure of our pains? Can the cold and mechanical process of learning and formally repeating what is lifelessly taught, make the smallest impression on the heart? Can such a species of discipline have the effect of guiding the youthful mind to good? Will it lay the foundation for the superstructure of a Christian disposition or a Christian life? We are apt to think that in too many instances it will produce a contrary result. That which we describe as being at *best* the useless expenditure of our pains, will, we fear, at the *worst*, prove positively mischievous.

There are certain tendencies in human nature which ought ever to be carefully regarded and conformed to, for the purpose of directing it (as far as our human efforts are concerned in doing so) to good. Among these, is its invariable aptness to be swayed by the influence of impressions and habits. It is by means of the former that we are chiefly enabled, and should consequently endeavour, to mould the tender mind of youth; for it is only when received at an early period that they possess a powerful and enduring force. The latter obtain their force at a more advanced season of life. Now, with reference to the religious welfare of children, everything depends on the nature of the impressions that we make, and on the manner in which their habits are formed. The one should be uniformly of a pleasing and encouraging cast; the other should be allowed to grow out of the free motions of the will. It is a remarkable fact, however, that we set out with violently opposing both these unalterable tendencies. We positively seem to consider an acknowledgment of their necessary influence as implying a doubtfulness of divine grace; we act as though we were taught on Scriptural authority, that there was no other method of rendering human nature amenable to religious purposes, than by contradicting and thwarting its own inherent principles—

principles that, according to our wise or injudicious treatment of them, may be turned to the best or to the worst account. In childhood, for instance, we impose habits: these, from the very circumstance of their being so imposed, produce painful impressions, and thus, from their association in the memory, counteract their intended effect. In manhood we labour to make impressions, when the mind has lost its ductility, and is incapable of shaking off the evil ones existing there, to leave room for what are good.

By taxing the mental faculties at an *unripe* age in the service of religion, the heart is commonly repelled, and often irretrievably estranged from her cause. *They* are evidently not the agents through which God has ordained us to work on the young, to attach them to that cause. The feelings, being slighted when they should be assiduously wooed, involuntarily resent the neglect by subsequent indifference. The attention required of children in learning lessons is naturally accompanied, in most cases, with irksome sensations; it puts their volatile minds under a restraint which is obnoxious and painful to them. The effect is very often detrimental to a desire for general knowledge; but by making Scripture the theme of such lessons we create impressions unfavourable to the subject, which of all others ought to be associated with those of the most pleasing and inviting kind: we thus hinder the growth of *religious sentiment* in the breast, or, to speak more correctly, we prevent it from obtaining access there. Nothing is so dangerous as to tamper with such a sentiment; it is one that stubbornly resists every attempt at coercion: to infuse it by gentle methods is easy,—to propel it, impossible.

But this is only a small portion of the evil. A still more injurious impression is made on the young mind by bringing the most awful subjects down to the level of the most ordinary ones, which it is required and accustomed to commit to memory *in common with them*!

The doctrines of Scripture, as all are aware, can have no influence on the mind till it has arrived at a capacity to discern their sacred import; it must, at least, attain the power of comprehending their sanctity ere it can be brought to a rational confession of their truth. To reserve for a capable age, then, the communication of matters demanding

such comprehension, would seem to be the suggestion of common sense. But no ! Scarcely has the infant been taught to read, before catechisms, confessions of faith, or such like,—embodying the sublimest mysteries of religion,—are presented to it in the shape of *tasks*, to be learned along with all the ordinary rudiments of school instruction. The same pains are taken to exercise the memory on the sacred and the secular lesson, as if the words engraven there by both were meant to serve the like purpose, and no more reverence were exacted for the one than for the other. In both is the mind regularly drilled after the same fashion ; and in both is the attention of the instructor fixed on the same objects,—namely, the accuracy with which the lesson is repeated, and the acuteness which the memory displays !

Now what must be the effect of all this ? The intention is to train up the mind in the belief of sacred doctrine by making it habitually conversant with the subject from the earliest age ; but is it surprising, that, under such a process, its belief (if belief there be) should be of that cold, sterile, unproductive character, unfortunately so common among men ? Is it reasonable to expect the mind to feel or acquire a due degree of awe and reverence for what has been thus jumbled in the thoughts and recollection with the most discordant topics from the days of childhood ? Must not its association with all that was profane, and irreverent, and wearisome, and frivolous, and vexatious, in the scene and occupations of the school-room, hang like “a blast and mildew” on the memory, and chill the influence of the sacred lessons in the soul ? Recollect the strong susceptibility of the young mind to all sorts of impressions, and its durable retention especially of the worst, and then consider the damage which religion must sustain from this systematic desecration of its images and language, ere their holiness can be felt or understood. Yet this is what many conceive to be a *religious education* ! and it is to this premature and parrot-like intimacy with the mysteries of revelation that they look with the happiest complacency for the blessings which Christianity confers. It is to this knowledge, which barely inoculates the head, without at all impregnating the heart, that they confide for the moral safety of beings who are speedily to be

launched forth on the troubled and perilous waters of life. Is it wonderful if we see so many pursuing their course thereafter,—some with a blind indifference to the *essentials*,—others with a superstitious trust in the *externals* of religion, to the exclusion of all its sanctified graces and lovely fruits in both?

A system so universally extolled and practised as the initiation of the young mind in the doctrines of revelation, must needs be defended. It is accordingly said to be necessary to overcome its natural repugnance to religious truth. So inherently is this feeling supposed to be implanted there, that unless pains are taken to subdue it in its infancy, subsequent efforts for the purpose are viewed as hopeless,—hopeless, with reference, of course, to our human means. It does seem perfectly amazing that no one has considered whether much of this repugnance, as it manifests itself in after-life, and for which all our toiling and tasking of the infant mind are provided as a remedy, may not have been generated by that remedy itself? whether we do not, in fact, strike at the very root of true religious influence by anticipating the operations of a mature and reflecting age? Piety has so riveted our confidence in the system, that it appears a species of profanity to question its wisdom. Well! we ask no more than this:—let any one reflect on the distaste with which thousands receive all kinds of instruction in their tender years,—the disgust with which they look back ever after to the discipline they underwent in the nursery and at school,—the delight with which they hail the period when they can cast off all thoughts and associations connected with them,—and see whether he is not able to form some notion of the danger which religion incurs of being banished from the mind as part and parcel of these. Is it not quite possible,—nay, is it not quite probable, that the slender hold it retains over numbers may be owing to the discouraging influences and impressions described? Is it not, in the first place, sufficiently plain, that the effect of the sublimest truths must be lost for a time by communicating them when the mind is wholly unprepared to comprehend their awfulness and importance? Is it not, in the next place, perfectly intelligible, that the technical and irreverent familiarity with which it is

permitted to handle these truths during that time, may prove ever after an insuperable obstacle to the admission of such ideas or feelings in connexion with them? These are questions deserving of the gravest consideration. For our own part, we cannot entertain a doubt that there is something intrinsically wrong in our treatment of the young, concerning religion. Instead of duly and patiently preparing the soil, like skilful husbandmen, for the reception of the seed of life by moral culture, we fling it instantaneously and indiscriminately on every soil, neglecting the lesson which our Lord has so beautifully drawn for us from the analogies of nature, to warn us of what may be its fate. The consequence is, we find in innumerable instances that it has fallen among stones and thorns, but marvellously seldom on that "good ground" where it "brings forth fruit to perfection."

But there is another evil of our system, which, though more occult, unveils itself in a fearful form to our apprehension. We allude to the effect likely to be produced by what we plainly intimate to the young, namely, that no trust is to be reposed in their desire for religious information, when the faculties have gained a competent degree of strength;—that it is solely on their *weakness* that we rely for impressing them with the belief in Scriptural truth;—that there is nothing, moreover, in the glorious works of God worthy of notice, or through the contemplation of which they may be enticed to the study of him in his word; and that the latter is a thing which, in common with all scholastic information, must be crammed into the mind by pure dint of intellectual effort, and dogmatically enforced on its attention, under similar juvenile penalties and pains.

Now what inference is likely to be drawn from such implied representations of revealed religion by those whom we have endeavoured, at an unseasonable age, to inspire with its belief, so soon as they escape from our trammels, and come to think for themselves? May it not too often be, that we have no confidence in its divine power to accomplish such a purpose, *when once the understanding is matured*?—that unless it be engrafted in the mind in infancy through the force of prejudice, or habit, or association, we consider it *incapable of awakening devout conviction at a riper age*?

And let us not imagine, because we cannot trace to its source this effect of exhibiting a seeming distrust of the potency of God's word, that the effect may not be very commonly produced, to the extensive diffusion of scepticism or unbelief;—let us not imagine, that though we think we attach many by our system to the cause of religion, it may not be the means of scaring as many from that cause;—let us not imagine, while it is plain that we so often fail in our endeavours, that the failure may not be as much owing to our mismanagement of nature as to the perverseness of nature herself. The mind is a *mystery*. Whenever we desire to gain its confidence, nothing is so prejudicial to our purpose as to betray the slightest semblance of a want of confidence ourselves. And what can more resemble such a want, than this eagerness to lay the whole of the sublimest truths of God before the undeveloped faculties of an incapable child;—than this haste to pre-occupy it with a subject, as if we believed the subject inadequate to satisfy its conviction by any exercise of reason or process of thought? And on what authority, derived from either precept or example, do we found our practice? Where do we discover a precedent or parallel for it, either in the order of nature or in the dispensation of grace? The former plainly teaches us a different lesson, and we strictly obey it in conveying all other kinds of instruction to the young. We commence the work with the simplest elements of knowledge, and proceed with the higher branches as the faculties expand. The course of God's proceedings also in the revelation of his truth, warns us to adopt a similar plan for its disclosure to the youthful race. It was not given at once, and in the most sublime form, to mankind *during the infancy of the world*. The last dispensation was reserved for a more advanced period, when, in the language of Scripture, "the fulness of time was come." Nor is this all. The great Apostle of the Gentiles recognised and acted on the same principle as applicable to the *individual* mind, in communicating the mysterious things of God, even to his adult disciples. "Strong meat," says St. Paul, "belongeth to them that are of full age; even those who, *by reason of use*, have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." Yet we discard this sacred authority, and run

counter to our usual practice. We feed the infant mind with the strongest Scriptural food, instead of gradually training it to the reception of such sustenance, by aliments of a more suitable, and consequently a more salutary kind. Nature, as might be expected, rebels against the disproportionate nourishment, and a repugnance is created, which exercises its unhappy influence over many a character through life.

We proceed to the consideration of our second proposition, and shall endeavour to show the effects of our system in the spurious nature of that religion which chiefly engages the attention, and obtains the suffrages, of society.

From the character of the zeal daily displayed in its cause, we are compelled to conclude that the religion of multitudes of educated people is a religion of mere belief and opinion, disjoined from its effective and indispensable ally, sentiment and feeling. It is a religion of prejudice or passion—of party or politics, rather than of principle and practice. It is a religion of faith, without its best fruits—of zeal, without its highest knowledge. Its spirit is not only different from, but directly opposed to, the spirit of Christianity. Instead of being enlarged and comprehensive, as the Gospel indisputably is in its promises of mercy to mankind, it is narrow and exclusive; instead of being “gentle and easy to be entreated,” it is fierce and vindictive; instead of being “meek and lowly,” it is presumptuous and proud. It is lavish in its show of the “form of godliness,” but falls far short in its proofs of the “power thereof.” It testifies itself too often by the “outward sign,” without any more authentic evidence of the “inward grace.” It possesses not one of the attributes of that charity which “envieth not,” and “vaunteth not itself,” and “is not puffed up,” and “doth not behave itself unseemly.” *All these things it does, and persists in doing, most contumaciously and outrageously!* In brief, the Christian religion, as professed by vast numbers of the community, is exactly the reverse of what we have described it in the words of Locke. With them, it is “a notional science to furnish speculation to the brain and discourse to the tongue.” It consequently fails in a great measure as “a rule of righteousness to influence the life.”

Much of this, we are apt to think, may be explained by our eager instruction of the young in the doctrines of revelation. The practice is chiefly owing to the anxiety of the various churches and sects to prepossess the minds of their infant members with an ardent and (under just regulation) a proper devotion to their own peculiar institutions. A security is supposed to be thus gained for their steadfast attachment to the faith in which they have been so early initiated. But in over-anxiety and premature efforts for this laudable purpose, the great end and aim of the divine, original, all-embracing institution of Christianity itself, are sadly forgotten. The consideration is, not whether youth shall turn out to be conscientious believers and exemplary members of a Christian society, but whether they shall become stanch, determined, and unscrupulous supporters of this or that church or sect. We are far from alleging that the latter is the *sole* object; but we are sure that it has very commonly much more influence than the former in the religious instruction of the young. The effect of it is, to encourage in their minds feelings and sentiments that ought to be studiously repressed. In order, for instance, to enhance their regard for the belief which they are taught, severe reflections are cast upon the creed of others. An impression is made on them, that not only is theirs the truest form of Christianity, but that all else are undeserving, or scarcely deserving, of the name. Nothing is so easy as to instil such a persuasion, even without an express assertion of the kind. Notions of vanity, bigotry and intolerance are thus imbibed at the earliest period, and all the springs of pure and generous feeling are poisoned by their influence. They give birth to mean, malignant, interested, selfish propensities. A spirit of exclusiveness and uncharitableness once engendered, will not confine itself to the concerns of religion. It taints the whole moral nature, and betrays its power over the character, amidst all the varied relations and multiplied interests of society. It prohibits the admission into the breast of that divine principle which teaches us to *love every human being as ourselves*, and consequently excludes the sense of justice, equity and fair-dealing towards mankind, whether on the broad scale of our social connexions, or in the narrower

sphere of individual life*. The virtues of meekness and benevolence, in their highest and most comprehensive form, are essential to constitute a *good Christian*, in whatever creed he may be brought up; but the system is adverse to their cultivation; and they are rarely induced to grow where the opposite vices have taken root and flourish.

This system, then, is in many cases of little more use than to fill the memory with sacred learning, make the mind critical in matters of doctrine, and the tongue expert in discussing questions concerning discipline and faith. The religion of numbers thus becomes an *intellectual*, and not a *spiritual*, endowment: It is the foundation whereon a strong excitement may be raised against adverse creeds. It is a powerful engine for the formation of a religious or political partisan, but is miserably defective as the means of fitting a being for eternity. It renders the individual a bold and unsparing censor of errors of belief in others, while he continues a patient and indulgent observer of moral delinquencies in himself†. It does not chasten the temper, or purify the affections, or imbue the heart with the graces and virtues of the Gospel; but it fills the mind with a morbid anxiety for things novel in the shape of doctrine, and all kinds of information on disputed points of faith. It begets a mania

* Take an example.—The coffers of the State are filled by the contributions of Churchmen, Catholics and Dissenters. The rule of *taxation* is so far just and impartial; but observe the rule of *distribution* on which the State is expected to act. A grant of public money has been voted for national education, and Churchmen protest, in the name of sacred truth, against appropriating any share of it to the instruction of the Catholics! They might, with equal right, protest against affording them protection for their lives and properties, they having contributed to the fund expended on *both* these purposes, in common with the rest of society. Thus is the sense of ordinary justice quenched by the sectarian spirit!

† These delinquencies, in the ordinary judgment of the public, range within a singularly limited compass, and the mischievous effect on the individual mind and conduct is consequently great. Many people are regarded, and esteem themselves, as exemplary characters, merely because they are not addicted to the pleasures of *sense*. Dissolute habits are the only ones usually visited with the reprobation of society. Selfishness, covetousness, uncharitableness, worldly-mindedness, intolerance, prodigality, knavery, hypocrisy, are as tenderly treated as if the Gospel were perfectly silent respecting them. The bitterest passions are indulged, and the basest arts for advancement resorted to, by men of high religious pretensions, without subjecting them to the loss of caste. Let them be convicted of being drunken or otherwise licentious, and they are *irretrievably ruined*! Not a voice would be raised to compassionate their fall. This is a curious, but incontrovertible fact. It is not easy to perceive on what authority the world selects certain particular vices as the exclusive objects for its castigation; but it is very easy to perceive how the selection must contribute to the indulgence of the others, without any kind whatever of fear or restraint.

for hearing the Scriptures *expounded*, which it makes the sole object of multitudes assembled in the house of *prayer*; rivets the attention on pulpit discourses as matters for critical examination, and not as persuasives to goodness of life; and converts the sacred temple raised for the worship of God into a place for doing homage to the learning and eloquence of man*. Under its guidance, instead of traversing the broad domains of Christianity in quest of every thing "pure and lovely, and of good report," and claiming kindred with all who are pushing for the one goal, though by different paths, men refuse to see anything good except in the course they are themselves treading, and recoil with aversion from all who are disinclined to follow in the same track.

Now, it is not too much to say, that however orthodox the creed of such men may be, it cannot be a genuine love of truth that animates their zeal; they, doubtless, believe it to be so, but they most assuredly deceive themselves. *That* love strictly guards its votaries from being seduced by error, but never prompts them to judge or think severely of those who are not morally responsible for the errors they maintain. The real lover of divine truth is uniformly actuated by the principle of charity; and, for the simple reason, that charity is a vital, essential and indispensable element of that truth; inso-much, that without it the highest spiritual endowments have been pronounced as vain and worthless for time or for eternity! Where there is not charity, in the fulness of its evangelical meaning, it may be confidently affirmed there is neither true religion nor enlightened zeal. Such is the case with the class of persons we describe: their sympathies are tied up within the bounds of the church, or sect, or spiritual party to which they belong; they can see no signs of grace or godliness beyond them. To be of *Paul*, or of *Apollos*, or of *Cephas*, is a matter of infinitely greater moment with them, than to be of *Christ*. Do we need proofs of this? Look at the state of society: is it not divided into so many religious factions, each striving to advance its party interests, and increase its numerical strength, without any considera-

* Every one must perceive the superior attraction of the *sermon* to that of the *service* in drawing people to church. To feed the excitement in favor of the former is the grand object of the present day. Divine worship has come to be a very secondary consideration, if it be one at all, with the multitude of most persuasions.

tion of the ties of Christian brotherhood*, or the blessings of religious peace? Do we not exhibit more of angry controversy, intolerance, uncharitableness, hatred, variance and strife, than are to be found in all other civilized nations of Europe combined? What with the increasing disagreements among Churchmen, the violent disputes between them and Dissenters, and the furious hostility towards Catholics of *both*, our community presents a scene which the Jew and the infidel may behold with rejoicing, but which the true-minded Christian must contemplate with sorrow and dismay. To be of *different* hearts and spirits, is the inveterate propensity of those who are commanded to "be of the same mind one towards another;" to indulge mutual feelings of scorn and bitterness is the habitual practice of those on whom the Gospel has laid its eternal injunctions to meekness, forbearance, forgiveness and boundless love.

While the educated classes of society continue to exhibit the influence of Christianity upon themselves in such a manner, no one seems to notice the effect it must have on those, the question of whose spiritual instruction has added the latest fuel to the flame of religious discord among us. We beg to submit the following considerations to the public.

If the poor have heard anything of religion from the lips of a Christian teacher, they must have learned that it is the most *hallowed* of all subjects the human mind can approach;—that it is clothed in a mysterious sanctity, which forbids the contemplation of it, except with the deepest feelings of devotional awe. What are they to think, then, when they find this subject daily mixed up in the most irreverent and inde-

* A discussion lately arose in the House of Lords, relative to the provision made for the religious instruction of the settlers in Australia, on the presentation of a petition by the Archbishop of Canterbury. An answer was elicited from the Colonial Secretary, whereby it appeared, that of the sum of £35,793 appropriated to the purpose, £17,943 was bestowed on the Church of England, £5400 on that of Scotland, and £5600 on that of Rome. Upon which the head of the English Church rose and said, that "he did not complain of the amount of the funds allotted to the purpose, *but to all religious denominations being placed on the same footing.*" What is this but an instance of the spirit we have been describing? Of its unjust and uncharitable import, we feel sure the Most Reverend Prelate is perfectly unconscious. But is it, we ask, the spirit of the Gospel? Is it not, on the contrary, the very self-same spirit reproved in the parable of the householder, where certain of the labourers "murmured against the good man of the house," that he had no more regard to *them* than other believers, by the emphatic answer which Christ put into his mouth,—"*Is thine eye evil because I am good?*"

cent manner with the discussion of temporal affairs—talked of at every dinner table—paraded in every newspaper—placarded on every street-corner—resounded from every hustings and platform in the kingdom, and manifestly made an engine for party uses and political purposes, by men in the highest station, and of the holiest renown? If the poor have heard anything of religion, they must have learned that its very essence is *charity*;—that the Gospel was announced as the harbinger of “peace and good-will among men,” without distinction of colour, or country, or creed. What are they to think, when they see the whole community, with this very religion on every lip, embroiled in the most rancorous disputes for its sake;—when they see men stoutly maintaining their own right to liberty of conscience, yet striving to force the consciences of others to an acquiescence in their belief;—when they hear the taunts and invectives, the threats and denunciations, hurled on each other’s heads by the different Christian persuasions;—when they behold the very ministers of this religion perambulating the kingdom with the Bible in one hand, and a sword, as it were, in the other; giving vent, in the same breath, to praises of God and imprecations on his creatures, and labouring with all their might to stir up inveterate hatred, suspicion and wrath? If the poor have heard anything of religion, they must have learned that its earliest teachers were the most meek and lowly of men;—that truth owed its triumphs, not to the riches of the Church, but to its own inherent sanctity, and the spiritual protection of God. What are they to think, when they hear this truth so perpetually identified with pecuniary endowments, as to make it almost impossible to separate it from the idea of the “mammon of unrighteousness” in the mind;—when they hear of the sinfulness of appropriating the smallest surplus fraction of money conferred by law on one religious persuasion, to the merciful purpose of educating the poor of another; and that every hope of maintaining the purest faith in Christendom must vanish, unless the Church be magnificently tended, and its ministers sumptuously fed? What, we ask again, are the poor to think of all this? They see it with their eyes, they hear it with their ears: it is impressed on their senses with the most persevering energy that a

perturbed zeal can inspire men to exert. If they have imbibed any just sentiment of religion, it must be strangely confounded by such sights and sounds. But will it long hold out against their obtrusive influence? Will the effect of the purest precept withstand the force of the most contradictory example? Will the reverence of ordinary minds continue proof against the levity with which religion is daily and hourly treated, and the grossness with which it is abused, and misrepresented, and perverted, to serve the purposes of party aggrandizement, personal interest and political ambition? Who can imagine it? No wonder, then, if infidelity should spread! No wonder if the poor should be driven from the moorings of faith by this whirlwind of passion, raised in an unholy conflict among churches and sects!

"Of all things in the world, a prating religion and much talk in holy things does most profane the mysteriousness of it, and dismantles its regards, and makes cheap its reverence, and takes off all fear and awfulness, and makes it loose and garish like the laughers of drunkenness." These were the words of one of the brightest ornaments of the Christian Church two centuries ago. With what inimitable fitness and pungency do they apply to the current religion of the present time! It is literally and truly a *prating* religion! He who talks loudest and longest on the subject gains credit for the sublimest piety, and is rewarded with the highest praise. The sober, humble, noiseless, charitable Christian is looked on as unsound in his principles, or lax in his belief.

That there is in the community a vast deal of sincere religion, unaffected piety and true virtue, (some in spite of an erroneous education, and much through the influence of a wiser one,) is an undeniable fact. They may be witnessed in all the varied walks of life, and, we verily hope and believe, among all religious persuasions, in the unassuming meekness of the Christian spirit; in the habitual and unostentatious discharge of duty to God and man; in the balance preserved between the judgment and the affections; in the harmony maintained between profession and practice; in the equal respect observed for all the Christian obligations; in the reverence for things sacred, that shudders at their introduction in ordinary converse, or their mixture with political strife; in

piety without pretension, and in zeal without noise. In innumerable instances are these fruits of true religion to be seen. But their influence is drowned amid the excitement produced by signs of a very different description. The religion of which we have just recounted the symptoms, is not a bustling, babbling, boisterous religion. It does not thrust itself forward, nor trumpet itself forth, to be seen of, and lauded by, *men*. It does not allow the differences between Christian brethren to obliterate the sense of their common faith in the merciful Redeemer. It does not persuade a frail, feeble, short-sighted being to establish an inquisition into the human breast, nor to unravel its motives as if he were divinely commissioned for the purpose; nor to proclaim, without scruple or apprehension, who or how many are to be saved. It does not tempt a poor, weak, miserable sinner to glorify himself as the object of God's peculiar favour; nor to denounce others, in a sweeping sentence, as outcasts from his covenant of grace; nor to measure, by the paltry span of his own paltry affection, the mercy of that Being who is described to us under the emphatic appellation of LOVE—*infinite, ineffable, illimitable* LOVE! They who do these things claim to be considered as oracles of inspired wisdom, and monopolize the popular attention by the impassioned fervour of their zeal. It is on their representations of religion, and exhibitions of its influence, that the eyes of the multitude are involuntarily fixed. They imagine they are serving the cause of Christianity. We charge them not with the consciousness of wrong-doing—God forbid we should so presume;—we are simply stating facts, not imputing motives. Without impeaching a single individual, however, we do most implicitly believe that they are undermining the interests of religion to an incalculable extent. We do believe that, on the one hand, by disrobing it of its sanctity, by making it cheap and common to the vulgar eye, by secularizing its heavenly purposes, by perverting it to unhallowed ends; and, on the other hand, by stamping it with an ascetic and puritanical and discouraging character, by despoiling it of its lovely, and attractive, and most merciful aspects, by testifying its influence in words rather than in dispositions and deeds; by limiting its saving powers at the suggestions of a presumptuous imagination,

they are spreading far and wide the abominations of infidelity and hypocrisy over the land !

Our third proposition we shall endeavour to treat with as much brevity as the subject will admit.

To denominate the proposed system of imparting Scriptural instruction at the public schools for the poor, a *religious education*, is to pervert altogether the meaning of these terms. Were it even free from the objections we have raised against it, we must still deny its capability to answer the ends of what is properly called "a religious education." By this is implied the culture of the youthful mind and disposition, from the earliest period of infancy, in all that is good—the moral and spiritual training of a child "in the way he should go, so that when he is old he may not depart from it." To apply the expression to the process of learning and committing to memory the sacred lessons set before children at school or elsewhere, is worse than absurd. It is a mischievous imposition on the unreflecting and the credulous. The place where the culture we speak of ought to be conducted, is the sanctuary of *home*. It is a task which God has manifestly committed to the parental hand, and assuredly none are so fitted for its performance as those whom he has bound to the objects of it by the tenderest of human ties. No religious teaching can be comparable for its effect upon the youthful heart to that which falls in the endearing accents of love and gentleness from a mother's lips. None can make so enduring an impression as the conceptions *she* first leads the mind to form on the subject. It is under the domestic roof that impressions should be made, and feelings cherished, and dispositions formed, wherein the religious knowledge of subsequent years will take root, and which devout habits, encouraged in due season, will ripen into the choicest moral fruits. It is there that the good affections should be nurtured, the evil ones corrected, a love of truth and detestation of falsehood implanted, the spirit of selfishness subdued, the habit of obedience established, the sentiment of devotion infused, the feelings of kindness, love and humanity excited, and those of a contrary nature repressed. This is the religious education of the home and the heart. This is the foundation that must be laid in a general suitableness and docility

of disposition for the reception of revealed doctrine, so that, through divine assistance, it will cling to the soul, and fortify it against the cares and temptations of the world, and redound during life to the practical fruits of faith. We are not singular in ascribing so inestimable a value to the domestic training of the young. We are supported by the authority of a dignified divine of unquestionable piety and learning*.

The "Scriptural instruction" of the school, then, must be a meagre substitute at best for the "religious education" of home. But the reliance placed on it has an inevitable tendency to disparage the importance of, and to discourage an attention to, the other. Thus, for instance, instead of invoking all parents, high and low, rich and poor, to the spiritual education of their children, as a sacred duty which they, and they alone, can properly fulfil, we significantly tell them that its responsibility rests elsewhere, and that the school-master will relieve them of the task. Instead of quickening their exertions for the culture of beings whom they have brought into the world, we tempt them to lean on extraneous aid for what they only can effectually perform, and what consequently ought to be the object of their assiduous care. In proportion to the efficacy they are led to ascribe to Scriptural learning and catechetical lecturing, do they undervalue their own endeavours for moulding the dispositions of their offspring. A confidence in the religious teaching *from* home begets a negligence to the moral training *at* home. Evil inclinations are indulged, selfish desires gratified, pernicious impressions made,—peevish tempers are unchecked, artful practices overlooked, lying habits unpunished, and all anxiety is hushed by the reflection that the child is regularly

* Bishop Thirlwall, in the beautiful letters addressed some years ago to the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, "On the Admission of Dissenters to Academical Degrees."

"I have been accustomed," he says, "to think that the best kind of religious education, if not the only one that deserves that name, is that which is received at home; and that where this is wanting, its place can never be fully supplied by strangers. How little this can be done in a school so limited as to come nearest to the image of a family, must be testified by every one's own experience and reflection. The difficulty increases, and the success of the attempt becomes uncertain and imperfect, in proportion to the size of the school."

instructed in the knowledge of sacred things. This is a faithful picture of many a domestic scene*.

Now there is no task which requires such excessive delicacy and discretion as that of instilling religious feelings into the youthful breast. We require not to be reminded of the inefficacy of all our labours for the purpose, without the co-operation of the grace of God. But it will be generally conceded, that according as the *young* mind is treated, it may be disposed to yield to, or to resist that grace. We must work through human influences, to render nature, as far as our limited power enables us, amenable to divine influence. We ought, therefore, to employ, for spiritual purposes, the means by which it is usually directed to moral ends. For such ends, we find nature most easily accessible by gentle, temperate, progressive, unobtrusive, seasonable endeavours to propitiate its favour and secure its confidence;—by the avoidance of everything calculated to awaken suspicion or

* Among other evil habits that owe much of their encouragement to this system, is one of vast and pernicious influence at present, namely, that of considering religion without reference to, or as distinct from, morality. The very slender allusions made to the latter in the favourite preaching of the day, and the very general contempt expressed for such discourses as enforce the moral obligations of the Gospel, are sufficient proofs of the fact. Though there may be no desire to disparage these obligations, yet the habit of treating religion as a thing *per se*—as if it were in its strict sense at once the *means* and the *end*, must have the inevitable effect of withdrawing the mind from their contemplation, and undervaluing their importance in its sight. It is impossible it could be otherwise. Hence is it that the proverbial signs of religion among us are not such as may be witnessed in its sober and consistent influence on the whole temper, sentiments, conduct and character of the Christian, but such as are visible in public manifestations of zeal, and outward demonstrations of piety. The anxiety to raise an absorbing interest in favour of the latter, too, is rapidly on the increase. Witness the efforts at present made to bring us back to the Jewish observance of the Sabbath, and the societies formed for the purpose in various quarters of the kingdom: And on what authority? Assuming the appointment of the Sabbath to be as binding under the Christian as the Mosaic dispensation, is its strict observance *more* binding—is it even *so* binding as the moral obligations of the law? Our Saviour took especial pains to show us that it was *not*, and his apostles, though their pages are loaded with injunctions to obey the latter, have not one word regarding the observance of the former! Is it denied that the Lord's-day should be reverentially kept? God forbid. The question simply is, on what ground is it made a matter of paramount importance, and an object of pre-eminent attention? Why are societies formed for the enforcement of that obligation only, concerning which the divine teachers were obviously the least solicitous? And why are they formed to enforce that *very* observance of it, the rigour of which our Lord expressly reproveth? There must be some cause for this extraordinary excitement about a strict obedience to the *fourth* commandment, while all is so still respecting others, as, for instance, the *eighth, and ninth, and tenth*. Is it that fraud, and slander, and covetousness are *rare* among us? *They never were more rife*. What can it be, then, but a desire to cover the neglect of the weightier matters of the law by a more sanctimonious attention to its appointed observances?

excite distrust—of everything rash, precipitate, or overbearing in attempting to sway the inclinations, or subdue the will. These are the means by which we should endeavour to recommend the sublime truths of the Gospel to the mind.

Nothing of a strictly religious nature should ever be submitted to it as the subject-matter of a *task*! Whatever of such a nature is to be impressed on youth, let it be conveyed through the lips of the instructor, or through the medium of their own reading, trusting to the retention of the memory, without employing it directly as an agent in the work. All that can be judiciously done during the early years of children is to imbue them with religious *sentiment* or *feeling*. Thus much may be effected by representations of the divine and invisible Being as the parent of the universe, and an object of the fondest love. It may be cherished and strengthened at a more advanced age of comprehension, by pointing to the mighty evidences of his power and goodness in the magnificence of the heavens, the vastness and beauty of the earth, the countless multitude of its inhabitants, the myriads of inferior animals endued with life,—all the work of his creative hand, and to everything, in short, that presents itself to the thoughts or observation calculated to strike the young mind with wonder, admiration and delight. The truths of *revealed* religion would find a much more ready access to it, if those of *natural* religion were first allowed to sink deep into the breast, and incorporate themselves with the feelings. From the earliest period, it may be observed, children show a desire to be informed on such subjects. Were this treated with discretion and reserve, it would turn to good account. But we at once glut their curiosity. By overcharging them with information ere they are able to digest it, we deprive it of its salutary effect. Long before any further disclosure is made to them, they ought to be apprised that God has given to man an explicit declaration of his attributes and will in the volume of sacred writ, and that to read that volume is a privilege they are to enjoy when their understanding is sufficiently matured. The mind will thus be kept on the stretch of anxiety for the purpose, and in time will

seek the desired knowledge with eagerness, and receive it with satisfaction. Meanwhile they may be made acquainted with some of its simplest truths ; but on no account should its doctrines be laid before them till they are perfectly capable of appreciating their sanctity. The method in use for their instruction in these, even were they of an age to receive it, we conceive to be beyond measure prejudicial. Nothing can be more detrimental to every good impression and effect than the ordinary trial of skill between so many juvenile combatants, as it were, in the examination of catechisms. At a proper season these should be presented to them for their careful and serious perusal. But instead of questioning them separately as an exercise of memory on the subject, the Christian minister should expound them generally for their common edification.

There seems to be an absolute rage for filling the young with the learning of Scripture. The greatest anxiety is evinced to practise the memory in the power of referring to particular texts, and the chapters and verses where they are to be found—to the historical events of the Bible, and the chronological order in which they occurred, and so forth. That the knowledge of these things should be acquired in the course of life by the calm and deliberate study of the sacred volume, no one can doubt ; but what ultimate or practical benefit is to be gained by making the young memory a store-house for its contents ? The very haste and eagerness, and assiduity with which we labour to build up children in the knowledge of sacred writ, mar their own object. By founding everything on these, we deprive them of the aids which nature herself would opportunely contribute, and which the Divine Being, we may trust, would sanctify to spiritual ends. Sympathy and example, for instance, possess the most powerful influence over human beings. We have no more reason to doubt that God would render them the instruments of good, than that he makes our elaborate efforts to impress the mind and memory conducive to the purpose. But we allow no scope whatever for their exercise. We use every method of constraint to attach youth to religion, and oftentimes produce the very contrary effect. Seek-

ing to take the mind as it were by storm, we cut ourselves off from all other means of access to it, and failing, as we frequently and unhappily do in this attempt, we fail altogether.

The school-room for the poor, as well as the rich, should, under certain qualifications, be allowed to remain, what it was originally meant to be, a place appropriated to the secular education of youth. We are aware there are numbers among the former, for whose children, on account of their peculiar circumstances, moral and religious instruction must be publicly provided. There are the ill-paid and hard-worked, whom constant toil necessarily withdraws from attention to their offspring. There are the idle and inconsiderate, who are sadly negligent of their duty. There are the destitute and abandoned, who have no sense of it whatsoever.

For the exigency of the two former cases, nothing can be better adapted than the system of infant schools. They may be deemed in such cases as indispensable, to rescue the young at a tender age from that total neglect of their moral culture, which no subsequent care will be able to repair. We cannot view them as an equivalent for the loss of proper parental training, but they are the only thing like a substitute to be found*. In the latter case, where the parents are thoroughly depraved, we confess ourselves unable to see the benefit which even the infant schools can afford. Their discipline will supply but a feeble antidote for the deadly moral poison imbibed during the intervals which the children pass at home. So long as they are subjected for any portion of the daily cycle to the influence and example of vice in its worst forms, it would be vain to calculate largely on the improvement of their moral condition. Much must be done for society by the legislator, ere the schoolmaster can be expected to reduce the number of its miserable outcasts.

With respect to schools for children beyond the age of in-

* The schools here alluded to are places for the *moral*, not the *intellectual* training of infants, and where exercise and diversion are the chief occupations. The faculties of the frame should be developed to a certain extent, before any effort is made to cultivate those of the mind. The anxiety displayed by parents and others for the early and rapid advancement of the latter, is founded on a grievous mistake, and productive of the worst effects.

fancy, we shall state the qualifications under which we conceive that they should be strictly confined to the purpose of secular education.

Brief texts from Scripture, containing some of its beautiful moral lessons, may be introduced with the highest advantage, for they will be committed to memory without any prejudice to their sanctity, which cannot be the case with matters that are purely objects of belief. Passages, for instance, from the divine sermon on the Mount; certain of our Lord's affecting parables, such as the "good Samaritan" and the "prodigal son," would make a deep impression on the susceptible hearts of the young. Further than this we would not advance. Even the historical parts of the Bible should be reserved for the private study of youth on reaching a certain age. The very mysteriousness with which we seem to invest this book, the holiness with which we obviously regard it, the scrupulousness with which we separate it from the rude or thoughtless touch of childhood, will elicit a desire in the young mind to dip into its treasures, when once it is unfolded to it and permission given for the purpose. Compendiums of Scripture history, such as are compiled for youth, would then be read with avidity. We would have sentiments of natural religion earnestly inculcated in the schools; for this, opportunities will constantly arise out of the subjects of the daily tasks. In expatiating on the proofs of God's power and parental goodness, the teacher may furnish food for thought to children of a more advanced age, by allusions to the fuller disclosure made of these in the divine book written expressly for our instruction, and for the knowledge of which they are to be fitted by the discipline they are then undergoing. They might with the best effect be encouraged to good conduct, by being taught to look forward to this knowledge as its reward. All religious information and instruction imparted to the very young, however, should be introduced, as it might seem incidentally, and not at stated periods, or in a dogmatic tone. They will make the deeper impression by being insinuated, rather than taught. Any person conversant with the habits and feelings of children must have remarked how much more easily their attention may be engaged than exacted.

Great benefit may be derived from impressing them with the idea that their well-being and happiness in life can only be promoted by their virtuous conduct and strict discharge of all their duties, and that misery of mind is the inseparable companion of sin and wickedness. Many pious people imagine it incumbent on them to excite the hopes and fears of children with reference to a future state. We believe this, like most of our practices on the subject, to be founded in egregious error. Children are rarely to be influenced by such hopes and fears; but they may be moved by the consideration of what is to affect them in their present state of being, and we have the authority of the divine teachers for making it an element of instruction at all times for our moral improvement. Nothing that tends or contributes to this improvement ought to be neglected by the schoolmaster; it is completely within his province, and will prepare the mind of youth, far more than his teaching of Scriptural doctrines, for turning to profit the religious instruction they are to acquire at the hands of the Christian minister. Within the schools, order and obedience should be enforced as much as is possible, but never at one period for any lengthened time. Propriety of manner should be inculcated, and most earnest and affectionate exhortations given to mutual feelings and habits of justice and kindness and good-will among all. To sustain a lively sense of devotion the daily work should be commenced with a prayer, reverentially delivered by the teacher, the strictest silence and attention being first enjoined. Every possible solemnity should be thrown round this sacred act; and in order to such effect, its form should be of the briefest and simplest kind,—otherwise the attention will more or less inevitably flag, and the solemn impression be consequently destroyed.

This is all, beyond the mere secular instruction of the young, that, in our humble view of the matter, ought to be entrusted to the conduct of the schoolmaster. To their respective religious teachers we would strictly confine the duty of expounding to them the doctrines of the Gospel. We would affectionately exhort *them*, moreover, not to overload the minds of the young with Scriptural instruction; but to impart it gradually, according to the expansion of the faculties,

and at all times and in all cases to inculcate the knowledge and belief of sacred doctrine, with a view to the *moral and practical fruits of the Gospel*. Much importance seems to be attached to the amount of time to be set apart from the operations of the school, for their ministrations. One or two days in the week, it is said, are to be appropriated for the purpose. If even the lesser of these periods is to be wholly dedicated to the religious instruction of any number of children at once, the effect will inevitably be to create an impression unfavourable to the subject. We do most solemnly deprecate, and protest against, every attempt to harass the young mind with this subject, as the most unwise, the most unprofitable and the most injurious system that can possibly be pursued. If it be really meant to impose this kind of discipline on the children of the poor in the expectation of making them *religious*, we, for our part, must acknowledge, with the bitterest feelings of sorrow and disappointment, that we utterly despair of its success.

Long after we had committed to paper the substance of the views contained in the foregoing pages, there appeared in a public journal a very striking corroboration of them from the pen of a Roman Catholic divine*. The coincidence of opinion, and even occasionally of phrasology, is so remarkable, that we are tempted to transcribe a passage of some length to show that there are other minds as deeply impressed with the errors of our system.

"If this age be," says the reverend author, "what it has been significantly called, an age of *cant*, to what is it mainly owing? Is it not to this?—that religion is so constantly and perversely misplaced and mishandled, so perpetually obtruded upon us on all public occasions, and so wholly out of time and season, that it begins, necessarily, at last to be treated by some as a nuisance or 'bore'—is taken up by others as a mere *mot d'ordre*, becomes a sort of rallying phrase in the mouth of faction, is talked of loudest and longest by those who feel its influence least, and thus sinks, almost of course, in the general estimation, being borne down as it were by the weight of these accumulated scandals? How are we to raise up religion from this deep degradation? Only by suffering her to withdraw into her own sanctuary, and from thence exercise her blessed influence on the public, and by the instrumentality of her own chosen ministers; and

* The Rev. Thaddeus O'Malley, who lately addressed a series of letters on the subject, "To the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland."

by letting her concentrate her private influence, unchecked and undisturbed, in her next most sacred asylum, the family tabernacle. On this account, in the second place, I would not have her domiciliate in our schools.

"And now, regarding the matter in a still higher point of view, I would ask to what purpose overcharge the minds of *children* at all, either in school or out of it, with the mysterious revelations of religion? Shall I be answered in the usual common-place, that it is because religion is the only sure foundation of morals? But this is utterly misstating and mistaking the question. Religion is assuredly,—and who doubts it?—the best foundation for morals in *moral agents*. But are children such,—for it is of them there is question,—the children of your infant schools, for instance, averaging from three to four years of age? No: in a moral sense, their young minds are in a state of chaos, where you have first to form the soil by a concentration of its elements before you can possibly lay anything like a steady foundation. Religion is the very perfection of morality; a sort of sacramental confirmation of the moral instinct, giving it a higher tone, a firmer grasp, and a larger sphere. Then why should we squander its superlative perfection where the moral sense is not yet formed into a positive consistency? But in the precipitation of a mistaken zeal we forget all this, begin at the wrong end, and vainly waste our labour in raising the solid superstructure of religion upon a soft, unconsolidated, yielding surface, where it is, of course, soon swallowed up and lost sight of.

"This theory, my lords, is too clearly in accordance with truth and reason not to be confirmed by experience. What says the proverb—that moral coin, which, coming from the mint of the public sense, bears the print of the public countenance as the guarantee of its value? 'A young saint makes an old devil.' Is it not too true? is it not too often so? Look around you, and will you not find that those in whom an unenlightened piety has sought to implant prematurely the principles of religion are the first to lose them, and losing them, they are they who lose them irrecoverably. I, for my part, am strongly impressed with the idea, that much of the practical infidelity, much of the religious indifferentism that prevails, is fairly attributable to this cause. So long as all that is most sacred, mysterious, and sublime in the sublimest of all religions, is heedlessly bandied about in schoolboys' mouths,—so long as it is made the irksome task-work of froward and impatient youth,—so long as it is given as a routine lesson which they must spell while they yawn, and which they must repeat at the peril of the rattan, with all the edifying precision of right orthodox parrots, to what other result can you look forward than to this? that when their understanding becomes mature it will find this faint religious impression so confounded in the crowd of their other childish notions, as to share the same fate with them; that having learned the mysteries of the nursery and the mysteries of religion at the same time, and now finding the one to be fables, it will be tempted to count the others little better; and that as it was the object of the former to govern them as children by acting on their childish fears, so was it the object of the latter to forestall their faith, to govern them as men by their credulity?

"As the surest means of obviating this fatal mischief,—a mischief which

any one acquainted with the world must be aware I do not in the least exaggerate,—I would not only have the ‘special’ religious instruction imparted solely in the Church, and, if possible, by a churchman only, but I would have it imparted somewhat in the manner of a mysterious initiation, to be graduated on a scale of preparatory aptitude in the pupils, to be held out as the reward of superior docility and virtue, and to be looked forward to with mingled feelings of impatience and of awe,—as a revelation from above that was to teach them something far more sacred, more noble, and more pure than anything they had yet learnt. It was thus that in her best days the Christian Church gradually initiated her children, even when these children were grown to the full stature of men, with the knowledge of her mysteries; it is thus, too, that Providence has gradually initiated mankind into the more awful revelations of his eternal truths; and as the ways of Providence are ever just and true, it is thus that mankind, humbly following the example, should gradually initiate each other.

“But I would not deprive the schools, at the same time, as I have shown, of a *general* religious and moral instruction; general, in a more strict sense, as it is alike common to all Christian sectaries, namely, *natural religion* and the sound morality deducible from it. It is a superstition to allege that there is no morality but in the Gospel. No doubt, the Gospel is the loftiest and the purest of the three moral revelations of God to man; but he who brought us this last and best, has he not himself told us expressly, that ‘he came not to destroy but to fulfil’ the other two—the revelation graven originally on the heart of man, and the revelation graven subsequently on the stone tables of the law? Nay, is not the best evidence of the truth of the Gospel moral, its admirable harmony with our moral instinct, and its beautiful and benevolent adaptation to our moral wants? It is idle, then, to tell me, that by diligently cultivating in the pupils that moral sense or instinct in the way I have described, with an occasional reference to the revealed confirmation of it they have already learnt, or are yet to learn from the minister of religion, I have not done as much for morals as it is the proper business of a school to do; and that in imbuing them with the *sentiment* of natural religion, by raising their minds to the wonders of the wisdom and the bounty of God, and kindling that sentiment into a devotional affection by teaching them to sing together sacred hymns to his praise, I have not done as much in the way of general religious instruction as would become a teacher who is a mere layman, charged with no mission to preach a holier word.”

We have now completed the task. Whether we have succeeded in establishing the truth of the propositions we laid down at the commencement, the public must judge. We would not have it imagined, however, that our speculations (if they be, indeed, only such) have been *got up* to serve the present occasion; they are at least entitled to the benefit of whatever credit may attach to them as the fruit of long and matured reflection. It will be a source of the highest

gratification to us should they contribute to smooth the way to one, uniform, comprehensive plan of education for the people. But this is far from being the whole of our design in giving them publicity. The obstruction of such a plan is, in our minds, but a portion of the evil that must arise from the obstinacy of the different religious parties in insisting on the teaching of their peculiar doctrines at the schools. Were this practice even free from the mischiefs we have ascribed to it, the worst consequences, in a social point of view, are to be apprehended from its adoption. Instead of bringing the children of all persuasions into habits of amicable intercourse, and binding them together by the ties of mutual confidence, (notwithstanding their differences of belief) they are to be draughted into schools *according to these differences*, thus laying the foundation for religious acrimony and jealousy through life! The inevitable result will be, to foment the hateful spirit of sectarianism where it needs so much to be assuaged; to enlist the humbler ranks in the fierce struggles of theological warfare, which it is so desirable to abate; to scatter the seeds of religious rancour over every quarter of the community; to perpetuate the sway of bigotry and intolerance among all classes and parties, and to render society one vast, interminable, intolerable scene of deadly discord and implacable strife. We shudder at the contemplation of such a state of things, and look with most intense and impatient longing for the spread of "pure and undefiled" Christianity. Is the clamour of religious controversy *never* to cease? Is society to be endlessly disturbed by the yells, and distracted by the jars of those who stand alike pledged, on the surety of their common faith, to serve under the one glorious banner of the God of PEACE? Are those "wretched contentions, which," to use the striking words of Chillingworth, "now rend and tear, not the coat, but the very members and bowels of Christ, and which mutual pride "and tyranny, and cursing, and damning, and killing would "fain make immortal,"—are these at *no* period to have their blessed consummation? Are we still to go on in daring defiance of that holy obligation to charity, laid on us for the express purpose of uniting in *heart* and *spirit* those who might be divided in *opinion* and *belief*?

But a brief while ago, certain symptoms of a relenting spirit appeared. The maxims of a merciful and tolerant wisdom seemed to prevail. The united strength of bigotry and tyranny could no longer cope with the energies of an insulted people, and the voice of reason was at length heard where the dictates of justice had long been scorned. The last remaining traces of religious persecution were swept away. There was an evident reluctance in the performance of the act, which, it was hoped, would soon melt under the influence of a generous policy. We were unhappily deceived. All our pleasing visions were vain and illusory. We had but "scotched the snake, not killed it." Its venom still survives to sting the peace of the community. The same deadly hate, the same irreconcilable antipathy, the same indefinable apprehension, agitate men's bosoms now as they did then. No better method approves itself to them for the treatment of minds under the dominion of error; no stronger anxiety is felt for amalgamating the various branches of the great family of the Redeemer. Still is there in innumerable breasts a burning sense of jealousy, suspicion and distrust. We can no longer, indeed, enact laws for the suppression of error, just as we have been accustomed to do for the suppression of vice—that day is gone by. The world is sick of seeing such "fantastic tricks" played "before high heaven." Nature is fairly tired out in the toil of racking incorrigible recusants with personal pains. But bigotry, nevertheless, retains her unbroken strength. Defeated in one quarter, she flies to another, and defends her position with unflinching perseverance. So long as she had legislative enactments at her command, religious errors, simply as such, gave her but little concern; she could, even without scruple, supply the cost for their encouragement. While she had the bodies of her adversaries in the faith under the subjection of the law, she took no interest whatever in the safety of their souls; she enjoyed such exquisite satisfaction in the humiliation of the Catholics, that in the very fulness of her heart she consented to endow their church. Thousands were annually voted without a murmur, to educate young men for the Romish ministry in Ireland! Not a word of objection was then raised on the score of a false religion; but things are changed. The

whole apparatus of penal laws was snatched from her hands, and she was driven to try some new device for stirring up the slumbering intolerance of the public. Now, then, that she has no more the power of applying the thumb-screw of an inflictive statute to the Catholics, her grand resource is to deny them (as far as she may be able to effect) the blessing of the light of knowledge. This is a strange thing to tell of in a Christian country ; but it is unhappily true as it is strange.

The meaning of a *national* system of education is, that it shall be accessible to, and available for, the poor of *all* religious persuasions ; otherwise, it becomes sectarian and exclusive, and, of course, ceases to be national. If Scripture is to be taught at the schools, there is clearly no other possible way of meeting the difficulty arising out of religious differences, under a national system, than by dispensing with everything in the shape of doctrine as a matter of instruction there. This was with great reluctance, and after a prodigious effusion of bile, conceded in the case of Ireland. But the prospects of bigotry have since then lost somewhat of their brightness : the turn of events has not proved so fortunate as she expected. She does not feel quite so much at her ease, and is dissatisfied. Here, then, she resolves to plant her foot and make a stand ! With hatred in her heart, and fury in her tongue, she struggles for the principle of "*special*" religious instruction at the schools for the poor. If she can establish this principle, she will succeed to her perfect content ; it will be a sure barrier to the Catholics, and certain of the Dissenters, at least ; it must exclude the parties obnoxious to her from the benefits of a publicly administered education. They will have to trust to their own resources, which, in many instances, are those of poverty itself. But this is not her only stay of hope ; she has found out another principle, which has already served, in many quarters, to rally her forces against an impartial plan for the endowment of schools. And what is this ? Why, that it is incompatible with the duty of a Protestant state to furnish the means of instructing the children of Roman Catholics ;--that it is sinful in the sight of God to countenance their errors, by assigning them a public grant for such a purpose ! And this is announced as coolly and as gravely, and is listened to

as profoundly, as if this Protestant state had never given, nor was at this present moment of time giving, thousands for the self-same purpose to the Catholics in Ireland, in Australia, in Canada, and, for aught we know, in various other colonial dependencies of Great Britain.

These are specimens of Protestant zeal, which for boldness, at least, considering the era, can scarcely find their match in the most rampant days of Romish intolerance. Conceive the idea of leaving multitudes of young, helpless, unformed beings, subjects of the British empire, children of the Divine Redeemer, in debasing ignorance, on the plea of discountenancing the errors of their creed! There they are—born by inevitable and uncontrollable destiny—of Catholic parents, the parents themselves clinging with the most natural and blameless attachment to the faith of their fathers, and with an instinctive feeling common to all men, desirous to have their children worship under the same roof with themselves. There they are,—the victims of poverty, ignorance and superstition, pleading for a share in the blessings of that education we are at last about to diffuse over the land. And what is the answer to them? “*We are bound by our Protestant principles to deny you even the crumbs of instruction that fall from our table, unless you consent, in return, to pledge yourselves to our articles of faith.*” Just as if the conscience of a Catholic were a thing that we were not only entitled, but required, to despise;—just as if we imagined it ought to be as easy for him to cast off his religious scruples as his cloak;—just as if we thought he should have no more difficulty in sending his child to subscribe to a Protestant creed, than to learn the alphabet or the rule of three! O bigotry, what a fearfully malignant being thou art! And how weak as well as wicked! Experience has taught thee nothing—absolutely nothing! Ages have rolled away, memorable for the blood which has been as fruitlessly as it has been profusely shed upon thine altars, to make men forswear their avowed belief; and yet thou hast still to learn that everything like dogmatic opposition to dissent and error can only have the one effect—of extending their sway and prolonging their existence!

We venerate the principles of our English Church as warmly as any of her members, and would as ardently desire

to see them the objects of similar veneration to all; but this only enhances our grief, that so many of her sons should tarnish her fame by such proceedings. It is painful beyond measure to think that the spirit of a spiteful intolerance should dwell within the pale of an institution, which, but for this baneful influence, would conciliate general esteem and affection. As for those of the sectaries who raise their voices with such astounding violence against their Catholic brethren, it is not an easy matter to speak of them with ordinary patience. *They* seem to found their title to scandalize the largest portion of the Christian world on the mere presumption of a *Protestant name*, as if nothing were needed but a sturdy and vociferous denial of the errors of Rome to constitute a sound belief. We presume not to judge *any* class of Christians; but we would humbly venture to remind some who are so loud in their condemnation of Roman Catholic errors, that the simple protestation against what is wrong, does not, of itself, imply the persuasion of that which is right.

It is our implicit belief, that truth can only thrive in the atmosphere of its own creating. *That* atmosphere is charity—the blessed and eternal and godlike charity of the Gospel! It is the atmosphere with which the Divine original of truth sought most sedulously to surround us. May we not be well convinced he did so from motives of the most sublime wisdom, as regards the interests of that truth itself? Can we have a doubt that he considered it most conducive to those interests, by giving a free scope to the mind in the quest and appreciation of truth? But mankind, unhappily, have never allowed it the liberty of breathing in its own native region. Everything is done, even from infancy, to dilute and pervert the sentiment of charity, as it comes fresh to the heart from the well-spring of inspiration in the divine exposition of the Apostle. To circulate there, within a limited compass and in a given quantity, is all that is permitted. So far as mutual sympathies and interests claim its exercise, *there* only is it allowed to flow freely. To advance beyond these limits is denounced and proscribed as “false liberality,” “latitudinarianism,” or some such term, expressly devised for the purpose of intimidation. Nothing so effective as an ob-

noxious epithet to raise an insurmountable prejudice, or quench a generous flame ! And what is the extent of this liberality on which orthodoxy has laid an immoveable interdict ? Does it propose that all creeds should be deemed as equally true, or as alike acceptable to the Redeemer ? Does it propose that any man should be taught to view with indifference what faith he professes, or to look for salvation irrespectively of his belief ? Nothing of this. It simply maintains, that as it is the duty of man to abstain from judging his brother harshly, even on the score of his moral offences, *much more* is it his duty to do so on account of his religious errors ;—that as he is bound to think evil of none, unless on palpable proofs of criminality ; *much more* is he bound to think evil of none for their misconception of truth, or misinterpretation of doctrine ;—that as even natural feeling or temporal interest prompts us to live in harmony and love with those of kindred sentiments, *much more* does the Gospel require us so to live with those of a contrary faith and discordant opinions. It maintains, in short, that as it seems impossible that there should be an uniformity of belief among Christian brethren, *all* should labour to remedy the evil by the methods expressly appointed for the purpose ; namely, by mercy, meekness, forbearance, forgiveness, kindness, compassion, brotherly love, charity,—and thus effectually “ preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.” Is *this* false liberality ? Is this latitudinarianism ? Is it not rather of the very pith, and core, and marrow of evangelical religion ?

We cannot conclude without adverting to a most important consideration intimately connected with the topic we have been discussing, and which demands from us a few moments’ attention. We allude to the moral results likely to accrue from the education of the poor, and of which the most wonderful expectations have been formed.

In these expectations, we must fairly acknowledge, we are not participators. We believe them to be greatly exaggerated. There is every reasonable ground to hope that multitudes will be benefited by the universal diffusion of instruction, and that society will, in the long run, materially profit from so vast an accession of intelligence among her members ; but we cannot go the length of persuading our-

selves, when we look at the general character of society, that crime is to be eradicated by the magic wand of the school-master, or that even, after he has banished ignorance from the land, this goodly fabric of Great Britain is to be a paradise. Were the disorders of the poor the result of propensities peculiar to *them*, had they no root in common with those that are spread over the mass of social existence,—did they grow up and fertilize in a climate remarkable for the salubrity of its moral atmosphere, and the riches of its spiritual fruits,—and were they the sole exceptions to the excellence of its productions,—nothing could be brighter than the prospect of raising the lower classes to the healthful condition for which, under such circumstances, the rest of the community would be distinguished. But this is not the case; nor do we believe that the poor are more vicious or corrupt than the educated portion of society. It is because of the injuries they inflict on that society in the shape of *crimes*, that they are generally held responsible for all its moral evils. Now, their crimes may be a fair criterion of their state of morals at one period, as compared with another; but as compared with the state of morals in the ranks above them, they are none. In the latter case, there are no materials whereby anything like a just comparison could be formed; but something may be collected from observation and reflection to lessen the preponderating weight of ignominy usually cast upon the poor.

Their offences are such as to bring them within the gripe of the law, and consequently to force themselves into notoriety. They consist, to a great extent, in outrages, violences, breaches of the peace,—these being the crimes to which their peculiar circumstances and temptations render them liable. Passions, unrestrained by social causes that have the effect of controlling them in higher stations, drive the idle and dissolute of the humbler ranks into numerous excesses. Scenes of low debauchery are productive of broils and personal conflicts, often of a dangerous, sometimes a destructive character. Misery and wretchedness stimulate many to depredations of various kinds, all heavily visited on detection; to avoid which, they are occasionally hurried, by wild and sudden impulse, into deeds of blood. These things become the subjects of judicial investigation, and accounts of them

are circulated through every quarter of the land; they naturally fill the mind with horror, and society resounds with a clamour about the crimes of the poor.

On the other hand, the vicious habits and practices of the opulent and educated are seldom such as to incur the notice of legal authority, or even to excite the attention of the public. While they are united in a common league to discover and punish the offences of the poor, policy binds them in their several spheres to maintain a decorous silence regarding their own. Indignation against vice, and zeal for its suppression in lowly life, seem in many cases to be a kind of compromise which they make with their consciences for the sins they themselves commit. It is, moreover, a social—not a moral or religious—restraint which prevents numbers from doing things most galling to our sight in the conduct of the poor. What, for instance, arrests the hand of him who cheats from stealing, but the fear of detection, and the sense of shame? Let the thief and the cheat change their relative positions, and their habits will undergo a similar transformation. See how the vengeance of the law and of society vents itself exclusively on the poor! And yet, in this very instance of moral transgression, the balance of virtue would be found greatly in their favour. The amount and extent of their depredations on property are but trifling when compared with the frauds and exactions practised by those who have neither poverty nor ignorance to plead in excuse. It has been observed too, and we believe with equal truth and severity, that “the harshest rogues are not always those of the highway and the hovel.” Many an unhappy culprit, imbued with better feelings, is tempted by misfortune into an infraction of law;—many a child of prosperity is of so depraved a disposition, as to acknowledge no rule over his passions, except what is exacted by law. We hear nothing of numerous crimes committed by educated men, either because no penalty attaches to them, or because exposure has been compounded for by some private influence or means. The purse is a mighty engine of concealment!

It seems to us, then, that the transgressions of the lower orders assume their violence of character much more in consequence of their abject and degraded condition, than of their

ignorance of all moral and religious obligation. We infer this from the number of men to be found in higher stations, to whom no such ignorance can be attributed, and whose habits (with the exception of attempts on human life*) are as villainous as those of the worst of miscreants among the sons of penury—men who live by perpetual plunder on a great and systematic scale, who fatten on the spoils of the widow and the orphan, and sweep whole families to destruction by the basest of arts, under the semblance and through the chicanery of law. It is not any moral feeling which restrains such men from acts of violence; they can accomplish all their atrocious purposes without them. But men of a similar stamp, in a state of recklessness and destitution, exist, *only by waging perpetual war with law and order*. If, as Lord Brougham professes to believe†, the training of infant-schools will effectually rid society of this latter class of persons, no one will derive more heartfelt enjoyment from the success of the experiment than ourselves. That such schools, under proper management, will be productive of extensive good, we sincerely rejoice to believe; but whether they will be equal to counteract the demoralizing effects of wide-spread misery and degradation, appears to us much more doubtful than, as it seems, to his lordship.

In reflecting on this subject, the powerful tendency of evil example in the higher walks of life to corrupt those who move in its subordinate stations, continually presents itself to our minds. Its influence uniformly descends in the social scale. The rich are altogether free of any moral contagion from the poor; but the poor are affected beyond measure, in their conduct and character, by the conduct and character of the rich. The accumulated weight of vice collected in the upper regions of society bears perpetually upon them, so that, in order to resist it, even as they do, they are mercifully endowed by Providence with moral strength proportioned to the task. The crimes which so foully stain their annals are, for the most part, confined to a few, sunk in the lowest depths

* This exception must be taken with much reservation, as the practice of duelling among the educated classes will testify.

† Letter to the Duke of Bedford on National Education.

of degradation. The vast body of the poor, we feel convinced, might challenge competition for moral worth with their more prosperous neighbours. Considering these things then, our apprehension is, that the vices of the lower orders, notwithstanding all our teaching, will keep pace, to a much greater extent than many seem to expect, with the degeneracy of the higher classes. Did this influence only affect them in its ordinarily indirect and tacit manner, still, we think, there would be sufficient ground for fear; but it is active, absolute, and overbearing. The rich are not content with confining their powers of corruption to the mere manifestation of vice in their characters and conduct; they wantonly and deliberately lay siege to the virtue of the poor!

We might enumerate various instances where they are the wilful and direct aggressors in corrupting their humbler brethren, and where the latter have, nevertheless, to sustain all the shame and blame of the corruption. Time, however, presses, and we must confine ourselves to the mention of a single case; but it is one so monstrous and glaring as to be quite sufficient for our purpose. We allude to the proceedings that take place during election contests throughout the kingdom.

In these contests are numbers of men of birth and station, aided by hosts of agents of a certain stamp and education, systematically employed in debauching the manners, stimulating the cupidity, purchasing the perfidy, and, by means of intimidation, overcoming the steadfastness and integrity of the constituency of the empire. Thousands would faithfully discharge the sacred trust reposed in them by their country, if they were allowed to exercise their own free will. Thousands would escape the sin of acting contrary to their honest views of what might best promote the interests of that country, for the sake of a miserable bribe, if it were not that the mercenary tools of wealth and power lie in wait to pollute their souls by the ignominious offer. But who thinks of the corruption of the poor man's virtue when compared with the indulgence of the rich man's vanity? How idle such a thought! The object of pursuit must be tried for at every cost, and at a tremendous cost is it often obtained, of the money of the one and the morals of the other. Where

does the responsibility lie? Who is to sustain the guilt of all the dissoluteness, the bribery, the perjury, the intimidation, the suppression of truth, the evasion of law, the perversion of right, and the thousand atrocities that follow in the train of an election contest? Who? The ignorant elector or the educated candidate? He that takes a bribe when tempted by distress, or he who proffers it when prompted by ambition? Answer this, ye men who legislate for the religious instruction of the people, and blush with the deepest crimson of remorse, while ye bear involuntary witness to the turpitude of your proceedings! What! Do ye presume to vote away the public money for an avowed object, which ye are secretly determined, as far as in ye lies, and when it serves your purpose, to obstruct and undermine? Have ye the effrontery to boast of being friendly to the education of the poor, conducted upon Christian principles, knowing that ye yourselves will be among the first to tempt them to spurn at and set those principles at naught? Away with such profligacy! What a mockery of all virtue is it—what a fraud on common sense—what deep and disgusting hypocrisy, to enact laws for conferring religious knowledge on those whose minds you are habitually besieging with the grossest arts of the most abominable seduction!

Viewing such instances of moral depravity in connexion with those evidences of the spurious Christianity that prevails among the educated classes of society previously enumerated, we are more strongly confirmed in our opinion, that the religious training of the young is conducted on unsound and pernicious principles; and that by commencing where we ought to end, namely, with instruction in Christian *doctrine*, we fail in establishing the influence of Christian *precept* on the mind, and thus, as we set out with saying, make the religion of thousands consist in a mere speculative and barren *belief*—in a holiday garment, as it were, to be reserved for special purposes and public occasions, instead of an every-day garb, to be worn unintermittingly, and adapted to all the scenes, and seasons, and situations of life.

Something must be done to reform and purify the manner of educating the rich, before even the wisest system can be productive of the desired effects among the poor. It is vain

to look for any permanent or beneficial change in the moral habits of the latter, while they remain exposed, not merely to the evil example, but to the corrupting assaults of their superiors. In taking leave of the subject, therefore, we would most solemnly and emphatically warn the wealthy and prosperous against indulging the notion, that the spiritual instruction they are solicitous to bestow on their humbler brethren can turn to profitable account, unless they crown the gift by exhibiting the influence of true religion on themselves. We would remonstrate with them, on behalf of the poor, in the beautiful language of Ophelia :—

“ Do not, as some ungracious pastors do,
 Show *them* the steep and thorny way to heaven,
 Whilst, like a puff'd and reckless libertine,
 Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,
 And reck's not his own read.”

And, in conclusion, we would bespeak their calm, and earnest, and unprejudiced attention to a passage from the works of Hannah More, as indisputably true as it is strikingly apposite to the proceedings of the present period. These are her words :—

“ Vain will be all endeavours after partial and subordinate amendment. Reformation must begin with the great, or it never will be effectual. Their example is the fountain from whence the vulgar draw their habits, actions and characters. *To expect to reform the poor while the opulent are corrupt, is to throw odours into the stream while the springs are poisoned* ” !

ARTICLE IV.

Report on the Prussian Commercial Union, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. By JOHN BOWRING. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London, 1840.

IF we have laid down the 'Report on the Prussian Commercial Union' after perusal, without experiencing the full measure of disappointment which it seems in many quarters to have produced, it has been because we are well able to appreciate the difficulty of the task which its author undertook, as well as the loss which his work sustained by the delay in its publication. A statistical work on the commercial relations of a neighbouring country appears in the year 1840 with information reaching only to the close of 1837; and that under peculiar circumstances, which made it more than usually desirable to have details of a later date. The league in question attained its present extent by the accession of Frankfort on the Maine in 1836, so that we are furnished but with one year's experience of its working, from which no satisfactory deductions can be drawn. Other circumstances contributed too to excite curiosity as to the results of our recent trading operations with Germany, of which the great importation of corn from the Continent, within the last three years, was not the least important, and the effects of which it would have been highly desirable to trace. As the printing had been so long delayed, it would have been more satisfactory, if, at least, the returns of 1838 had been procured for the appendix, extracts from which appeared in an article in a German review, written by M. Nebenius, about the same time that Dr. Bowring's 'Report' was published.

The talented author of the report before us, who is well known as an active supporter and forwarder of the great cause of international approximation, and of the advancement of civilization by the mutual co-operation of all enlightened countries, has here had another enviable opportunity of recording his opinion on the subject of free trade, of which he

is one of the staunchest advocates. To the principles which he lays down in general terms, we yield him our free and unconditional concurrence. We are equally desirous with him for the attainment of the greatest boon, which, after the acquisition of constitutional forms of government, the nations of Europe can achieve, and any encroachment upon which leads to inevitable loss and confusion difficult to unravel. In many of the deductions, however, which he draws from existing facts, we differ from him altogether, and we are compelled to state our belief that many of the arguments which he uses are not adapted to forward the cause which he has undertaken to advocate.

With the views which Dr. Bowring entertains respecting the operation of the corn laws upon the trade of Germany, he found himself in a false position at Berlin, and in one of which the commissioners assembled there knew how to take advantage. By at once admitting the truth of their assertions, he left no room for mutual concessions, even in argument. He left Germany, therefore, and the German governments, as he had found them, in the full persuasion of the correctness of their views. The passage which we meet in the first page of the report is the echo of all the arguments and declamation against our own commercial policy, with which the German press has teemed, since there appeared to be a probability of Prussia's succeeding in the bold design which she had formed.

"If, in the natural progress of things, the tariffs of the Zoll Verein have become hostile to the importation of foreign, and especially of British produce, it is because our laws have prevented the greater extension of commercial relations with Germany. We have rejected the payments they have offered; we have forced them to manufacture what they were unable to buy; and we have put in their hands the means of manufacturing cheaply, by refusing to take the surplus of their agricultural produce, the non-exportation of which has kept their markets so low, that small wages have been able to give great comforts to their labourers*."

* The reader will judge between this account and that given in another parliamentary report by Mr. Keyser, Assistant Commissioner to the Committee on the state of the hand-loom weavers. Mr. Keyser states, from personal observation, "In the neighbourhood of Berlin, working as hand-loom weavers, a man, his wife, two sons (lads), and a journeyman, live in a room 17 feet by 14, in which are two

To this, the elevated views of the founders of the league are placed in a striking contrast.

"The commercial league is, in fact, the representative of a sentiment widely, if not universally, spread in Germany,—that of national unity. It has done wonders in breaking down petty and local prejudices, and has become a foundation, on which future legislation, representing the common interests of the German people, may undoubtedly hereafter be raised. If well directed in its future operations, the Zoll Verein will represent the fusion of German interests into one great alliance. The peril to its beneficial results will grow out of the efforts which will be made, and which are already made, to give, by protections and prohibitions, an undue weight to the smaller and sinister interests of the Verein. But if its tariffs be so moderate and so judicious as to allow full play to the interests of the consumers in the field of competition,—if there should be no forcing of capital into regions of unproductiveness, or of less productiveness,—if the claims of the manufacturers to sacrifices in their favour from the community at large be rejected,—if the great agricultural interests of Germany recover that portion of attention from the commercial union to which they are justly entitled,—if the importance of foreign trade and navigation be duly estimated,—the Zoll Verein will have the happiest influence on the general prosperity; and that the league has been much strengthened by the experience of its benefits,—that its popularity is extending,—that its farther spreading may be confidently anticipated, appears to be indubitable."

From the concluding sentence, in which the league is re-

looms belonging to the man, cost 8 r. d. or 9 r. d. each (24s. to 27s. sterling). The father and mother sleep in one small adjoining chamber, the two boys and the journeyman in another. They pay rent 50 r. d., or £7 10s. sterling; taxes about 3 r. d., or 9s. sterling. They must all work hard for the master to clear 3 r. d., or about 9s. per week; the two boys wind. The journeyman, working fourteen hours per day, gets 2 r. d., or 6s. per week; boards in the house, and pays the master 12 gr., or 1s. 6d. per week. In the morning they have each a cup of hot coffee and a cake, such as is usually sold in Berlin for about a farthing; for dinner groats, or meal porridge and potatoes, with occasionally a herring or a little lard. In the evening a slice of black bread and butter, to which they drink nothing but water. On Sunday they have sometimes a small quantity of bacon or other meat. There are at this moment many weavers out of employ seeking labour on the railroad or other works."—Page 2. * * *

"It is to be observed that the very low rate of wages is not only in proportion to the cheapness of provisions, but more particularly occasioned by the very limited wants of the working weavers; even the article of bread, in that country so very cheap, is still beyond the reach of these poor people, who subsist almost entirely on potatoes, which they cultivate on a small piece of land, either their own or farmed at a very low rate." * * *

"A linen-weaver, besides some field labour for which he is paid, and generally a small plot of ground for his own use, is satisfied with the weekly average wages of 1s. to 2s. sterling." * * *

"There is an appearance of comfort with many of the cotton-weavers: it is necessary, however, to observe, that the weavers of this description, with scarcely an exception, embezzle about 5 per cent. of the yarn."

See also page 29 of the report, which we have extracted below.

presented as highly prosperous, and as having been strengthened by the benefits conferred upon its members, we should be justified in supposing, that the conditions, under which alone the reporter prophesies its success and vigour, have been fulfilled. But has the league rejected the cry of the manufacturers, to allow capital to be forced into less productive channels? Have the agricultural interests of Germany recovered that portion of attention to which they are justly entitled? Has the importance of navigation and foreign commerce been duly estimated by the league? We are obliged, on the authority of the report itself, to answer—*no!* and cannot, therefore, well understand the eulogy here bestowed upon the league, and which the tenour of the whole report goes to contradict.

Thus, from the very commencement, the reporter takes up a hesitating position, which, if the object of his mission was to convince the German commissioners that the proceedings in which they were actively engaged were not likely to promote the interests of Germany, must, in the outset, have decided its failure.

The following passage, as it stands, is likewise adapted to give occasion to misconception:—

“The Zoll Verein was not, as it has often been asserted to be, a union formed in hostility to the commercial interests of other states; it was not intended prematurely to create a manufacturing population in rivalry with, or in opposition to, the manufacturing aptitudes of Great Britain; it was by no means the purpose of its founders to misdirect capital to unprofitable employment, to sacrifice agriculture to trade, or to encourage less the field than the factory. The Zoll Verein was the substantial expression and effect of a general desire among a great nation, split into many small states, but still of common origin, similar manners, speaking the same language, educated in the same spirit, to communicate, to trade, to travel without the annoyance and the impediments which the separate fiscal regulations of every one of their governments threw in the way.”

These two sentences give a very erroneous idea of the origin and objects of the league. With respect to the former or negative assertion, it must be owned, that if such was not the object of the founders, the league has turned out to be something very different from what they proposed, a deduction which every German writer on the subject denies. The latter sentence involves the abandonment of one of the most

important considerations which must never be lost sight of when the merits of the league are discussed. So far from this union's having been formed by the consentaneous junction of all the Germanic states, either for the purpose of rescuing their commercial interests from foreign encroachments, or from a perfect accordance with the policy which its authors proposed, many of its present members were only induced to accede to it long after its projection by Prussia, and some of them only under the pressure of circumstances, without which they would, in all probability, still have kept apart. So great was the reluctance of the agricultural states of Germany to adopt the Prussian plan, that no less than *fifteen years* elapsed from the commencement of negotiations by Prussia in 1818, until the accession of Electoral Hesse, Bavaria and Wirtemberg, in 1833; while three distinct leagues were formed by various states in the interval, for the express purpose of *preventing the spread of the restrictions proposed by Prussia*, and in the hope of preserving the advantages of free trade. Of these leagues, one remains in full force at the present day (and will demand our particular attention), having resisted all the persuasions used to induce it to dissolve, during a period of no less than twenty-two years. We of course allude to the commercial union between Hanover, Oldenburg and Brunswick. The Hanse towns, Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck, as well as the Grand Duchies of Mecklenburg, have likewise refused to accede to the Prussian league.

It is thus to abandon a most important position in the consideration of our commercial relations with Germany, to allow that no other means were at hand of effecting all the good, and more than the good, which the German states have derived commercially from the customs' league. It is, moreover, inconsistent with historical truth; for the formation of the three leagues we have mentioned, shows that the same results were believed to be attainable by other means. That they were attainable by means of a league based upon a liberal system of commerce, is unquestionably true; and would, moreover, have evinced itself as such, if the unaccountable apathy towards all continental proceedings, which was so long a characteristic point of English policy, had not

caused us to neglect the favourable moment for coming forward with the encouragement which the members of the Middle German league deserved. The Prussian diplomacy was more alert; and, by no small exertion of skill, as well as by the unremitting circulation of sophistical arguments, it turned the scale in its favour, and secured as allies many of those states who at first had been loudest in their protestations.

The commercial, or as it should more properly be called, the Customs league (*Zoll Verein*), has been a financial speculation, both for its founders and for those who have acceded to it. The high rate of some duties on articles which might obtain a greater consumption with lower rates, has provoked a mild sarcasm from the reporter in the shape of a doubt, that measures so little adapted to meet the end in view could originate in a desire to augment the revenue. Prussia is, however, not the only country which looks upon heavy taxation as equivalent to a great amount of revenue; and having taxed everything which could be got at in a direct manner most exorbitantly, there was nothing left after the war but the indirect taxes, which could possibly be raised. The revenues of most of the other states sufficed to meet their expenditure, and consequently the same inducement did not weigh with their rulers until the revolution of July brought about an unexpected crisis. Under the control of representative forms of government, the revenues of all the smaller states had been reduced to the utmost. A sudden summons was issued by Austria and Prussia to arm, in order to resist the expected attack of the French. Fifteen years of peace had occasioned a decay of the materials of war, and had emptied all the arsenals. Fresh supplies, horses, etc., had to be purchased, and this outlay had to be covered without calling upon the estates to increase the taxes. A more favourable conjuncture of circumstances for Prussia could not be devised. With the adoption of its tariff, the indirect taxes of the greater part of the German states were more than doubled. The trap was baited, the parliamentary orators talked big about the new mine of wealth which manufactures were to open for those lands which had them not, and the prize was caught. The people only showed on this occasion, that they understood their political as little as their commercial interests. Those

countries whose finances were in the best condition, such as Baden, lingered the longest with their adhesion; and in some, the increase in the revenue, occasioned by this measure, has been since taken advantage of by the parliamentary assemblies, to demand a reduction of the direct taxes.

It will perhaps be objected, that Prussia at least had no financial gain in view when she invited the other powers to accede on the footing of a division of the receipts according to the population of the respective states of the league; but that Prussia did not anticipate a loss, is evident from her determination not to submit to it. It has been discovered that the greater proportion of the consumers of colonial wares are in Prussia and the northern states. The inhabitants of the south prefer their beer and wine to tea and coffee. In the congress of 1839 this circumstance was mooted by Prussia, and being supported by irrefragable proofs, the justice of a compensation, *to be allowed by the other members of the league*, was agreed to. Its amount was either for the present not fixed, or was kept secret; we believe the former.

We trust that the remarks here made will not be construed as arising from a hostile feeling either towards Prussia or Germany. It would be shallow policy in an Englishman to entertain such a feeling. We firmly believe, that in the distribution of the tasks allotted by Providence to the different nations of the civilized world, the portion of the labour of advancing civilization, which has fallen to Germany, is one of the highest order, most honourable to the nation, and most important to the rest of the world. While the inland position of those countries secludes them from that external activity which is an unavoidable characteristic of the political career of England and France, the Germans look with a more dispassionate eye upon the actions which are performed, and on the opinions which are promulgated around them. The disposition to reflect, and to apply to theories, which are propagated as plausible, the test of philosophical investigation, has on more than one occasion conferred signal benefits on mankind; and we prize their assistance too highly not to express regret, as we have constantly done, when clouds arise upon their political horizon, which threaten to disturb the serenity of that sky in which the light of truth ought to shine

with untroubled ray. It is because we are firmly persuaded, and believe it possible to prove, that the system of commercial policy now followed by the German courts is not to their real advantage, but has a tendency to weaken the resources of a country which we desire to see strengthened, and to separate and remove us, by a confliction of interests which ought to agree, from neighbours whom we respect, and whose amity we desire, that we now subject that policy to a rigid inquiry. The weight which we attach to the subject on which we have entered will not suffer us to gloss over the faults, the indication of which may occasion a temporary pang to the sensitiveness of national vanity; but we claim full credence on the score of sincerity, and it will be seen that we are not blind to the faults which have been committed on our own side.

If our strictures upon the policy of what we may now happily call *the late* Prussian cabinet appear severe, it must be remembered that this cabinet pronounced its own doom for history in the preference given to Hardenberg and his views over those of Stein, to whom Prussia was indebted for her regeneration after a prostration unexampled in history. The dawn of a new reign has awakened hope in the breast of every patriotic German. In a circle where the voices of Humboldt, Grimm and Eichhorn meet with the attention which they merit, truth need not be bashful, nor fear that her admonitions will be unwelcome, because unsophisticated. The total omission of a historical review of the origin and progress of the Customs league in the report which we are considering, has forced upon us the task of its exposition.

That Dr. Bowring's position in Berlin was fixed by the views he entertains of the operation of our corn and timber duties upon the trade between Great Britain and Germany, is evident from what he states in the commencement of his report:—

“There can be no doubt that the hostile tariffs of other nations, and especially the corn and timber laws of Great Britain, served greatly to strengthen the arguments in favour of the commercial union. It was felt necessary to extend the home market while foreign markets were closed, or only partially and irregularly opened to the leading articles of German production.

“ ‘We should not have complained,’ says a distinguished German writer in 1835, ‘that all our markets were overflowing with English manufactures, that Germany received in cotton goods alone more than the hundred millions of British subjects in the East Indies, had not England, while she was inundating us with *her* productions, insisted on closing her markets to *ours*. Mr. Robinson’s resolutions in 1815 had, in fact, excluded our corn from the ports of Great Britain; she told us we were to buy but not to sell. We were not willing to adopt reprisals; we vainly hoped that a sense of her own interest would lead to reciprocity; but we were disappointed, and we were compelled to take care of ourselves.’ ”

The last paragraph may be reconstituted thus: “Because ‘Great Britain acts contrary to her interests in imposing ‘restrictions, we shall in future adopt the policy which we ‘condemn, and act contrary to ours.’” Now, however proper it may be to quote such opinions in order to show the extent to which false reasoning has gained ground abroad, we must protest against putting a quotation like this at the head of an official report, as the text upon which the said report is to prove the commentary. But there is another and a stronger reason why this passage should not have received admission into a report of the nature of that before us, which is, that it asserts what is not true, besides being absurd as a logical deduction.

In the first place, we deny the inference, that the legislative restrictions, imposed by the league, have in so great a degree rendered the Germans *independent of our aid*, as to give them reason to triumph, or to make us assume a desponding mien. Could this be proved to be the fact, there would be no use in discussing the subject, for no one could suppose that the Germans would listen to any arguments, if their advantage from the course they have adopted was so palpable as some of them now pretend. The amount of manufactured goods exported to Germany has diminished, it is true. According to Dieterici, the imports, exports and transit of cotton goods through the states forming the league, was,

Before the adhesion of the South German states,—

COTTON AND COTTON WARES IMPORTED.				
Year.	Raw Cotton.	Yarn and Wadding.	Twist, plain & dyed.	Cotton Stuff, Prints, &c.
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
1832	117,911	172,110	5,764	14,159
1833	92,212	144,702	5,578	12,953

After the junction of the South German states and Saxony,—

IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION.				
Year.	Cotton.	Yarn and Wadding.	Twist.	Cotton Stuffs.
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
1834	175,317	251,148	6,598	13,540
1835	121,013	244,867	6,473	13,808
1836	187,858	307,867	9,196	13,507
1837	105,327	312,127	6,812	64,690
EXPORTS.				
Before the Junction.				
1832	69,466	37,168	23,559	25,884
1833	55,924	18,283	29,419	23,324
After the Junction.				
1834	24,593	40,695	12,977	74,955
1835	31,051	28,918	11,454	81,245
1836	35,494	27,942	11,855	84,273
1837	35,929	28,162	16,803	75,193
TRANSIT OF FOREIGN GOODS.				
Before the Junction.				
1832	53,876	169,067	4,555	124,404
1833	28,386	147,808	4,656	131,666
After the Junction.				
1834	34,632	57,156	2,918	73,419
1835	39,556	70,446	3,882	63,168
1836	12,408	57,349	2,083	43,340
1837	17,593	59,224	2,192	42,306

The imports of goods for consumption and for transit, when taken together, consequently bear the following proportions to each other :—

Cotton Yarn.	Stuffs and Prints.
1832—341,177 cwts.	138,563 cwts.
1837—371,351 „	106,999 „

And the great mischief done to our commerce proves to be, that we send 1,500 tons of yarn in the place of 1,500 tons of stuffs annually to Germany. So far from finding any cause for triumph in this circumstance, we consider it no sign of an increase of prosperity in the states of the league, that their internal consumption has diminished instead of increasing in the six years whose results are here given, and that in the face of a rapid increase of population. That this is the case, is evident from the fact, that the quantities of raw and half-raw materials imported more in 1837 is more than counter-balanced by the exports of manufactured goods,—an exporta-

tion on which these states have little cause to congratulate themselves.

	Cotton.	Yarn.	Twist.	Stuffs.	Total Weight.
	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Cwts.
1832—Imports	117,911	172,110	5,764	14,159	309,944
Exports	69,466	37,168	23,559	25,884	156,077
Remained for Consumption	48,445	134,942	17,795	11,725	153,867
Add difference of Goods } per transit, as below ... }	41,448	111,718	2,372	81,064	236,602
Estimated Consumption of } the States of the whole } League in 1832	89,893	246,660	15,423	69,339	390,469
1837—Imports	187,858	307,867	9,196	13,507	518,428
Exports	35,494	27,942	11,855	84,273	159,564
	152,364	279,925	2,659	70,766	358,864
Amount of Goods sent } 1832	53,856	169,067	4,455	124,404	351,782
per transit } 1837	12,408	57,349	2,083	43,340	115,180
Difference.....	41,448	111,718	2,372	81,064	236,602

The difference between the goods which passed through the league in its limited circuit of Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Hesse in 1832, and those which passed through in 1837, after the junction of Saxony and the south German states, affords the only means of estimating the probable consumption of these latter countries; the difference must consequently be added to the remainder found for 1832, although it does not necessarily express the whole consumption of that year, in which a large quantity may have been imported from France into Southern Germany, and consequently without being noted as transit-goods by the Prussian custom-house. Thus, while the consumption of 1837 is ascertained to have been 358,000 cwt., that of 1832 was, in all probability, more than 390,000 cwt. This considerable amount of decrease in the consumption of a country which never could boast of being over-supplied, appears to us to afford no matter of triumph; nor is it a good ground of felicitation for Germany, that for the pleasure of manufacturing its own cotton wares, it thus limits the supply of necessities for its consuming population.

Nor do the figures marking the importation and export-

ation of raw wool indicate any great increase of consumption. They are as follows :—Dr. Bowring states the quantity of wool manufactured in Prussia, between 1826 and 1828, to have averaged 177,531 cwt. ; whereas the average between 1829 and 1831 was only 177,062 cwt.

	Cwts.		Cwts.
1832—Imports	. 99,441	1836—Imports	. 112,787
Exports	. 99,637	Exports	. 178,171
Per transit	121,944	Per transit	129,571

The exports of 1836 have thus, by a great deal, exceeded the rate of increase in the imports, the difference, of course, being supplied by the produce of the country. In the same manner, the exports of silk and silk wares have greatly increased beyond the imports.

	Cwts.		Cwts.
1832—Imports	. 3,224	1836—Imports	. 4,599
„ Exports	. 8,501	„ Exports	. 11,010*.

There is nothing in these figures indicative of a rapidly-increasing national prosperity, the prospect of which could excite the envy of neighbouring states, and we sincerely regret that such is the case. How the arguments, founded upon the rapid increase of German manufactures, are to be estimated, our readers may themselves decide. Let us now see how far the other assertions of the German writers, quoted by the reporter, are correct.

If Dr. Bowring's mission had for its object to convince the German governments that a modification of the tariffs of the two countries would prove mutually advantageous, to them as to ourselves, there was no question which he ought to have approached with greater caution than that of the corn laws, on account of the prevalence of the opinion, that our system of duties is prejudicial to the agricultural interests of Germany. To agree at once to this as an axiom, is to place the German governments in an advantageous position, to which they have no right. It is not true that our corn laws operate as prejudicially against the German agriculturists as their prohibitive duties act against our manufacturing interests, and those of their own consuming population. The British

* The half-silk wares are probably included in the quantity returned as exported.

corn laws do not exclude the agricultural produce of Germany; because, notwithstanding the restrictions they impose, *Great Britain actually consumes all the corn which Germany has to send, and a great deal more besides.* Were a negotiation for mutual concessions opened with Austria or Russia, this argument would of course not be advanced, for the producing capabilities of those empires are far more than equal to supply our demand. With Germany this is not the case. The land, as we shall see, is thickly inhabited; and a great portion of it consists of very inferior soil, situated under a rude climate; the prevailing systems of agriculture do not admit of any very great improvement, and the actual produce can only be augmented at a considerable expense. This view of the subject places the whole question of the basis upon which reciprocity of trade between Great Britain and Germany ought to be founded in a totally different light from that in which the Germans are willing to view it, but in a point of view in which it appears to us to be the duty of a British commissioner to hold it up, both abroad and at home. A survey of the capabilities of the German states, both for agriculture and manufactures, will be necessary, in order to show the grounds upon which we assume this to be the fact; and we shall enter somewhat into detail on this subject, as we feel that we are entering upon fresh ground, and upon such as may render some of our readers disinclined to follow us.

The first object which attracts the attention of the inquirer after the advantages offered by a country or by a district for manufacturing industry, is naturally the density of its population. In a country thinly peopled, the want of a due division of labour obliges the same person to work alternately at many trades; and he acquires in none that skill which makes labour productive, and services valuable, in thickly-peopled districts. The difference in the produce of labour under the two circumstances is greater than the usual difference in the price paid to labourers, as almost every continental manufacturer will, from experience, be ready to testify. Thinly populated countries, however, do not willingly submit to the want of such necessities and conveniences as they know are in use amongst their neighbours, and hence exertion is ex-

cited to furnish as great a variety of commodities as possible. Nothing but the institution of slavery has ever made the mass of inhabitants, even in a rich country, confine their labours to the production of raw produce exclusively; and there is no record of a period in the history of Europe, before the population accumulated in the manner in which it has done in the last and present centuries, in which the agricultural population did not likewise manufacture objects of clothing at the least. Accordingly we find now the spinning and weaving of linen and coarse woollen wares universally diffused throughout Germany, as an occasional occupation of the farmer and his family; a state of things which has, in many districts, been continued by the legislative enactments of the different states, the greater part of which discourage the agglomeration of the population into towns.

Where legislative enactments do not interfere with the natural course of arrangements, a period arrives at which the superfluous population leaves the open country and collects into towns, where their united efforts supply the country-people with many objects of necessity on better terms than they can themselves produce them for. A strict division of labour then takes place, in consequence of which the number employed in agriculture becomes usually reduced; but their labour grows more productive, for two reasons,—first, because they apply themselves exclusively to the one branch; and, secondly, on account of the aid they derive from the better and cheaper tools with which the towns supply them. The proportion existing between the inhabitants of towns in England and the rural population—which, as is well known, is as two-thirds to one-third; whereas in France the proportion is but as one to one, or equal; and in Prussia as three townsmen to ten villagers,—shows the different stages of advancement to which these countries have attained in the process which we have described.

It is clear that the epoch at which this division in the population takes place must vary according to circumstances. Towns of a commercial character are the first which arise, and these are founded in all countries at an early period. Their business is to supply, from whatever source, such necessities and conveniences as cannot be furnished by the

labour of the countrymen, or of their own citizens, or which can be purchased by barter on better terms elsewhere. The step to manufacturing these articles themselves is one further, and depends upon the command of labour (including intelligence) and capital which the citizens possess. Now it is here evident, that in fertile and naturally-productive countries, in which the inhabitants gain from the cultivation of the soil enough to support life, and a superfluity with which to purchase the productions of other countries, there will be an indisposition to shut themselves up in cities, and to labour at monotonous occupations, exactly proportioned to the natural advantages offered by soil and climate.

Let us proceed to apply the principles here stated to the map of Germany, and we shall find the phenomena which it presents easily intelligible.

Those countries which are situated to the north of the Elbe, as well as those between the Lower Elbe and the Ems, including the Prussian provinces of Prussia, Posen, Pomerania and Brandenburg, and the states of Mecklenburg, Hanover, Brunswick, Oldenburg and Hesse Cassel, contain an agricultural population; and, with the exception of Berlin, the occupations of the inhabitants of their towns are almost exclusively commercial. That such should be the case, lies quite in the nature of things. The population in these different countries, which are of immense extent, as their area is 77,200 English square miles, or nearly equal to England and Scotland taken together, averages 85, 95, to 110 inhabitants to the square mile,—Brandenburg alone amounting to 150 inhabitants per mile. Brandenburg is likewise the sole district which has manufactures, and these are mostly confined to the capital and the adjacent city of Potsdam. That however, in such parts of the districts here named as are not exposed to the action of counteracting circumstances, the disposition to manufacture must soon awaken, will be acknowledged, if we consider that the soil, to a large extent, is not fertile, (in some parts, especially in Hanover and Oldenburg, large tracts are almost uncultivable,) whereas the climate is very rude, the winter, especially, being highly rigorous. The countervailing causes which might encourage agricultural industry, are the demand for agricultural produce, oc-

casioned by the vicinity of these countries to the sea, with the facility of transport offered by the great rivers, and the effects of free trade, which would supply the inhabitants with the commodities they desire at a cheaper rate than they can manufacture them at. Both causes are in full or in partial operation, as we shall show, at the present moment. We proceed with our survey of the map.

The central German states, or those lying between the Belgian frontier and the Oder, including the states traversed by the chains of the Harz, Thuringian, Fichtel, Erz and Riesen mountains, with part of the Black Forest, are the manufacturing districts whose powers we shall submit to a closer examination immediately. These include the Prussian provinces of the Rhine, Westphalia, Saxony and Silesia, the Saxon Duchies, the kingdom of Saxony, part of Bavaria, of Wirtemberg, and of the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt, with the smaller states which lie within the district here pointed out.

The south of Germany is again, with few exceptions, agricultural, but under very different circumstances from the northern districts. The Grand Duchy of Hesse presents, in its Rhenish province, an instance of the great density which an agricultural population can attain under peculiar circumstances. The Rhine province of Hesse averages 393 inhabitants to the square mile, or almost half as much again as the average density of population in Ireland; and yet instead of distress we find nothing but prosperity and comfort, owing to the singularly fortunate position of the country. The soil, which is highly fertile, is assisted by the finest climate of Europe to produce in abundance and perfection every article of agricultural produce which its inhabitants require for consumption or for exportation. The Rhine forms its eastern boundary, and offers a cheap and constant means of communication with the sea on one side, and with Switzerland upon the other; while the vicinity of extensive manufacturing districts in Germany itself insures a ready sale and good remuneration to the diligent farmer. We may add, that the neighbourhood of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, with its large banking resources, and of Mayence, in which the carrying trade is well managed, contributes its share to the prosperity of this favoured spot. Wine of the choicest quality, fruit of

superior flavour, tobacco, and other valuable growths, swell the revenues of the province—a large portion of which was known in the middle ages by the name of the '*Wonnegau*,' or the '*Vale of Joy*.' The low lands of the province of Starkenburg, on the right bank of the Rhine, and the Grand Duchy of Baden, enjoy a large share of the advantages we have here enumerated, and in both agriculture is the main occupation of the people. Starkenburg has a mean density of 243, and Baden of 223 to the square mile, but the accumulation of inhabitants in the low lands is much greater; for the Oden and the Black Forest mountains, which stretch parallel to the Rhine through these two countries, are naturally but sparingly inhabited. At the same time we shall see that this vicinity of the mountains increases the tendency towards manufacturing industry. The same occurs in Wirtemberg, where the greater part of the country is mountainous, and the population of the valleys exceedingly dense, the whole kingdom averaging 212 to the square mile. The valleys of the Juxt and Neckar enjoy a fine climate, although inferior to that of the Maine and the Rhine. The part of Bavaria which lies to the south of the Danube being very elevated and exposed to the bleak winds from all sides, is, with the exception of the vale of the Danube itself, under great disadvantages, in point of climate, in comparison with the countries which we have just been considering. As, however, the population of the provinces, Upper and Lower Bavaria, do not average more than 116 per square mile (including the capital), and Suabia has but 190 inhabitants on the square mile, the density is by no means such as to exhaust the agricultural resources of the country. The valley of the Danube*, between Donauwerth and Passau, may be called the granary of Germany, or perhaps rather of Tyrol; for the superabundance of its crops wanders usually to the mountains, as the superfluous produce of the Rhenish districts goes to Switzerland.

What are, then, the true interests of the agricultural dis-

* Not the plain to the south of Munich, as is erroneously stated in the article BAVARIA in Mr. McCulloch's new Geographical Dictionary. Owing to the great elevation of the surface, and the length and severity of the winter, the cultivation of winter corn ceases altogether at a day's journey from Munich on the south side.

tricts which, as we have seen, from their vicinity to the sea on one side, and to the mountainous countries of Switzerland and Tyrol on the other, have markets for their superabundant produce? We have heard it urged, that England, which offered the readiest market for the corn of Pomerania and the territories bordering on the Baltic, had excluded their produce by the enactment of the corn bill. But before we can admit the force of this argument, it would be necessary to show that these countries really produced so great a quantity of corn as to be sufferers by this bill; or in other words, that they produce enough to supply *the demands of England after the bill came into operation*. The irregularity of the demand has nothing to do with its amount; and we contend that the production of these countries is but as a drop of water in the ocean when compared with the demand occasioned by short harvests (which usually come in succession) in England. Of course, the corn imported into the sea-ports from Poland and Russia, by the Vistula and by sea, must be excluded from the calculation, as not being Prussian or German produce, and having nothing to do with the question in its abstract shape between the two countries. The productive harvests from 1833 to 1837 rendered it unnecessary for us to import foreign corn; but in 1838 a demand arose, and instead of finding accumulated stocks in Germany to supply our wants, what was the state of things? Wheat, which the year before was worth 90 dollars per *last* at Hamburg, rose in September 1838 to 160 dollars; the prices quoted from Danzig in 1837 were 290 to 295 florins per *last*; in September 1838 they rose to 600 florins for fine wheat. This last-quoted Hamburg price is equivalent to 64*s.* per quarter; that from Danzig to 45*s.* per quarter, notwithstanding the increased supplies from Poland by the Vistula. It is likewise not difficult to account for this scarcity of supplies, as we have the authority of Humboldt and Jacobs on the production of the north of Germany, who estimate the average returns of the harvest at only six grains for one of seed. Add to this the expense of transport in a country but sparingly supplied with water-communications, and the fact that a constant demand from Sweden and Norway, and other corn-importing districts, takes off the stocks as soon as the price is low enough to bring these countries

into the market as purchasers, and we see upon what foundation the complaints of the north Germans rest. The English consumer has every right to complain that our corn laws prohibit his buying foreign wheat when it is to be had cheap; but surely the foreigner's complaints, that we insist upon buying his produce only when it grows dear, can scarcely excite compassion. He must, to substantiate such a grief, show that he is by this law discouraged from producing; but the demand is proved by the facts, as they stand, to be infinitely greater than he is able to supply*.

With regard to the southern states it may be remarked, that the vicinity of Switzerland and the Rhenish manufacturing districts keeps the price too high for any large quantity to remain disposable for exportation. In the monthly averages for the Rhine province, published by the Prussian government, the lowest price for wheat in September 1836, was 43 $\frac{1}{4}$ sil. gros at Cologne, and the highest 60 gros at Malmedy; the average of the province may thus be taken at 50 grost, about 25*s.* per quarter. As this was the average price of all qualities, the cost of freight and charges from Cologne to London, and the allowance for inferior quality, cannot be reckoned at less than 25*s.* per quarter, which would bring the price up to about the London prices at the time; but it must not be forgotten, that a demand for 100,000 quarters at that time would probably have doubled the price at Cologne. Wheat was selling at the same time at Munich at 10 florins per scheffel, or 22*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, in the most productive district of Germany, situated 600 miles more remote in the interior than Cologne. Nothing leads more easily astray than the bare quotation of a market-price in a country where capital is scarce. The market is, in such countries, glutted the moment the supply in the slightest degree exceeds the demand; whereas the short stocks kept on hand are soon exhausted when an unexpected call for them takes place, and then all the evils of scarcity are experienced. Were our corn

* The earnest opposition which we have never ceased to offer to the corn laws does not stop us from combating the very erroneous arguments sometimes made use of by their opponents.

† The Report gives the average for the Rhine province for 1836 at 52 gros per scheffel. Page 63.

trade confined to Germany alone, we should do wrong indeed to depend on foreign supplies, for they would assuredly not be forthcoming when required.

The accumulation of stocks in the German harbours would, however, in the present state of our corn laws, confer the most essential service on Great Britain, for their existence would operate as a check upon the rapid advance which always marks the epoch of anticipated scarcity, and would give time for the transporting of supplies from more distant parts. There is consequently nothing discouraging in our laws, which prevents production or speculation, but the reverse. The discouragement lies in the abstraction of capital from the legitimate branch of trade to manufactures artificially supported.

So far, then, from our corn laws having any tendency to exclude the produce of the German soil, it requires but a glance at the lists of imports and exports to see, that if Germany produced double the quantity which she now exports, it would all find a sale in England. The limit to the exportation of German corn does not lie in the operation of those laws, but in the competition of the Russian, Polish, Hungarian, and often of the American farmer, as from each of these countries wheat of better quality, and at a cheaper price, is procured for the English market. The total of our imports of wheat from Germany in 1837 amounted to 402,786 quarters, which, it must be remarked, included that stored at Hamburg and Bremen on speculation, and brought thither by sea, as well as the Polish supplies brought by the Vistula to Danzig and Elbing. In 1838 the total amount, including the same additions, was 863,268 quarters, of which Germany probably did not furnish more than 250,000 qrs. (the official details are not yet published), and of this quantity 110,000 qrs. were furnished by Mecklenburg. (Report, p. 136.) If it be asked, at what price Germany, with the aid of Poland and Russia, supplied this quantity, we shall find that the boasted abundance, the rejection of which is made a ground of complaint, and an excuse for commercial hostility, has a mere visionary existence.

Is not, then, the proper task of the German farmer here clearly pointed out? Is there not room for a great invest-

ment of capital, which is sure to bring in a good return? The addition of half a million of quarters to the stocks held in 1837 and 1838, would have made but little impression upon our hungry market*, or would at most have had the effect of displacing so much corn brought from a greater distance. But what advantage would such an addition to the produce of the soil have brought the German farmer? Valued at 40*s.* only, it would have repaid with 5 per cent. interest the investment of 25,000,000 of dollars in landed improvements during the five preceding years. If care and skill had been so applied as to improve the quality, so as to make it worth 50*s.* per quarter, the return would have been 6½ per cent., and the price obtained at Hamburgh was, as we have seen, 64*s.* per quarter. Has this amount of capital, we may ask, been invested in manufactures with equal advantage to the speculator and the country? †

Again, had the capital which has been abstracted from agriculture, in which it is thus sure of an ample remuneration, been allowed its free course, and the farmer permitted to draw his tools from that quarter where he finds them best and cheapest, would this in no way have augmented his gains? Had the means of transport, which in their present imperfect state detract so much from the value of the produce of the soil, been improved, would there have been no additional saving to the country? Had the labourers whom the land-owner employs, as well as his own family, been allowed to clothe themselves cheaply, would not all have been benefited

* The quantities of corn imported by Great Britain between the 1st July 1837 and the same date in 1840, are as follows :—

	Wheat. Qrs.	Barley. Qrs.	Oats. Qrs.
From July 1st, 1838.	226,587	2,494	308,214
1839.	3,223,510	224,348	55,694
To July 1st, 1840.	1,523,312	899,768	850,481

in addition to 1,590,468 cwt. of American flour, 160,704 qrs. of rye, 265,875 qrs. of peas, 287,894 qrs. of beans, and 2889 qrs. of buckwheat. The Augsburg Gazette, from a correspondence article of which the above details are taken, estimates the value of the corn purchased by England in these two years on the Continent at £18,000,000. Does not this leave room enough for Germany to take her share?

† M. Osiander, whose reasoning on commercial policy is worthy of serious attention on the part of his countrymen, estimates the profits of the Swiss manufacturers, from private sources of information, at 7½ per cent. Manufactures, he justly remarks, can at the present day be only looked upon in the light of an investment of capital.—“*Ueber den Handelsverkehr der Völker.*”

by the change? The price paid by England is not measured by the expense of production or of transport in cases where the supply is so limited, but by the cost of obtaining grain from the most distant and the least favourably situated soils, from which it is to be had in abundance. Every saving, therefore, effected by the German farmer in these two important points, would have been clear gain to him. Had the capital which has been prematurely applied to the establishment of manufactures, been vested in improvements in the means of transport, the country would have derived the double advantage of a present saving, as well as of a prospective gain, when the circumstances, which, as we have seen, are rapidly bringing on the necessity to manufacture, were ripe for such a consummation.

Let us now see how the manufacturing districts are furnished with, and how they use their means. The two great desiderata for manufactures are labourers and capital. The labouring power which a manufacturing country can command, is in direct proportion to the density of its population. A glance at the statistical tables published by M. Hoffmann, the director of the statistical board at Berlin, will suffice to show the condition of Prussia as regards labouring population. The most populous portion of all Germany is the circle of Elberfeld, in the Prussian province of the Rhine, which contains 883 inhabitants to the English square mile, or considerably more than the average of Lancashire. We should, however, do very wrong if we compared the two, for this circle has only an extent of 116 English square miles; and if we add the adjoining circles, which are also populous, although in a less degree, we find that the density is reduced to 362 per square mile for the government of Düsseldorf, which corresponds nearly in extent with the county of Norfolk. The mean density of population of this government is equal, however, to that of Staffordshire; consequently, were we to compare Elberfeld and Barmen, which have together 55,000 inhabitants, with any English manufacturing town, it would be with Stoke-upon-Trent, which in 1831 had 52,000 inhabitants. The average density of the circles of Solingen and Lennep, which are the seat of the steel manufactures of that part of Germany, is 504 inhabitants per square mile, which

is equal to that of some of our considerable manufacturing districts; but the extent of these two circles does not much exceed that of the county of Rutland. The government of Aix la Chapelle, the seat of the woollen manufacture of Western Germany, is about equal in extent to the county of Suffolk; and as its mean density of population is about the same with that of Suffolk at present (229 to the square mile), it would be an egregious error to compare the labouring powers of the population of Aix, which has 38,800 inhabitants, with Halifax or Bradford; for although the county of York averaged in 1831 only 230 to the square mile, yet it is nearly three times as extensive as the government in question. Berlin, into which some thriving manufactures have been introduced, contains with the environs 265,000 inhabitants, and is consequently more populous than Manchester; but Lancashire averages 753 inhabitants to the square mile; and the four adjacent circles to Berlin, Prenzlau, Templin, Angermünde and Ober Barnim, which are about equal to Lancashire in area, average with the capital only 221 to the square mile; so that the two would admit of no comparison, even if the various occupations peculiar to a capital, and which are incompatible with manufactures, be left altogether out of the question.

The next important manufacturing district of Prussia is that portion of the province of Silesia which lies between the Oder and the Riesen mountains. Linen-weaving forms a part of the occupations of every peasant in this province, and the quantity produced annually is very great. The population is pretty equally divided over the surface in the following proportions:—

Government of Breslau,	191 per square mile,	city of Breslau,	88,869.
——— Oppeln,	154	ditto,	town of Neisse, 10,787.
——— Liegnitz,	156	ditto,	town of Görlitz, 13,670.

The density of population in this province is consequently not more than that of some of our agricultural counties, as for instance Hampshire, Wiltshire, or Norfolk, and thus Breslau would stand parallel with Norwich for command of labouring power. In the province of Saxony we find again a dense population:—

Government of Erfurt	232	per square mile.
———— Merseburg	160	ditto.
———— Magdeburg	132	ditto.

The government of Erfurt thus corresponds with Somersetshire, to which county it is nearly equal in size; and in which Erfurt, with 24,308 inhabitants, may be compared with the manufacturing part of Bath, and Mühlhausen, with 12,000 inhabitants, with Frome.

Westphalia has the following proportions:—

Government of Minden	202	per square mile.
———— Münster	163	ditto.
———— Arnsberg	142	ditto.

The government of Minden is again equal to Norfolk in extent and in density of population; its two largest towns are Paderborn and Minden, each with 7900 inhabitants. The circle of Bielefeld, 106 square miles in extent, counts more than 400 inhabitants upon the square mile.

The next manufacturing state of importance in Germany is the kingdom of Saxony, in which we find a very dense population upon a soil partly mountainous, but in part productive. The circle of Dresden, 1676 square miles in extent, averages 256 souls to the mile; Leipzig, 1344 square miles, has 280; Zwickau, 1793 square miles, 208; Lusatia, 969 square miles, 284; and the estates of Count Schönburg, 143 square miles, average 473 souls to the mile. Saxony has but few large towns. The manufacturing population dwells chiefly in small market-towns or villages, containing from 1500 to 5000 inhabitants. Chemnitz is the largest of these towns, with 21,140 inhabitants; Zwickau has but 6410. This dispersion is in part a natural consequence of the abundance of water power; but is likewise partly owing to the circumstance that the stocking and other hand-loom weaving, which is done by the labourer in his own home, does not make it indispensable for him to reside in the immediate neighbourhood of his employer. The same dispersion of the manufacturing inhabitants is met with and is occasioned by the same causes in the Thuringian states, and the small principalities of Reuss, Anhalt, and Rudolstadt, which are covered by the mountainous tracts situated between the Elbe, the Saale and the Werra. In the valleys of the Maine, the Regnitz, and other streams

of more gentle current which traverse Franconia, the population is more collected into towns. Here we find Nürnberg, Fürth, Ansbach, Bamberg, Baireuth, Würzburg, towns of 15,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, while the average density of the three provinces of Upper, Lower and Middle Franconia, is 218, 191 and 157 to the square mile respectively. Thus Middle Franconia, 2619 square miles, is about equal in extent and population to Northumberland and Durham taken together, and Nürnberg stands consequently in a parallel with Sunderland. Of that portion of Bavaria which lies to the southward of the Danube, manufacturing industry of any importance is only found in Augsburg, a town which has 30,000 inhabitants, and in which there are some large establishments.

In point of the number of disposable hands, the labouring powers of the manufacturing districts of Germany are therefore not inconsiderable. But two other conditions must be fulfilled in order to ensure the success of factories on a large scale. The labourers must be skilful, and by the judicious employment of capital their work must be applied in the most advantageous manner. In those towns in which, as we have seen, manufactures have been carried on for a series of years, the population may be supposed to have attained some skill, or at all events to possess a disposition to learn. Great impediments are, however, thrown in the manufacturer's way by the police and municipal institutions of the greater part of Germany. Men looking for work are usually allowed to remain in the towns only a few days, and if they do not succeed in finding employment, are ordered off by the police, even when they have committed no act of vagrancy. The manufacturer, therefore, if not pressed by combinations and other immoral conduct on the part of his men, is still deprived of that stimulus which competition lends to rouse the indolent and careless to attention and exertion, and he is altogether too dependent upon such workmen as have acquired the handicraft arts which ensure equality and regularity in their work. It is too with great difficulty that a labourer is admitted to settlement in any town or village, not even excepting that in which he was born; but the right to settlement in which goes with the inheritance of house and land.

The constant emigration, therefore, which annually take place from Germany, has a different effect from that which proceeds from England, and may more fitly be compared with the Irish emigration. The country does not get rid of such as have a decided prepossession to agricultural life, which has stood the test of an invitation to urbane occupations, and perhaps even a trial of manufacturing labour, which has proved unsuccessful. The remaining workmen are consequently not such as have distinguished themselves by superior skill or other advantages of which they can better avail themselves at home, and who thus form a body sifted, if we may use the term, by the process of actual probation, and annually improving in aptitude and discipline. Families leave the agricultural districts of Germany often before they are pressed by actual want, but repelled by the existing laws from trying their fortunes in the manufacturing districts; or scared by their repugnance to encounter the plagues and insolence which they have to expect at the hands of every fresh commissary of police or district magistrate, whose formidable tribunal they have to pass before they can offer their services to the manufacturer. This difficulty of removing from place to place we have often heard complained of by manufacturers; and were such restrictions by any chance to be introduced into England, they would soon destroy the prosperity of our factories*.

Other not less serious inconveniences are suffered by the industrious classes from the manner in which the governments take upon themselves to regulate the minutest details of municipal arrangements. We remember to have seen an order of the king in council, dated from Berlin, fixing the number of brokers to be allowed to carry on business at Cologne. In many German states, the permission to erect a new machine, or to introduce an improved method of manufacturing, must pass through all the stages of the ministerial bureaux up to the royal or ducal cabinet, before a spe-

* In Heunisch's description of the Grand Duchy of Baden, the number of police cases tried in 1832 is stated to be 23,269, out of which 3377 are for irregularity in passports, and 1024 for giving lodging to travellers without complying with the established regulations. Baden has 1,263,100 inhabitants, and its institutions are considered liberal in Germany.

culator is allowed to venture his capital, in an attempt of which the risk falls solely upon himself.

These serious grievances for a country struggling to improve its industrial resources, have for the most part their origin in a dread of pauperism, and a fear of the difficulty of managing a poor population condensed in towns. They are, however, so important, that it is a question whether all that the German governments have done in the way of establishing polytechnic institutions and schools of design is not more than counterbalanced by the loss which they entail upon the national industry. A reform of the police and municipal systems in this respect would be a material step towards improving the condition of the manufacturer, and would be more efficacious than the imposition of protecting duties. As these laws now stand, two demoralizing and paralyzing arrangements are brought at once to counteract his exertions; the one impeding and restricting his movements, while the other enervates him by exempting him from competition. One effect of these restrictive laws we do not remember to have seen noticed in any work treating of commercial legislation; they act upon trade in a country in a manner similar to an abstraction of capital from the trader, for they lessen the number of tradesmen, and by depriving the public of the benefits of competition, diminish the consumption, by which the manufacturer is ultimately the sufferer. Any casual traveller who will take the trouble of inquiring, can satisfy himself of the enormous profits and lax manner of conducting business which the retail tradesmen in the greater number of German towns allow themselves,—a state of things which has recently received encouragement from the modification of the Prussian municipal system, which at one time was comparatively liberal. The protection which is thus supposed to be extended to the shopkeeper, is justified on the ground of the heavy industry-tax which he is called upon to pay. The effect of these restrictions in reducing the number and lessening the stocks of shopmen and dealers, is to close the market prematurely both against the foreign merchant and the home manufacturer, and obliges the latter to seek foreign customers, and become an exporter before his countrymen are supplied at home. Having from long observation satisfied ourselves that this picture of the

state of trade on the Continent generally, but especially in Germany, is not overdrawn, we on that account rejected, as proof of the home market's being supplied with goods, the fact of an exportation, however extensive. The consumer in many cases is not able to profit by the low price at which the manufacturer can afford to sell, on account of the vicious construction of the trading arrangements which ought to mediate between the two, but which thus interpose a fresh obstacle in addition to the many with which the manufacturer has to combat.

Our hasty sketch of the geographical position of the agricultural and manufacturing districts within the Prussian Customs league, and the details there given respecting the population in comparison with the productive powers of the density of the land, make it evident, that the period when the occupation of surplus hands in manufactures becomes unavoidable, has some time been attained by many German states. In fact, history shows that the necessity of this transition had been felt and was acted upon in all the districts we have named, long before the Customs league was thought of. The largest cotton printing establishment in Augsburg has been established and managed by members of the same family, for more than one hundred years. The foundation of the woollen manufactures in the neighbourhood of Aix la Chapelle dates from the epoch of the revolution of the Edict of Nantes, when the industrious Protestants of France took refuge in Belgium and Germany. The inventions of the mechanics of Nürenberg in the middle ages are well known, among which were bell-casting and wire-drawing. Elberfeld and Barmen have been the seats of cotton and silk manufactures, as well as of those of linen laces and tapes, since the middle of the last century. On the occasion of a visit of the elector palatine, Charles Theodore, in 1767, the authorities of those towns presented him with a list of 33,900 persons who were then employed in the manufacture of cotton and linen wares, which may be found in M. Knapp's statistical description of those two towns. The sword and cutlery manufactures at Solingen and in its neighbourhood were established as early as the fifteenth century, from which time the privileges of the guilds of sword-cutlers, grinders, and other branches

of the trade date. In Saxony, the cotton manufacture at Chemnitz belongs to the oldest of the kind in Europe. The elector Augustus introduced it into his dominions in 1580, and in 1680 there were eighty looms at work at Chemnitz alone. The first printing establishment was opened in the middle of the last century; and in 1803 Chemnitz manufactured between 60,000 and 70,000 pieces of cotton. Zwickau was originally the seat of the woollen manufacture, which has since been attracted to other spots. In 1697 Zwickau counted 165 master cloth-weavers. The silk manufacture in Germany is the only extensive branch of absolutely modern date, and, as was before remarked, has been materially favoured by the high price of cotton goods; besides that, it is well suited to the description of hand labour for which Germany has many advantages. Thus the merit of calling manufactures into existence by no means belongs to the Zoll Verein, which on the contrary may be shown to have materially strengthened the difficulties with which many naturally profitable branches of industry in Germany have had to contend.

Distance is an inconvenience in commercial dealings of the highest importance. How cheap soever the means of transport may be rendered, yet the loss of time in the interchange of goods, the tediousness of correspondence, the delay in releasing locked-up capital, the greater proportion of casualties incident to a long journey over a short one, all operate as infallible checks upon trade. In manufacturing speculations, especially in such as depend upon a quick return and speedy renewal of the stock, they often give so decided a superiority, as to render competition impracticable where they exist. This is less the case in regard to agricultural produce. The crop comes but once a year, and must be made to last to the year's end. If communications, therefore, are at all practicable, the agriculturist need not reject them because they are not the speediest; and water-carriage, which is the slowest mode of transport, is for his purpose the most advantageous, because the least expensive. A great deal therefore remains to be done in the north of Germany, to improve and extend the water communications.

The very moderate productivity of the soil is a consideration of great weight in the calculation of distance in Germany. The greatest part of the produce is consumed upon the spot,

and the stock for exportation consists of small savings scattered over a vast extent of country. A great deal of land-carriage is thus almost inevitable, even when the best system of canalization shall be adopted; and the full force of Mr. Jacob's calculations respecting the expense of carriage of corn, will, even under the most favourable circumstances, be unavoidably felt by the producer. The northern parts of Germany are, however, well adapted to the construction of canals. The country is so level, that Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Brandenburg and Posen, besides being traversed by some of the largest rivers of Europe, are overspread with countless lakes or large sheets of water, which, at a comparatively small outlay of money, might be united by small cuts, which would create the most extensive inland navigation out of Holland. But both to effect these cuts, and to fill them with vessels and skippers, capital is wanted, and is at present not to be had. Are then the Pomeranians, and the inhabitants of the other districts circumstanced as we have described, gainers by the present commercial policy of Prussia? Would not the same canal, which serves to export the produce of the soil at a greater profit to the landowner, likewise bring him in foreign articles of necessity, of luxury and refinement, at a cheaper rate than he can now buy them? Would he not be doubly a gainer by this mode of employing capital?

But let us look a little closer into the state of the communications in the north of Germany.

The Prussian coast of the Baltic sea has a length of nine degrees of longitude from the western extremity of Pomerania to Memel, or, following its sinuosities, of about 800 English miles. Along this line we find eight harbours, which carry on a pretty extensive foreign trade, Memel, Königsberg, Danzig, Elbing, Colberg, Stettin, Stralsund, and Greifswalde. Three of these only have a water-communication with the interior by means of the Vistula and the Oder.

The Oder is navigable from the heart of Silesia, and receives the Warta and the Neisse from the province of Posen, and the latter river is connected by the Bromberg canal with the Vistula. The Oder is at two points connected with the Havel in the province of Brandenburg, and the Havel communicates with the lakes of Mecklenburg and with the Elbe, which forms the boundary of the provinces of Brandenburg

and Saxony. The lengths of all these rivers added together make a formidable sum of navigable lines; yet so great is the scale of the distances between the lines, that we see the most striking inconveniences arise from the difficulty of communication. This is strongly exemplified in the monthly lists of the average prices of corn published by the Prussian government, in which the difference in price, not between the different provinces, but between different towns in the same province, is very remarkable.

TABLE OF CORN PRICES IN PRUSSIA.

Official publication of the Monthly Averages of the Price of Corn in the Kingdom of Prussia.

Calculated in Silver Gros per Prussian Scheffel.

FOR NOVEMBER 1836.				
Province.	Towns.	Wheat.	Towns.	Rye.
Prussia	Rastenburg	31 $\frac{1}{4}$	Neidernburg	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Konitz	45	Memel	29
Posen	Posen	38 $\frac{1}{2}$	Kempen	20
	Fraustadt	44	Bromberg	26
Brandenburg and } Pomerania	Stolpe	41	Lausberg	27
	Kottbus	44	Kottbus	37
Silesia	Ratibor	32	Ratibor	16
	Görlitz	57	Görlitz	30
Saxony	Halberstadt	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	Halle	26
	Mülhausen	46 $\frac{1}{4}$	Torgau	33
Westphalia	Münster	40 $\frac{1}{4}$	Münster	32
	Dortmünd	48 $\frac{1}{4}$	Dortmünd	39
Rhine Province ...	Cologne	43 $\frac{1}{4}$	Cologne	34
	Malmedy	60 $\frac{1}{4}$	Saarbruck	46
FOR JUNE 1840.				
Prussia	Rastenburg	88	Niedernburg	29
	Danzig	61	Rastenburg	51
Posen	Kempen	61	Posen	34
	Rawisch	79	Rawisch	42
Brandenburg and } Pomerania	Kottbus	71	Kottbus	47
	Stolpe	86	Stolpe	31
Silesia	Ratibor	52	Schweidnitz	40
	Görlitz	77	Görlitz	48
Saxony	Nordhausen	61	Nordhausen	43
	Stendal	79	Torgau	49
Westphalia	Paderborn	73	Minden	46
	Dortmünd	83	Dortmünd	64
Rhine Province ...	Wetzlar	81	Kleve	55
	Malmedy	100	Saarbruck	81

Were such variations found in various parts of our empire at the same moment, would there not be a constant flow from the parts abundantly supplied to those where scarcity prevailed? nor would it be possible for such a state of things to continue through so many years, as we here see is the case.

It will take but little calculation to show the effect of great distances with imperfect means of inland communication upon the manufacturing interests of Germany. Hamburg is the principal port for the importation of cotton. In Baron von Reden's interesting description of Hanover, we find the maximum time required for a barge to go up the Elbe to Magdeburg calculated, when there is sufficient water, at 10 to 14 days. The voyage to Dresden takes from 24 to 28 days, and when the wind is unfavourable, can last two months. In the interval, therefore, in which the manufacturer receives the raw material in Prussian Saxony, a Manchester spinner has turned his floating capital twice; and in the period in which the spinner at Chemnitz is supplied, he has turned it four times over. If we add to this inconvenience the want of the same facilities for sale, the difficulty of transacting banking business and arranging credits at places so distant from the shipping and manufacturing places as the great banking stations in Germany,—Leipzig, Frankfort and Augsburg—are, we shall not be surprised at finding that, notwithstanding the nominal cheapness of labour in Germany, the manufacturers there find it impossible to compete with those of England and Scotland.

We have seen the effect of these disadvantages for the first time fully stated in a candid, and in every respect interesting comparison between the cost and production of a Scotch and a Saxon spinning-factory, contained in a work recently published on the manufacturing industry of Saxony*. The detailed expenses of labour, cost of management, repairs of machinery, etc., are all shown to be in favour of the continental manufacturer; and yet the English spinner, from the rapidity with which he turns his capital, can spin for one-third of the price at which the Saxon can afford to produce (*p. 6*). We recommend this work particularly to all who desire

* *Die industriellen Zustände Sachsens.* 1840, Chemnitz.

study the state of manufacturing industry in Germany, but especially the article upon cotton manufactures, which is from the pen of a practical man. The author reckons amongst the disadvantages with which the continental spinner has to contend,—first, the want of skill in the workmen, which the competition in England has carried to so high a pitch; secondly, the higher price which the German spinner must pay for all advances of capital; thirdly, the distance which he has to draw his supplies from the sea-coast, and the loss of time in turning his capital.

The conclusion this writer comes to is the common one of the advocates of the Zoll Verein, and natural enough in a manufacturer engaged in so unprofitable a concern, *viz.* that the public should be forced to help him out of the scrape, by the imposition of a higher duty upon English yarn and twist, without which he declares that it is impossible for the German manufacturer to compete with ours, and we believe this to be the truth. Whether, however, raising the duty is likely to afford the German spinners the aid which they seek, is a matter liable to some doubt; as the rise of price, on which they calculate for relief, must infallibly cause a diminution of the demand, which the prices that have hitherto prevailed have, as we have seen, kept stationary. The immediate effects of such a measure must be two-fold. In the first place, more encouragement will be held out to invest capital in spinning factories, and the competition at home will be increased, while this capital will be abstracted from channels in which it could more legitimately be employed; as, for instance, in improving the means of communication, or in serving as floating capital in the banker's hands, to extend the powers both of the manufacturer and the merchant. Secondly, the foreign trader is excluded from contributing the aid of his capital to promote industrial exertions in Germany.

Upon this latter point we would lay peculiar stress, as it involves the most important position in the reduction of the principles of political economy to practice, especially as it must form the basis of all legislation on the subject of international trade. We can conceive no justification of any restriction upon trade between two nations, until it can be proved, *that the sum of the productions of those two countries*

equal the sum of the demand in both. As we have the authority of the first writers upon this subject for supposing an over-production or general glut to be an event not coming within the bounds of probability, we might rest satisfied with the general consequence, that restrictions are usually hurtful. We will, however, go further, and allow that such may happen to be the case; that France and England, or Germany and England, may, taken together, produce more than the inhabitants of the two countries can consume. We must, however, premise, that for the decision of this point, we appeal altogether from the fact of there being an exportation of commodities from any given country, as by no means proving that the demands of the consuming population in that country are satisfied. The exportation of goods depends upon the price they bear abroad, and not upon the state of the country which sends them out, as is sufficiently proved by the necessity for restricting the exportation of corn in districts where there is a scarcity of food, since not even the duty of furnishing his starving countrymen with the first necessities of life, will keep the speculator from following his profits to a distant market.

How is the question, then, to be decided, when the demands of the consumer are satisfied? We do not think it so essential to discover a means of ascertaining this fact, as it is to observe those tokens of a state of things which are incompatible with a full supply. One of these symptoms must be the inequality in the consumption of the prime articles of necessity or of decency in the two countries; and to the ascertaining of this standard, the attention of persons engaged in statistical studies has long been directed. When the supply is fully equal to the demand, we may be sure that there will be a tendency to a relative equality in consumption, modified only by the differences of climate and habits, which are too striking not to be allowed for in every calculation of the kind. Now how does the consumption of many chief articles, which has been ascertained in England and in Germany, stand with respect to each other? We extract the following items from the report (*p.* 29), which are taken from Hoffmann's last statistical view of the population of Prussia, and from Dieterici's work:—

"An estimate, grounded on the consumption of 124 towns of the league, gives as the yearly consumption per head, 65½ lbs. of wheat and 240½ lbs. of rye, making in the whole 306 lbs. There is an enormous disproportion in the consumption of different places; as, for example, Rogassen, in Posen, consumes, on a yearly average, per individual, 93 lbs.; Oels, in Silesia, 192½ lbs.; Berlin, 268½ lbs.; Spandau, 472½ lbs.; while Ehrenbreitstein (a fortress) consumes 1128½ lbs. Of the provinces, East Prussia is the smallest average consumer, viz. 238½ lbs. per individual, and Saxony the largest, viz. 343 lbs. per head; but throughout the states, the consumption of rye to wheat is in the proportion of 3 to 1. The estimated produce of corn of all sorts in the states of the league is about 65 millions of scheffels, or less than 13 millions of quarters; and the average home consumption is $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole quantity produced.

"The estimate of yearly consumption of butchers' meat per annum in 1837 in Prussia was—

Beef . . .	220 million lbs.
Veal . . .	81 " "
Mutton . .	80 " "
Pork . . .	104 " "
	<hr/>
	485 " "

giving to each individual 34½ lbs., and to each family of five persons, 172 lbs. per annum. This allows each family only 3½ lbs. per week! In the larger towns, the consumption is about 100 lbs. yearly per individual. How confined, then, must the use of butchers' meat be in the rural districts! *Its unfrequency serves to explain how savings can be laid aside out of wages so low as prevail in the manufacturing districts of Prussia.*

"In Great Britain, the consumption of sugar is estimated at 17½ lbs. annually per head; in France, at 4½ lbs. per head; in the states of the league, 3½ lbs.; and in the rest of Europe, 2½ lbs. per head. In 1836, there were 66 beet-root sugar manufactories in the states of the league, whose produce was estimated at 1500 tons. There were 86 sugar refineries, of which 74 in Prussia, and 12 in the other states of the Union; and it will be seen by the table in the Appendix XI., that the consumption of raw sugar has more than doubled from 1832 (when it was 451,652 cwt.) to 1836, when it amounted to 986,809 cwt. In the Rhine provinces, the consumption has nearly trebled, viz. from 70,350 cwt. in 1832, to 203,161 cwt. in 1836.

"Of butter, while the yearly consumption in England is not more than 1 lb. per head, and throughout Europe 1½ lb. per head, it is 2½ lbs. in the states of the league. In 1823, the consumption was 1½ lb. per head. The average imports for the years 1830–31, were 252,800 cwt. The import for 1836 was 487,398 cwt.

"The amount of pepper imported in 1832 was 7313 cwt. The import for 1836 was 16,463 cwt.; so that the annual consumption has increased from 0.52 oz. to 1.14 oz.*

* The consumption of coffee in Germany has been by some estimated to amount to four times the quantity consumed in Great Britain.

"Of tea, while the consumption in Great Britain is more than a p yearly per head, in the states of the league it is not a quarter of an o The whole imports of 1836 were 3150 cwt.

"The consumption of tobacco is estimated at about 45 millions of making more than 3 lbs. per head, while in Great Britain it is less 1 lb. The importation into the states of the league in 1836 was 167 cwt., the duty on tobacco in Great Britain being 3s. per lb., and in states of the league, 16s. 6d. per cwt.

"Of salt, the annual consumption in the Prussian states is about millions of lbs., being an average of 16.34 lbs. per individual, whi nearly 6 lbs. less than the average British consumption. • • • • •

"The annual consumption of spirits in the Prussian states is estim to average 8½ quarts per head. In Westphalia, the consumption is 3.7 quarts, while in Brandenburg, including Berlin, it is 14 quarts. Great Britain, the consumption of spirits is in the proportion of 5 to 1 compared with Prussia*."—Report, page 29.

To this statement we add the following comparative quantities:—

Imported.	Great Britain.	German League.
1835—Rice, clean.....	294,538 cwt.	86,470 cwt.
1836— " "	186,826 "	90,756 "
1835— " in husk...	302,321 bushels	—
1836— " " ...	258,787 "	—
1835—Cocoa	2,118,756 lbs.	504,336 lbs.
1836— "	2,788,224 "	526,512 "

The population of the states forming the Prussian league amounted in 1838 to 28,048,970 souls, and consequently exceeded the population of Great Britain. In the use of the various articles, which are generally taken to indicate the state of a nation's prosperity, we therefore find great reason for a change before anything like equality in the state of the inhabitants of the two countries can be assumed. On the face of the Report in general, it is evident, that in the consumption of manufactured articles, there can be no comparison drawn between them. It would, therefore, be an useless consumption of the reader's time to accumulate proof of the inequality of supply, and of the material condition of the bulk of the people. But until this inequality disappears and until there is an evident surplus of production above the reasonable demand for articles of necessity and comfort, restrictions upon trade, which are nothing but prohibiti

* Berghaus corrects this statement, which, he says, expresses only the quantities manufactured in each province.

issued against the co-operation of foreign labourers and capitalists, must be directly injurious to the inhabitants of every country; and in countries where so much is done for the mental cultivation of all classes of the inhabitants, as we know to be the case in Germany, the difference in the material comforts which all classes of society can command, as compared with those at the command of the same classes in England, may be unhesitatingly assumed to be an artificial one, and solely caused by the existing restrictions upon trade.

This, then, is the price which Germany pays for the honour and glory of manufacturing. Notwithstanding the high remuneration offered for their superfluous produce by the capricious legislation of England and France, the Germans cannot accumulate capital, or can only do so by the slowest degrees, because the governments choose to prescribe a mode of supplying the people with the other necessities of life, which consumes the gain. The manufacturer, who is called upon to take up the artificial post pointed out to him by this arbitrary process, is continually disquieted by the unceasing efforts made by the consuming population to shake off his oppressive yoke. His calculations of profit, too, having rather been made according to the numbers and wants of his anticipated customers, than founded upon the means at their disposal, turn out in most cases to be illusory, and he has no resource but to appeal to the government who led him astray, to lend him fresh protection at the expense of the public at large. The demand of an increased duty on yarn, which we before alluded to, was occasioned by a detailed remonstrance addressed to the Saxon government by the spinners of that country in May 1839, and which is given at full in the work which we before quoted. The first consequence of this increase of protection would have been, as we have before said, distress amongst the printers, who must then apply for their share of assistance*. The commissioners of future congresses might evade all responsibility on similar occasions, if they would only require, in the reports submitted to them, the insertion of a single, but most important item, viz.

* *Industrielle Zustände Sachsens.* Austria more wisely reduced the duty upon British yarn some years back.

the proof that the imposition of the new duty demanded would reduce the price, and consequently increase the consumption of the articles in question. As it now stands, we cannot see how the imposition of a duty which would manifestly raise the price, could procure the spinners and printers more employment.

Let us suppose two countries, whose mutual production manifestly surpassed the demands of the inhabitants of both. We may take, for instance, Jamaica and Great Britain. As both now become exporting countries, it is evident that, by equal amount of productions, the balance of trade will be in favour of that country which has the greatest command of capital, of ships, of merchants, and other facilities. Would it not appear absurd if the country which had the fewest resources of this description at its command, rejected the offer of aid from the merchants of the other, who were desirous of furnishing the supplies of which the other country stood in need? And yet this was the position of all the countries of Europe previous to the conclusion of the late treaties for reciprocal treatment of the shipping of different countries.

If we apply this same principle to the manufacturing interests, we find the speediest means of destroying the inequality, now but too visible, in the condition of the people in the different countries of Europe. As no country will use foreign ships, solely in consequence of the treaty permitting it to do so, when once its own shipping is capable of answering its demands, so no foreign produce will be imported into a country whose manufacturers are able to supply its wants with wares of equal quality and cheapness. This is the step which the friends of free trade are desirous of seeing taken; and it is with the interval which must elapse before Germany can stand upon a par with England, that we have to deal.

We have in several places alluded to the difficulty of procuring advances of capital experienced by the manufacturer, and the high price which he has to pay for this convenience. In a country like Germany, where ready money is not abundant, there are so many ways of employing it advantageously, that nothing approaching to the sums of which the English manufacturer can dispose are to be looked for. Add to this the extremely well-arranged routine of English country bank-

ing, the assistance afforded by the Bank of England, the better condition of credit in towns situated so near each other, as is the case with the great commercial towns of England; the rapidity of correspondence, the facility of travelling, and the prevalence of one system of laws and customs throughout the same land, as contrasted with the variety and conflicting nature of the usages in the different German states*, and we shall find that it is perfectly impossible for the banker to be as confident and as liberal abroad as he is with us. Credit, which is everywhere a plant of delicate growth, is under these circumstances of a peculiarly tender nature; and the few towns, whose citizens, by scrupulous adherence to good old maxims of trade, have raised their exchanges to marts for the circulation of acceptances and drafts, form a most important feature in the commercial view of Germany. The first of these important staples for the main-spring of commercial activity is undoubtedly Hamburg: Leipzig ranks next; after which Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Augsburg, Cologne, Breslau, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and Naumburg follow.

Nor are these exchanges of less use to foreign merchants than to the country over which they are so sparingly scattered; and, could their number be doubled, the increased activity which this augmentation of facilities for credit and correspondence would lend to trade, would be in a far greater than a double ratio. A diminution of their number would consequently be a misfortune of far more than a local nature; nor (to use a recent example) could any one at all acquainted with the nature of trade, and consequently able to appreciate the importance of the element of distance in the effects which we have ascribed to it, ever find consolation for the annihilation of Cracow, in the increasing prosperity of Hamburg, or even of Danzig. The trading and agricultural interests can no more be separated from those of the manufacturer, than the arms can from the body, nor can any rapid progress take place in the one without a corresponding development in the others, proportioned to the nature of the circumstances. It would carry us beyond the just limits of an article of this

* In Nürenberg and some other commercial towns, bills drawn are only accepted fourteen days before their falling due, which is a great drawback in their negotiation.

nature, were we to enter more fully, as might easily be done into the expansion of which the banking business is susceptible in Germany; but the general indications which have given will bear us out in the view of the question we have taken.

If, then, our argument be the right one, it follows that German manufacturer will feel the various evils of distaste and want of capital less, as the article he produces requires the least to change hands; in other words, the department of finishing must be that best suited to the circumstance of the country. Thus, printing must pay better than weaving and weaving better than spinning; a fact which we see proved by the increased importation of twist into the states of the league, while the quantity of raw cotton imported remains stationary. In fact, not one half of the looms, and not one third of the printing establishments, could go on without the aid of English yarn and cloths; and the more the aid of English capitalist is courted by a low duty, the more the manufacturers of Germany will be able to sell at home and to export. The less investment of capital required by any branch of trade, the greater are the advantages on the German side. All hand-loom weaving, printing by hand, and whatever operations can be performed by individual workmen at their present low rate of wages, they must excel in. Proofs of this are afforded by the stocking-weavers of Saxony, and by the silk-weavers, although the latter have received no small support from the high price of fine cotton wares. In the same way, in block-cutting and pattern-moulding, the cheapness of wood, the good arrangement of the schools of design, and the impossibility of applying machinery to a great part of this description of labour, gives them decided advantages over England; and notwithstanding the dependence of the printers upon France for patterns, they are able to do comparative good business, as is proved by the exportation of Saxon and Swiss prints. The advantage of possessing many mines in their mountain tracts, allows of the preparation of colours and chemical agents, of which there are many excellent manufactures. The advantages in this respect would be greatly increased if a friendly understanding were come to with Austria, the riches of the mountain-chains which traverse that country.

try are unbounded, and now comparatively neglected. Closely connected with these products is that of glass, especially of coloured glass and imitation gems. Optical glasses, which are especially made of superior quality in Bavaria, would undoubtedly be in much greater demand in England than they now are, if the price were reduced. Beaten metal, or foils for looking-glasses, are said to be more advantageously worked by hand than by machinery, and form a great article of manufacture in the neighbourhood of Nürnberg. Wooden wares for domestic and other uses, an article of almost unlimited demand where they are to be had cheap; cast-iron ornaments, such as are made at Berlin and in the Harz mountains; gloves, embroidery, and the thousand articles of handicraft industry which are extensively consumed in a wealthy country, might be taken by us from Germany on easy terms, in exchange for those manufactures which machines and capital give us facilities for producing.

We have been careful here to enumerate branches of manufacture which are extensively carried on in Germany, and for which the people have a predilection, because many of them can be combined with small agricultural operations; besides which, no prejudices exist on the part of the working classes against a reciprocal trade in things of this kind. There is an inherent disposition in the German workman to maintain himself independently, from which many advantages may be drawn with due attention, both for the state and for his individual happiness.

In a recent excursion through the manufacturing circle of Düsseldorf, we were forcibly struck with the picture of independence presented by the steel-workers and cutlers round Solingen. The surface of the country is undulated by ridges of no great elevation, but which enclose glens, in each of which the water afforded by springs is collected into ponds, overshadowed by tufts of trees to prevent a too rapid evaporation, and is applied as manufacturing power. The mills, which are of the most diminutive dimensions, are very numerous, and lend the aid of a water power, varying from 4 to 12 or 15 horses to the forgers, grinders and polishers of steel cutlery, who work for dealers, by whom they are furnished with the raw material. The work done is all task-work, which,

while it leaves the feeling of independence undestroyed, holds out the greatest excitements to diligence. The population was evidently accustomed to work hard, and yet the comforts which they could command seemed to be on the most limited scale. It was obvious that a reduction in the cost of clothing, and of some few other necessities, would make these industrious families happy beyond calculation; whereas it would be out of the power even of the immense capitals of our princely manufacturers, with the most judicious application of means, to compete with the abstinence and self-denial of these poor people so effectually as to deprive them of all employment. Surely an unrestricted exchange of productions would furnish these workmen, and the thousands who resemble them in Germany, some better employment than thus competing with the steam-engine proprietors and capitalists of England. All of the articles here enumerated, the most of which are highly taxed by the British tariff, might be admitted on the footing of mutual concessions free, or at a very low duty, not only without disadvantage, but with a decided gain to our own manufacturing interests. We may instance the foils and bronze-dust made near Nürenberg, which is imported in large quantities by our looking-glass makers and others, although charged with a duty of 25 per cent. The advantage which might be derived from a proper selection of wood for machinery and building purposes, leads us to the consideration of another subject, the timber duties.

Dr. Bowring, in his Report, classes the obstruction to a good understanding in commercial matters with Germany, caused by the timber duties, with that which the corn laws occasion. We have not considered the two questions together, both on account of the difference of interest which they excite, as well as because the injurious operation of the timber laws upon our best interests must be more perceptible, after the principle of mutual co-operation in industry between two states has been admitted. In the conviction of the gain which we should acquire, founded upon arguments of this nature, we should be disposed to go further than to recommend the mere modification of these duties; and not only desire to secure supplies of durable timber from the continent, but also to engage the aid of the foreign workman in selecting,

managing, and, if he could do it cheaper, working up the wood imported, or, at least, preparing it for the machinist. The peculiar description of oak which in Germany acquires a remarkable height with perfect straightness, would probably, under this change of system, be almost exclusively reserved for our use. This would, indeed, be the only way in which Germany would be much interested in a change in our duties; for here again Russia, Norway and Austria can export this article on so much lower terms, that in its rude state the German timber would not be able to stand their competition. If we are to believe M. Hagemeister, who is good authority on subjects connected with the Russian trade, the exports of timber have so thinned the forests within a considerable distance of the Baltic, that few Polish and Russian woods now furnish large supplies on the former cheap terms to the northward of the government of Minsk. The distance which the Russian timber has to travel to the coast is therefore great; and before this could be the case, we may suppose that the German forests were well lightened of fine timber. The gain, too, which the landholder would draw from an increased exportation to England, would be dearly purchased, if it extended so far as to raise the price of fuel in a country whose climate is so severe, and in which a large proportion of the industry consists in mining operations, mainly dependent upon cheapness of firing.

Were the corn and timber import duties abolished as far as Germany alone is concerned, the difference would be much more perceptible to that country than to England. We should assuredly derive some benefit from the change; but the effect in Germany, which would be a rise in the price of some of the most essential articles of consumption, would at once deprive that country of the advantage of cheap labour which it now possesses. On the other hand, the adaptation of the tariffs of the two countries, as regards the admission of such articles of manufacture as are produced under circumstances of decided advantage in either, would very much contribute to enrich Germany, by which in the end we should again be gainers.

We must, therefore, renew our expression of regret at seeing the corn and timber duties put forward as the key-stones of a negotiation with the German Customs league, without an

alteration in which no modification of the German tariff is to be expected. We shrewdly suspect that the Germans are very much of our opinion as to the profit likely to be derived from such a change, and it is certain that the advocates of protected manufactures rather dread it than otherwise. They, however, raise the outcry in order to veil the impolicy and injustice of the course they are defending, and we cannot sufficiently wonder at finding it re-echoed in a document like that before us without further examination and without mistrust. A negotiation for mutual concessions must, we contend, be based upon a totally different ground, and that ground we do not find indicated in the Report.

It is a subject of no less regret, that the commissioners assembled at Berlin in 1839 should have shown so little disposition to listen to proposals concerning a modification of their tariff. We have seen how the greater part of the manufactures of Germany sprung up originally as the natural consequence of the increase of population, and became vigorous without the protection which they have of late years received. It was a sacred duty incumbent on the respective governments, to foster them by every means in their power, and to direct their progress. In performing this task, the German governments found themselves placed in an unusually favourable position. They found few or no vested interests of such magnitude opposed to them, as could make it appear dangerous to strike into a path likely to spread alarm amongst a powerful class of men,—no indulged prejudices had grown strong beneath the artificial nursing of faulty legislation. The events of a protracted and revolutionizing war had cleared the thorny field of private claims and inherited privileges, and presented a '*tabula rasa*' to the legislator on which to inscribe his edicts. The only voice which these governments were called upon to listen to was that of experience, which in this case happened to coincide with public opinion; and it is for the disregard shown to this monitor, when there was no pressure of circumstances to justify or recommend a false course of commercial policy, that the Prussian government, in the eye of the political economist, is responsible to the present age. Not for encouraging manufactures in Germany, but for adopting measures which men of science knew would render their success problematical;

not for excluding British merchandise, but for depriving the young establishments which they caused to be founded, of much of the help of which they stood in need; not for opening transatlantic markets to their manufacturers, but for restricting the sphere of consumption at home by an artificial elevation of prices, are the founders of the Customs league responsible to public opinion. They were called upon to erect an edifice which should grace an enlightened age like that towards which Europe with unequal steps was tending; but they preferred to raise up a structure after the faulty manner of those which had their origin in a period of darkness, unenlightened by the rays of science.

It would be an useless waste of time to call our readers' attention to the ridiculous comments which the appearance of an English agent at Berlin, and the subsequent publication of his Report, called forth in the organs of public opinion in Germany. The inefficacy of his endeavours to awaken a spirit of mutual concession on the part of the assembled commissioners has been celebrated as a national triumph; and the desire thus publicly expressed by a powerful nation to reconcile its trading interests with those of a country which we esteem, and whose alliance we have shown ourselves anxious to cultivate, has been sneered at, as if we came like beggars to solicit Germany to abandon to us a share of some newly-discovered treasure. We hope that the details which we have given will tend to show that the true position of the two countries is as well understood by those who have looked into the matter in England as it is abroad; and we trust that the German governments will see that the vague and groundless declamations of their writers are likely to produce anything but the effect on which they seem to speculate,—that of frightening us into an unseemly tone of compliance. Advocating as we do the rights of nations to meet on a footing of perfect equality in trade, as in all other occasions of international exchange, we certainly cannot see any reason why Great Britain should make concessions without receiving an equivalent return; and it has been sufficiently shown that the repeal of the corn laws, however advantageous it would be to us, is not a point which Germany has a legitimate interest in pressing. The German merchants have no more

right to claim the privilege of sending us the wheat of Niemen, the Bug and the Dwina, or the timber of land and Russia, *as their own produce*, than we should have to avail ourselves of a treaty of reciprocity between the two countries to send French wines or silks as English wares, because they happened to be stored in London. We do not mean to say that such an extension of the commercial relations between the two countries would not be an advantage to both, but we deny that so broad a basis of preliminary negotiations is necessary, or that, in the present temper of the German manufacturers and official men, it would lead to the desired result. It is well known, that when a nation or any numerous body of men have got their thoughts into a certain train, nothing is more difficult than to make them look beyond it, and believe that any other object is as worthy of contemplation as that in which they are locked up. Our Prussian neighbours are now so deeply possessed with the idea that the possession of certain manufactures is an evidence of national prosperity, that we despair of bringing them to listen to simple reasoning. We need not, however, renounce the idea of a progressive advance to the principle of free trade, because Prussia and the states of the league are no means the only states with which negotiations can be carried on in Europe and even in Germany itself.

Driven, as we are, by the style of argument now prevalent in German prints upon the subject of commercial legislation, to abandon the wide field of general concession wherever it was likely to meet with anything like reciprocity, why should we not try the effects of exceptional negotiation, which we think would not fail to produce the desired result? The change brought about by such a course of proceeding would, too, be so gradual, that it would be likely to meet with little opposition at home, while it would most assuredly extend both our commercial and political influence over a great portion of Europe. France, Prussia, Austria and Russia decline to meet us in the effort to augment the commercial intercourse at present existing between Great Britain and the respective states. There remain the smaller powers, Turkey, Greece, the Italian states, Spain, Portugal, the Hanse towns and the Hanoverian league, together with Mecklenburg, which

many or all of whom treaties of commerce upon the most liberal footing might be effected with great advantage to ourselves.

In such treaties we have a right to insist that the productions of the respective countries treated with shall be legitimized as such,—a regulation which could be enforced by the nomination of active and intelligent consuls at the different ports of shipping. While the common branches of trade at present in operation were left unchanged, the particular productions of the countries in question could be admitted by us on favourable terms, and even the first step to a modification of our generally obnoxious corn and timber laws could be taken without much risk. The simplest method of control is presented by the statistical details which have recently been collected respecting every state; from these the average production of each state could be calculated by mutual agreement; and thus the surplus produce above the annual consumption having been determined, as the probable amount disposable for exportation, it might be left to the different foreign governments to secure the enjoyment of the advantages, if any, accruing from our importation to their own subjects. A trial of this kind upon a limited scale would be the best test of the truth of the arguments advanced by the friends of free trade, viz. that while the amount of intercourse between the nations adopting this liberal policy would become enormously increased, the value of produce of all kinds would by no means experience that depreciation, the fear of which at present deters the legislatures of the majority of European countries from allowing a free interchange of produce. We regret that our limits will not allow of our filling up the outline which we have here traced for a commencement of a wise and just commercial policy, and of painting the sum of happiness and civilization which we might thus confer upon the finest countries of Europe, while we should be contracting with them an alliance of the most intimate and most durable nature.

We confine ourselves to Germany, a country the true state of which is but little understood in England, notwithstanding its vicinity and the numbers of tourists who undertake to describe it. The league which we have already described as existing between Hanover, Brunswick and Oldenburg, and

which has been dignified with the title of the *North-west German League*,—in contradistinction to the *Prussian*, and it is sometimes called, the *German Customs League*,—is deserving of more notice than it has hitherto received in the English commercial world.

The policy adopted by all the smaller German states bordering on the German Ocean and the Baltic, affords the proof of the correctness of the view which we have taken of the true interests of the agricultural districts of Germany. The three states above-mentioned have united into a league which procures the subjects of each the liberty of travel and trade within the boundaries of the united states, untroubled by the vexations of custom-house officers, as is the case in the greater league. The duties imposed by this tariff are, however, much more moderate. We annex a few instances of the difference between the Prussian and North-west German tariffs.

	Prussian Tariff.	N. W. German Tariff.	
	per cwt.	per cwt.	per cwt.
Cotton yarn.....	3½ doll.	1 doll.	1 gg
—— twist	14 —	6 —	6 —
—— stuffs	50 —	12 —	12 —
Iron, coarse cast wares	1 —	—	18 —
Do. forged	6 —	2 —	2 —
Do. fine articles	10 —	6 —	6 —
Linen yarn	1 —	free.	
Do. do. twist.....	2 —	thread 8 —	8 —
Do. bleached and coloured...	11 —	8 —	8 —
Do. tapes, cambrics, &c.	22 —	12 —	12 —
Twist lace	55 —	12 —	12 —
Paper, coarse	1 —	—	12 —
Do. fine	5 —	1 —	1 —
Paper-hangings	10 —	4 —	4 —
Silk, bleached and coloured...	8 —	6 —	6 —
Silk and half silk wares	110 —	12 —	12 —
Woollen wares, coarse	20 —	6 —	6 —
Do. fine.....	30 —	12 —	12 —

Yet even these duties are considered too high by the Hanseatic towns and the Grand Duchies of Mecklenburg Schwerin and Strelitz, who deem it wiser to sell their own production at home as well as they can abroad, and to buy what they do not produce in the cheapest market. Under the influence of this policy these countries appear to be steadily increasing in prosper-

not so rapidly perhaps as others, but in a very fair proportion, considering the disadvantages of climate and, in a great measure, of soil under which they labour. In Baron von Reden's statistical description of Hanover we find the following details concerning the commercial shipping of that kingdom :—

In the district of Aurich.

	No. of Vessels owned.	Burthen in lasts.	No. above 50 lasts.	No. above 100 lasts.
1834. . .	952	16,109	88	25
1835. . .	970	17,369	84	26
1836. . .	1053	17,529	90	39

In the district of Stade.

1835.	22 sea-ship,	} 6628.
	733 river do.	
1836.	21 sea-ships,	} 6855.
	762 river do.	
1837.	18 sea-ships,	} 6592.
	769 river do.	

Here we find the number of ships which have been added to amount to 100, or ten per cent. of the whole number.

This state of prosperity of the shipping interest contrasts forcibly with the diminution observable in the table of the commercial shipping of Prussia, given by Dieterici, which we do not find in the Report, and consequently present here to our readers. It confirms what we asserted a few pages back respecting the withdrawal of capital from the improvement of the means of transport, for the purpose of vesting it in manufacturing speculations.

Table of the Commercial Shipping of the kingdom of Prussia in the under-mentioned years.

Ports to which the vessels belong.	1832.			1833.			1834.		
	Ships owned	Burthen in lasts.	New ships.	Ships owned	Burthen	New ships.	Ships owned	Burthen	New ships.
Königsberg & Braunsberg }	21	3,236	3	21	3,261	...	21	3,188	...
Pillau.....	13	2,389	...	10	1,748	...	8	1,527	...
Memel.....	36	5,340	1	39	6,057	...	38	5,889	3
Elbing.....	19	3,062	1	17	2,732	1	13	2,255	...
Danzig.....	75	15,545	...	66	14,382	...	60	13,299	1
Stettin.....	256	27,146	14	243	25,769	9	229	24,292	4
Köslin.....	42	3,255	2	43	3,182	1	50	3,324	4
Stralsund.....	81	7,535	1	78	7,392	1	72	6,801	1
Greifswalde ...	56	4,451	3	60	5,428	2	56	5,113	2
Wolgast.....	22	2,071	...	25	2,034	...	25	2,034	...
Barth.....	44	4,369	1	44	4,369	4	44	4,369	1
Total...	665	78,999	26	646	76,354	18	616	72,151	16

Ports to which the vessels belong.	1835.			1836.		
	Ships owned	Burthen	New ships.	Ships owned	Burthen	New ships.
Königsberg & Braunsberg }	21	2,967	...	18	2,705	1
Pillau.....	5	831	...	4	521	...
Memel.....	40	6,850	3	45	8,297	3
Elbing.....	9	1,567	2	8	1,387	1
Danzig.....	61	13,143	1	59	12,913	2
Stettin.....	240	25,192	7	226	23,877	6
Köslin.....	48	3,682	...	45	3,553	...
Stralsund.....	70	6,714	...	65	6,413	1
Greifswalde ...	54	5,084	4	52	4,904	1
Wolgast.....	25	2,034	1	25	2,034	...
Barth.....	44	4,369	1	44	4,369	4
Total...	617	72,433	19	591	70,973	19

To what can this be owing but to the abstraction of capital from legitimate channels of employment? The Prussian shipping, in the five years from 1832 to 1836, decreased upwards of 11 per cent., or in a more rapid ratio than that of Hanover increased.

The following items extracted from the list of imported articles since the formation of the present league, shows that its tariff does not check consumption:—

*Amount of sundry articles imported into the North-west
German league.*

	1835. cwts.	1836. cwts.	1837. cwts.
Coffee	32,316	45,370	48,290
Tea	2,984	4,139	3,769
Sugar	18,634	30,690	40,362
Iron	48,665	54,921	82,688
Cotton yarn and twist...		2,517	3,275
Cotton stuffs		2,861	3,400
Spices		2,403	3,088
Glass, flint and common		5,268	6,659
Woollen wares		3,780	3,808

That natural branches of manufacturing industry do not suffer by this policy, is shown by the flourishing state of the old-established linen trade, notwithstanding foreign competition. The returns of the linen-halls in the kingdom of Hanover show the quantities exposed in the under-mentioned years to have been,

1834—14,806,405 ells.	Value 1,171,561 dollars
1835—15,586,003 „	„ 1,319,470 „
1836—19,181,846 „	„ 1,688,362 „
1837—18,681,708 „	„ 1,713,224 „
1838—19,935,898 „	„ 1,856,238 „

The quantity of linen-yarn exported is valued by Baron v. Reden at 600,000 dollars. Cotton-weaving is, it seems, likewise extending, and some good printing establishments have been founded; and for its encouragement we find the author demanding a reduction of the duty on English bleached yarn from 2 dol. 2gg. to 1 dol. 1gg. (*vol. i. p. 379*), as he a few pages previously renounces the hope of improving the spinning establishments by raising the duty on twist, and points to Prussia in proof of the inefficacy of such a measure. Notwithstanding the small scale upon which this experiment of free trade has here been tried, we find its results highly interesting, and have dwelt upon them the more willingly, that we fancy we see in it the means of gradually putting our commercial relations with Germany upon a proper footing. Were the experiment tried with the states of the north-western league, the Hanse towns and Mecklenburg, on the plan which we have indicated, we should soon see commissioners coming

over to solicit us to extend our concessions to the other German states, instead of finding them turn a deaf ear to our remonstrances. In the first place, these states deserve an acknowledgment from us of our sense of the liberality of their tariffs; nor could an item be found more likely to serve them and ourselves at the same time, than an abolition of the duties on dairy produce, especially on butter, which is an article, as we have already seen, in which the people of England are obliged to stint themselves beyond even their continental neighbours. The duties on all the peculiar articles of handiwork for which the Germans have a peculiar predilection, upon toys and wooden wares, leaf-gold and other beaten metals, upon colours and metal articles of taste, glass, plain and coloured, and upon works of art of all kinds, might be done away altogether, as the lower they were reduced, the more these countries would import from us in exchange. A modification of the duties upon many hand-loom woven articles, such as stockings; upon embroidery, lace, and similar articles, would also be desirable; and the result of this experiment would be, that in the course of a few years this portion of Germany, now the least populous and the most decried, would be crowded with industrious and prosperous inhabitants, who would be envied by the rest of their countrymen.

These changes would be of more importance than a reduction of our corn and timber duties, of which the Germans could only avail themselves at the expense of paying dearer at home for articles of the first necessity. The corn and timber duties must remain to be discussed with other states from whom it would be desirable to draw supplies on account of the great amount of their produce, and according to whose facilities for furnishing these articles the duties which may be imposed upon them must be rated. Germany affords no standard by which we could go; for as long as Russia and Hungary produce as they now do, all the corn that Germany can send us will be admitted, as it now is, *duty free*, charged only with the cost of storage, and the interest of the money which it locks up in the interval during which it must be kept abroad,—charges which the English consumer ultimately pays. This interval, according to the experience of the present century, may be said to average three

years. It would even be possible to turn these duties into an instrument of protection, if we found ourselves in danger of being outstripped in manufacturing by the Germans, in consequence of the cheapness of labour, as by taking their corn and timber, we should very soon deprive them of the advantage they possessed. The difficulty of certifying the growth of the corn exported from a country so extensive and so variously governed as Germany, seems to be the only obstacle to a successful experiment's being immediately made in this way with the league itself. Of course, it would not answer the purpose to allow the grain exported to be replaced from Russia and Austria.

We may add, with regard to the suggestion here made, that something ought to be done without loss of time to confirm the states of the north-western league in the policy which they have hitherto observed. If they were all in possession of popular forms of government, the example of Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck shows that the sense of their own interests would keep them firm in a liberal cause. But princes, even at the present day, are apt to measure the prosperity of the nation over which they rule, not by the fullness of their subjects' purses, but by the amount of their own civil lists. This tendency has been strongly manifested since the accession of King Ernest to the throne of Hanover; and the example of the south German governments, which we have pointed out, is a tempting one. The Prussian uniform and military system has been adopted at Hanover, in preference to the British colours and regulations, without any such powerful recommendation; and even a seeming sympathy of feeling with one party in England is not likely to outweigh the force of that passion which is said to augment with years.

We have not allowed ourselves to be deterred from giving this simple and intelligible survey of the true position of our commercial relations with the German states, through the fear of standing alone and unsupported by any party upon the new ground on which we have ventured. The duty of the scientific reasoner is to investigate the connection existing between isolated facts, and to hold up to view the soundness or weakness of arguments, on whatever side they may be advanced. With the accomplishment of this task his re-

sponsibility ceases, and he leaves it to those whose attention is directed to carrying out practically the suggestions of interest, to adapt the means which they can command to the difficulties which they have to overcome. If we appear to have deprived the advocates of free trade and the abolition of corn-law restrictions of one argument which they have long put forward, we have furnished them with another in its place, which has the advantage of being able to stand the test of inquiry. If the phantom of a dreaded rivalry on the part of continental manufacturers be dispelled, the picture of a country endeavouring to cherish a special branch of industry by artificial means, and failing in the attempt, is laid open to console the friends of a liberal commercial policy, and as a warning to those who advocate restrictions.

ARTICLE V.

Pindari Carmina. 2 vols. 8vo. Edid. L. DISSENIUS, Gottingensis. Gothæ, 1830.

As in every constitution the three elements of democracy, aristocracy and monarchy must exist, and as the predominance of any one of these gradually gives way to the others in their turn, so we believe that it will be found to be with the lyric, epic and dramatic in poetry. Every poem must have a general form and frame of unity, with a progressive development from the beginning through the middle to the end, and this is its epos. Every poem must have intensity and passionate reflection; this makes it for so far lyrical; and, again, there can be no thought without contrast, difference and distinction, and thus the dramatic element must be admitted. It is easy in the complete organization of the epos to trace the dramatic and the lyric principles, and even their perfect forms, comprehended under and subordinated to the total effect; as for instance, in 'Paradise Lost,' the opening is purely lyric, the second book dramatic, and yet the whole is decisively epic. In the drama we see the epic form in small, at a distance as it

were, while the characters occupy the foreground, and the lyrical nature of every soliloquy and general sentiment is apparent; for even the versification, on such occasions, swells into fuller forms, and admits a more decided emphasis. Such are Hamlet's reflections, or Othello's lament, for the great scenery of the battle-field. Of the ode the lowest and most imperfect form is the mere song, the musical expression of feeling; but even here there must be several sentences, and a coherence between them; a point from which the sentiment sets out, and a conclusion at which it arrives; consequently an essential unity; and thus a little epos, latent in these primary molecules of poetry. It is more difficult to detect their dramatic character; but the contrast generally made of the opposite sentiment with that which prevails, is intrinsically dramatic: as Ariel's little songs are the very *breath* of extempore music, and yet his various relations with the bee, the bat and the owl, his summer playfellows, might be drawn out into a series of situations and actions. It is evident, however, that though each form of poetry, or of thought at all, must contain these elements, *that* poem only can approach towards being anything of a proper image of "the fullness of the stature" of the whole man, which allows each of the three a proportionate share, and an adequate representation.

Perhaps, however, what we mean will be seen more distinctly, if viewed on a larger scale. There are three great classes into which all human consciousness may be divided. We may view mankind, and the destiny of man, as a vast system, external to our immediate selves, and developing itself, according to certain great laws, throughout the sphere of space and time allotted to it, and of which past, present, and future make up the integral and inseparable parts. Again, by a kind of abstraction, which is however the ordinary habit of the mind of sense, we view ourselves shut up in the ignorant present, and the whole force of each of our individual beings brought out by contact and collision with our fellow individuals; struggling, as it were, in the dark, and groping on our way from moment to moment. There is yet a third point of view from which the former two appear at least in some degree united; the universality of things no

longer remaining cold and distant, past or future, nor the individual pent up in the infinitesimal present; but all three mysteriously combined in one. From these essential divisions when embodied in literature, proceed the three corresponding classes of human art and knowledge, history, oratory and philosophy; and when disengaged from reality, and volatilized by the imagination, epic, dramatic and lyric poetry. The vast cycle of Providence, the *opus quod operatur Deus ab initio*, in which all individual existences appear as unconscious causes and effects, predominated over by a supreme will, and in following which the great end of the whole is made so present to us as to overpower our sympathy with the finite beings involved therein, is the idea of the epos. Accordingly we find in such a poem a calm intellectual evenness of tone, a sort of fresco impartiality and totality of effect. In the drama, on the contrary, the intellectual generalizing power is at its minimum, and the feelings are magnified into the utmost intensity; the whole will of man being concentrated as much as possible into each moment of time, and there struggling in vain with the other elements of human nature, which it has, to a certain degree, excluded, and which, consequently, appear to it *ab extra*, as ruthless destiny. But not so in the philosophic lyric: here the present is present, immediate and intense; but the past and the future are with it, are one with it, and infuse into it a grandeur not its own.

We do not mean to say that all epic poems are passionless, or all plays hopeless, or all odes inspired; but we do believe that the more any poem bears one or other of these three characters distinctly stamped on it, the more forcible it will be, the more ideal and real at the same time. A poem ought to have such a decided character, as bodying forth some one of the above-mentioned moments of thought; but it should attain this without the exclusion of the other elements, or else it becomes an arbitrary abstraction, can never permanently please, or produce the calm and deep effect of true work of art, such as the *Iliad* of Homer, the tragedies of Shakspeare, or the odes of Pindar.

To confine ourselves at present more especially to the latter form, that of the ode. It may be said that the greater

part of the lyrics of Horace, and the ancient poets whom he followed, Alcæus, Sappho, and others of the Æolian school, are totally devoid of that philosophic character which we have been contending for as essential to the ode. These poems are indeed, for the most part, merely songs or occasional verses, composed upon various occurrences in the author's life, and expressing nothing more than the feelings of the moment, without any *but*, *because*, or *therefore*. For so much, then, they are but soliloquies from the real drama of life; yet there is in them a truly lyrical element, and that is their versification. In the very act of turning our passions into poetry, their immediate interjectional intensity loses its focus, is generalized, and the intellect descends in a friendly disguise to remind us of such things as law, measure, harmony, which draw off our attention from ourselves, and diffuse it into the universality of the world. Let the subject-matter, then, of a song be as unintellectual as possible, and approach ever so nearly to the mere assertion of 'I grieve,' or 'I rejoice,' the metre is the ideal element which asserts itself in the unconscious mind. Hence, too, it is easy to see why the versification is of so much more prominent importance in the lyric than in the other two kinds of poetry; while the epos tends to one monotonous recurrence, and the drama tends to prose. The strophè, or wheel as Shakspeare calls it, which the Æolians invented, is the most immediate expression of that state of mind in which all lyric poetry originates. The mind, strongly excited, creates an image of itself in certain forms of metre, and then pauses. Again, if the same feeling predominate, another effort, and again a pause, and so on. Now though this pause is doubtless the same with that which there must be in all versification at the end of each line, it is more decided, more emphatic, in order to express the more actual presence of the poet's individual self; and as much more strong as this recurrence of sameness is, this stamp of the poet's subjective will, so much more variety and richness may be comprehended within it, than in the less definite line-verses. It was therefore most unhappily and inappropriately, we think, that this form was transferred by the later Italian poets to the narrative epic. But the exquisite harmony of Petrarch had so taken possession of the Italian ear, that they

could not endure anything which should not resemble even though wholly misapplied.

In so far, then, as the metre is concerned, and the like, unnarrative, and unacting form of composition, the of Horace are true odes ; they are the poetry of reflection but they want that which must give reflection its value philosophic spirit. They have no thesis. In Petrarch, indeed, there is an ideal tone that rescues the sameness of subject from insipidity, as the deep expression in some of the early Madonna pictures compensates for the same of form ; but neither the epicurism of the one, nor the of the other, have that public, universal, philosophic weight which we find in the works of the great Grecian. Our age, however, has produced an ode which has all that can be desired of height and depth, of far and near, of real and ideal of human interest and grandeur, with only this unfortunate drawback, that the subject is absurd, or at best unintelligible and professedly founded, not upon the basis of general humanity, but a peculiar idiosyncrasy of sentiment. Need we say that we allude to Wordsworth's 'Ode on Immortality' ? Maugre this, however, the versification is so exquisite, the diction so happy, and, above all, the form of the ode so perfect, that it well deserves to be pointed out as the best, perhaps the only instance, of anything like a Pindaric ode in our language. We would refer to it at present to give our Grecian readers some notion of the way in which the faculty that is the ideal part, in Pindar, is combined with the real introduced by it, supports it, pervades it, and illuminates it.

It has been finely said by Ulrici, that if the excellence of Pindar rises, like a mountain-peak, higher than all the poets either of his own age or any other, it is also rooted deeper and more firmly grounded in the national feelings and customs of his country. In order to understand this and to see that there is nothing capricious in his composition, nothing that has not an architectural authority and solid basis, it will be necessary to follow from its first rudiments the development of the lyrical art. As we have said, each of the three species of poetry involves the other two ; and every poem must contain, though in various proportions, the historical element, the dramatic, and the reflective. But in

curious to see how these different forms appear of their own accord, as it were, like those flowers in Dante,

“ Che l' alta terra senza seme — gitta,”

each in its most appropriate season ; at least how they did so in the earlier ages of the world, when art was more national, and less subject to the chances of individual caprice. Accordingly we find the epic first, in the time of the kings in Greece, and similarly the sagas and chronicles in the same era of the modern cycle : the aristocratic and knightly age was decidedly lyric ; and then with democracy, which brings everything down to the level of the individual and his transitory existence, comes in the drama, and leads us into the period of prose. In that domain, however, we think that we can trace something of a reverse order, in which oratory prepares for history, and history, we would hope, for philosophy. But this is rather wide of our mark, and we must confine ourselves at present to a slight sketch of the progress of the lyrical poetry of Greece.

Besides the bards who lived in the halls of chieftains, and celebrated their achievements and those of their ancestors, there was another race or school (as that word applies most strictly in the earliest ages) of poets, who were also priests, and of whom we may take Orpheus as the representative. These men probably differed from the Hebrew prophets and psalmists, more in their alienation from the knowledge of God and the absence of the holy and good Spirit, than in their outward office. It is characteristic however of the two nations, and of the work of Providence in their history, that in Greece the moral element, in Judæa the poetical, ultimately became extinct. These Thracian poets seem to have been especially connected with the service of the Dorian Apollo, who, as contrasted with the old nature-gods of the Titanic pantheism, was a humane and moral being. His rites were particularly musical ; and from the earliest period there seems to have been an appointed hymn, or *nomos*, consecrated to him, which was sung to the national harp, and in which the victory of the god over the serpent Python, the victory of his worship over that of some old serpent-god, was commemorated in Dactylic rhythm and in epic style. Whether the chorus, the band of dancers, used to join in the song, or only accompanied the

measure with harmonious movements of the hand and foot is difficult to ascertain. Certainly the Phæacian dancers in the *Odyssey* appear to have taken no part in the song of Demodocus, nor could his song have admitted any sort of pantomimic acting: so that we must suppose the chorus at first, nothing more than personify in their evolutions the flowing metre, while the poet sang his story. But the Pæan we know was sung by a chorus in the first *Iliad*, though there is no mention of any accompanying dance with it. Be this as it may, in this institution it is evident that the epic form still prevailed. The peculiar genius of the Dorians had not yet found an expression for itself; and to arrive at the next step of our history, we must follow some obscure vestige of tradition, which lead us to Crete. This ancient island, the very birth-place of Zeus himself, the south-easternmost point of Greece, had caught the first beams of oriental civilization; and there both a more enlightened constitution had been early established, and a more enthusiastic religious worship, in which it appears that the Asiatic instruments, the cymbals, the tympana, or tambourines, and, above all, the flute, were in use. When these were introduced is not known. The flute is mentioned in Homer only twice (*Il.* xviii. 495, and x. 13), and in the latter passage in rather a depreciatory manner, where Agamemnon lay sleepless, listening to the "noise of flutes and pipes, and the tumultuous sound of men," which came from the Trojan camp. But in the Hesiodæan poem of the shield of Hercules (*l.* 280) we find a marriage described, in which the men were singing to the flute, and the women dancing to the harp; and, again, others apart were frolicking (*κωμαζον*) to the sound of the flute, some sporting with song and dance; some singly laughing to the tune of the flute-player. When it was introduced into Greece, it seems is not known; but it appears that it is first mentioned as used in Crete, and we may suppose that the inland Dorians first became acquainted with it there. When the Dorian immigration had forced its way through the heart of Greece down to that extreme point there, as in one focus, met the wild Phrygian flute, and the measured calmness of the old Grecian harp. And there too, seems to have been first developed, about two centuries

before the time of Lycurgus, the germ of those peculiar institutions which afterwards were the glory of Sparta. It is probable, therefore, that their religious worship at the same time expanded from the fixed form in which it had so long been held; and, whether from the imitation, or the actual adoption of the flute, admitted a new element.

This at least we know securely, that Thaletas from Crete first introduced at Sparta the Pæonic rhythm, from him called Cretic; a form of rhythm which, from its strongly-contrasted alternations, seems more immediately to belong to wind instruments than to the harp, and the introduction of which at Sparta founded a new epoch in the history of Grecian music. And thus, in the bosom of Sparta, the Dorian ode was nursed and matured; and still retaining her religious earnestness, acquired an athletic vigour, a step of virgin liberty, an enthusiastic inspiration. This fruitful union of two opposite styles may be well compared to what took place in the modern development of art, when the early Christian style of painting was united with the ancient Roman, of which the result was the age of Michael Angelo and Raphael. Not that any great genius so immediately appeared at Sparta to carry lyric poetry to its height; for there intervened a period of some length, during which the choral dance and song, inspired by the flute and measured by the harp, and consecrated, like some of the old church music, in a fixed liturgical form, made no further progress, but quietly rooted itself in the national mind.

Here we must take in a third element. A somewhat opposite process had been going on, in the meantime, in the Ionian islands, and chiefly in those where the Æolian tribe had settled. Here, as well as on the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor, commerce, the nurse of private enterprise, had broken up the old feeling of public spirit and clanship, the old reverence for church and state institutions, and developed personal qualities and individual character; but though the bonds of law and patriotism were melted away equally in both cases, the spirit set at liberty was very different. The graceful sensuous Ionian on the mainland sank into effeminacy, while the Æolian blood boiled into passionate madness. The one would resign himself to nature, and float down the

current; the other would have himself to be the centre of the world, and draw in everything into the whirlpool of his own hurried existence. Accordingly, the epos and the dithyrambic philosophy were the chief productions of the Ionians, while the Æolians were the first who cultivated music as an expression of sentiment, independent of dance or song. Amongst them, too, we find the Petrarchs of antiquity, Alcæon, Alcæus, Sappho, whose odes were, as much as anything Grecian could be, sentimental; the offspring of immediate personal feeling poured forth in rhythm, and just toned and rounded with the music of some stringed instrument wanting, however, alike the calmness and wide prospect of the epos, the philosophy of the true ode, and the fullness of activity of the drama. This beautiful, but weak and incomplete species, has not been able to maintain its place, nothing but a few delicate fragments remain to witness what it was.

This Æolian music, Terpander the Lesbian introduced, with his own peculiar improvements, at Sparta; and soon afterwards arose the Spartan Alcman, the founder of the choral music. Alcman first combined the Æolian passion and individuality with what could not be neglected at Sparta, public feeling; the feeling of being a member of a body; his odes were sung in chorus and in strophes; he combined the Æolian invention of the strophe with the old hymnic chorus. Of course when so applied to the dance, it was naturally enough divided into the turn and return, or the strophe and antistrophe; as every couple seems to require a third for its complement and conclusion, the epode, or stand, was soon after added, the invention of Stesichorus, in which the chorus having danced one way, and then back again, sang, standing still, or at least without changing place*.

The short strophes of the Æolian style, which Alcman adopted, were soon found to be too minute and monotonous.

* Müller's explanation of the old account of the movement of the chorus in Stasimon, viz. that the members of the chorus moved, but the whole still occupied the same place, seems to us quite nugatory; such a motion could not be said to be to the right or to the left, but both at the same time. In the *καταλόγος* movement in tactics, (called, from its movement resembling that of the chorus on the stage, *χορείος*;) where the files retired through each other, the same quantity of ground (*χωρά*) was occupied, but not the same place (*τοπος*).

for the motions of the chorus, and were enlarged into those great systems and periods of metre, such as we find in Pindar, which have the symmetry and extent of architectural structure; and which, though they are perhaps too vast for the capacity of our ears, like the double diapason of Plato's *anima mundi*, could doubtless be easily comprehended and remembered, when presented visibly to the faithful eyes.

Though the Æolian poets had composed hymns to the gods very different, we may suppose, from those of the old epic style, it was not till interwoven with the Doric chorus, that the lyric poetry could enter fully into all the movements of public life in Greece, all the *autos* of her mythological religion. It was then that a gay crowd of dances and processions, each with their distinctive character, appeared: the Pæans, dedicated to Apollo; the Dithyrambs, to Bacchus; the Parthenia, sung by young virgins; the Hymenæals, for marriage; the Threne, for death; the Encomium, for victory; the pantomimic Hyporchema, for the banquet. If a man married, the whole *gens*, or family connexion, rejoiced together with him, and the Epithalamion gave a voice to the general feeling; if he died, there was a common mourning; if a citizen distinguished himself, the whole city shared in his glory, and he was considered as a public benefactor, and the representative, or champion, for so far, of the state. Hence it became a regular established custom, on any of these occasions, to introduce in the ode an ideal, or public part, most frequently in a mythological dress, which celebrated the state as a whole, and which was especially dedicated to the gods or heroes who presided over it, and by whom its destiny, and that of all its members, was determined. This is the *τεθμος*, the groundwork and general frame of the ode, which Pindar so often alludes to and recognises as a law not to be transgressed. Of course, on these occasions, the poorer sort used merely the general form of words handed down from former times (*see* Olymp. ix. *το μὲν Αρχιλοχου μελος*, &c.), as we see in the festivals of some savage nations, and in the Irish Ullaloohs to this day. But the Greek was never satisfied with mere feeling or imagination, unless he could combine it with the understanding; as the union of all faculties, and their harmonious balance, rather than the greatest possible development of any one, was his

ideal of excellence. Accordingly, it was the pride of the men, and of those who could afford it, to employ poets who might compose for them words to suit their particular occasions and so distinguish their solemnities from the ordinary run of life. It is in this adaptation of the general to the particular that Pindar shows the greatest ingenuity; by which he has contrived to give to each of his odes a kind of individual character, that, considering the sameness of the theme, is wonderful. This may be best seen perhaps in the ode dedicated to Ægina, in which he has so varied the treatment of their national heroes, the Æacidae, as to make it seem continually new and fresh; and yet this is not done arbitrarily but so as to bear immediately on the subject of the ode and to show the very form and impression of that, heightened with an ideal beauty. The aim, indeed, of poetry, as the greatest of poets has said, is to hold up to nature her own image; but the mirror of poetry is not that multiplying-glass which Vulcan gave to Bacchus in the old fable, scattering the unity of truth into an infinite variety of images; nor yet does it simply reflect; but it is an enchanted crystal mirror, wherein the beholder sees himself, indeed, yet not as he is, but the ideal of himself; and, of course, the beautiful image appears in a silvery region far distant.

It is impossible, in writing of Pindar, to avoid entering the glorious cloud-land of the mythology of Greece, which never seems so bright and joyous, and at the same time so serious and earnest, as on his canvass. These mythes are of two sorts, the historical and the philosophical. The historical mythe is unintentional, without any apparent object or end, and, as it were, forms itself of its own accord—history gradually tradition, being mythized. The philosophical fiction, on the contrary, contains a kernel of doctrine, which was necessarily and designedly involved in that concrete form from the want of a language and habit of abstract reasoning. The historian disengages the truth from the mythe by considering what was the fact, whether of the outer world of nature or the inner world of sentiment, which is implied in the story, and then what was the opinion about that fact, or the manner of viewing it in the relation, the medium through which

saw it, which will account for the erroneous refraction and distortion. The philosopher has a simpler process to go through; he has to separate what was the intention and object of the mythist from what was merely introduced as a scaffold to support it. We may take the story of Marsyas as an instance of the first kind. That the Grecians had overcome the Phrygians,—that the Grecian religion and the accompanying music of the harp had prevailed over the Phrygian flute,—that there was a skin of some flayed Phrygian suspended in some sacred cave or temple,—all this was fact; but the old poet who was the narrator has mythized all this according to the opinions and habits of his age, which was accustomed to public contests of musical skill, which attributed all the powers of individuals to their presiding deities, and which held those deities to be beings susceptible of anger and cruelty. It is sufficient to name the tragic story of Prometheus, to give an instance of the philosophical mythe. In both cases the form given is similar, the subject-matter varies as derived from within or without; and it is the beauty of this form, its suitableness to the human imagination, that constitutes the excellence and secures the durability of the fable. If it presents interesting situations, pleasing images, or marvellous incidents; if it humanizes the incomprehensible fatality of nature; if it aggrandize the weak humanity of man; if it renew the delightful feeling of strangeness and novelty about things which have become dull and stale from use; if it concentrate what is in the real world scattered and diffused over an extent of time or space too large to be taken in at once by our senses, into one intense focus; if it does any or all of these feats for us, it does us good service, and excites our own imaginations to a similar exercise, that is, to the formative contemplation of an ideal world.

In the fables of Pindar the characteristic is grandeur and dignity. There is hardly any one of the celebrated stories of his country that he has not introduced, but they are all treated in a grave, austere and simple style, more like the sober truth of history than the fancy-work of poetry, and with a conscientiousness and scrupulous morality which does not belong to any other Grecian poet. His reverence for the divine nature is equalled by no other author of antiquity

except Plato, and reminds one of some of the Hebrew prophets.

The old Titanic fables of the earlier nature-gods, their wars, wounds, imprisonments, deceits and mutual injuries, are never mentioned by him but with the strongest reprobation. In one passage he exclaims, "Utter not idly such things; set all war and strife far apart from the immortals. To speak ill of the gods is an absurd wisdom, and such unseemly pride goes to the tune of madness." Throughout all his poems the gods appear as friends to men, mild and beneficent beings, to be propitiated by prayer and praise and good works, and truly, as he says himself, a faithful race, *καὶ μὲν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος*. Mixed with these true and worthy ideas of the Divinity is much that is childish and heathen. The idea of the divine *Holiness* which was given to the Jews, the guardians of the heart and conscience of man, was very remote from the Greeks and their kindred races, who were more largely endowed with intellectual power: consequently, the distance between man and God did not seem to be so infinite; and the communion of the human and divine nature was not viewed by them with that deep awe with which the Jew or Christian must approach so profound a mystery. The profligacy in the sexual relations, which eat like a canker into the very marrow of Hellenic civilization, defiled also their notions of the gods; and the ambiguous nature of the mythe, which might be either a sportive fancy or a religious mystery, and in which all their poetry, history and philosophy was mixed up, served still further to corrupt the minds of the common people. The great poets, such as Pindar, seem to have been well aware themselves when they were speaking mythically and fancifully, according to the popular creed; as, for instance, in the 1st Olympian of Pindar, or the 9th Pythian; and when they were in earnest. But the mere using of the same sacred name in both cases was a profanation for which they well deserved their banishment from the ideal republic.

The worship of the Dorian Apollo, in which, as we have seen, the choral lyric originated, and which was the only "reasonable service," or approach to a reasonable and moral service of religion amongst the Greeks, is, as we might expect, particularly celebrated by our poet: "It is he," he says,

“ who dispenses to mortals cures for their grievous diseases ;
 “ who invented the harp, and imparts the Muse to whom he
 “ wills, *bringing into the heart well-ordered, unjarring con-*
 “ *cord* ; it is he who haunts the prophetic cavern. * * *
 “ He is the king who knows all the appointed ends, and all
 “ the paths, of all things : how many spring-leaves the earth
 “ sends up ; how many sands in the rivers and seas are tossed
 “ with the waves and the winds ; and who clearly sees what
 “ is about to be, and whence it will be.” Again, in another
 place : “ Apollo in his temple heard it from his *most unerring*
 “ *partner, the all-knowing mind*. For from all that is false
 “ he is exempt, and neither god nor man deceives him, neither
 “ in deed *nor thought*.”

In so earnest and serious a mind as Pindar's, which concentrated and took up into itself the whole fullness of the civilization of his age, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which in the earlier poets is heard like a faint and plaintive echo from some unknown distance, could not fail to find a deep belief, and issues from his *profundo ore* in bolder tones.

Of all human virtues, public spirit is that which Pindar celebrates most ; nor should we moderns hear with a disdainful smile the records of those bloodless and innocent games, which contributed so much to the formation of all that is truly great and immortal in Grecian history. Perhaps, indeed, we, a round-shouldered, dyspeptic, ennuyée race, ought much rather to envy them and regret them, as we do the jousts and tournaments of our own heroic ancestors. Be that as it may, in Pindar's time, at any rate, it was thought that there was nothing more manly for a young man to do than to strive for one of these gymnastic prizes, nothing more fortunate than to obtain it ; and Pindar, a regular old Dorian conservative, found good warrant and authority for the custom, from Hercules and the Twins (who correspond, in some degree, with our Arthur and Carlo Magno,) downward, through long lines of heroic prize-fighters.

Liberality, hospitality, sociality, are constantly-recurring themes of encomium. He is a great recommender of marriage, of duty to parents, and of brotherly unanimity : see the gloomy hint with which he mentions the death of Phocus, in

the 5th Nemean, and turns from it; see his exulting account of Antilochus, "the divine man, who bought with death his father's escape;" see, above all, the exquisite tale, where, Zeus has given his son Polydeuces the power to alienate of his own immortality in his brother's favour, or to keep it all for himself, the poet concludes in two lines: "Thus god offered; Polydeuces revolved no second thought in his heart, but *re-opened the eyes and then the voice of the brazen-helmeted Castor.*"

Pindar has been accused of an undue admiration for wealth and splendour. This reproach is true; as indeed it could well be otherwise in a poet whose theme was such as his, who lived before Socrates had consecrated his poverty to science and reason,—long before the Deliverer came in the shape of a servant. Yet the wealth which Pindar honours with his plause, is the wealth of an early and simple state of society, the riches of the chieftain of a clan, a man who supports a number of dependents, keeps an open table, *χορηγεῖ* to the public festivals of the state. Avarice next to impiety he tests most.

Few courtiers, indeed, of modern times would dare to speak to great kings the terrible things that Pindar points to, and depends over their heads, the huge enigmas which he hides: such as the fate of Tantalus, and, again, of Corvus and of the cloud-embracing ambition of the ungrateful Ixion and its monstrous solitary offspring; the *παραδειγμάτων μαρτυρία ἐν Αἰδοῦ*, from which he half withdraws the veil before Hiero of Syracuse in the hour of his glory.

It is in this noble kind of poetry, these high Doric odes, that we are to look for the ideal of the Grecian character; and we cannot refrain from deploring the comparatively small attention that is devoted to the study of this branch of ancient literature at our universities, particularly at Cambridge. Something, perhaps, of the same motive which recommen-

* *Χαλκομύτρα* appears merely an *epithetum ornans*, which is rare in Pindar. Perhaps *μύτρα* had a different sense in his time from what it had in Homer and meant a helm or morion of some sort, without, however, any reproach of effeminacy, like that in the *Æneid*, attached to it. Those who have seen the *Leda* of Michael Angelo in our National Gallery, will see at once how much the passage would gain in force, if such an explanation could be justified and supported. In that case a more pregnant word could not have been chosen.

the tragic drama to the mob of Athens,—a mob, be it remembered, more like the gentry of New Orleans than the citizens of Massachusetts, may have influenced our divines in their almost exclusive attention to the latter department. The thirty thousand spectators at Athens were pleased to see the crimes and sufferings of the old kingly dynasties, and were flattered with the notion of their own superiority above their ancestors, and liked the moral so often repeated, as a kind of ostracism against all that is great, of a quiet mediocrity being the best thing in the world. (See the 11th Pythian of Pindar, where the Agamemnonian tragedy is introduced with a somewhat similar bearing.) Some recent writers have pointed with a similar triumph to the miseries of the old pagans, and their inexplicable enigma of fate, the knot of all their tragedy, and seem to conceive that they must make those ages appear dark, in order to bring out more strongly the light of revelation. We think this not fair or honest, and, consequently, not politic. The Greeks were a joyous, cheerful race; and it is more interesting to see what their solution of the mystery of life was, how they found it in an ideal, and what this ideal was, than to read their complaints, in which, to our taste, they did not well succeed.

Surely the book of Hebrew Psalms, and all our great modern poems, from Dante downward, have a deeper, more earnest, more real melancholy in them,—have more of the suffering Divinity, than anything “of Thebes or Pelops line.” The Greeks were always children, as their greatest writer says, and the sorrows and disappointments of a boy we are inclined to overlook with a smile; while, on the contrary, his sanguine spirit, his undoubting activity, the forward movement of his whole being, is to be viewed with love and admiration.

On the Grecian stage the sufferings are external and superficial, such as a reverse of fortune, a murder, or the destruction of an ancient family. But they know not the agonies of the heart and soul, the internal hell of remorse and doubt, the spiritual agonies, which, like the bite of the fabulous monster, reduce the whole being to ashes. Their fate winds round them, and strangles them with its “adamantine voluminousness.”

Our fate works internally like poison, and causes that negation of life, that analysis and dissolution of all the elements which is death and putrefaction in the still living creature;—Our Fate is Sin.

Besides, in their drama, the whole thing seems calculated to be viewed from such a distance, and to produce such a coarse and general effect! The colossal mask, with its one fixed expression; the chanted recitative of the monotonous senarian; the regular structure of the plays, the sameness of the incidents and sentiments, and, above all, the want of individuality in the characters, makes it a wretched business when compared with our own, however superior it may be to the Italian opera. But who would *read* an opera? Far be it from us, however, to deny the great genius of the three tragic kings of old Greece; we think they were great men, and that they did all that could have been done in such a department. We hold some of their lyrics to be worthy of all admiration; but we regret that they should be studied to the exclusion of the Doric poet, since, as we have said, we have plays in our own literature far better than theirs, but have nothing "*simile aut secundum*" to the great lyricist; and since the one was a national poet, full of the decided character of his age, who laboured to form and mould that character, while the others wrote more for the amusement of the hour, or the prize of the moment.

Next to the ethical dignity of our author, we come now to his skill as an artist in the construction of his poems, and here we know that it will be difficult to give the English reader, who is not acquainted with the original, any accurate notion; but as we have once for all determined to present him with a sketch of the old lyrical poetry, and of Pindar in particular, we cannot pass by this topic. The odes which remain to us are not hymns to the gods, nor Bacchanalian dithyrambs, nor dirges, but *Epinicia* or victory-songs, sung at festivals given on occasion of some victory at the great Grecian games. Of course, therefore, the theme of these odes must rest primarily upon the notion of victory, and must derive its character from this, and express triumph and exultation, on account of the power and skill of the combatant, as well as his good fortune, and the propitious favour

of the gods, either in reward for his own merit, or in compensation for his undeserved misfortunes. In these encomia, our author, with great skill, always directs the attention from that excellence in a person, which strikes one first, and is most conspicuous, to its complement or supplement, so as always to couple with any given virtue that other, which must be taken with it to complete the total idea of perfection; as bravery with gentleness, force with skill: just as the instinctive power of the eye combines with any one colour the spectrum, which is its opposite, and which, containing the other two principal colours, fills up the triad. And thus, if the person actually possess both qualities, their praise is full and round; if not, what they want is suggested.

The name and country of the victor, the place of victory, and the kind of victory, are always carefully mentioned, as is suitable to the documentary and real character of his odes, which the poet himself compares with the portrait-statues erected to the victors at Olympia. We know, too, that they were so zealously esteemed as public testimonies of national honours, that they were sometimes graven in marble, with gilded letters, and suspended in the temple of the Acropolis, by decree of the state which they celebrated (Olymp. VII.). And it is said, that when Thebes fined her poet for a dithyramb, which he had written in honour of her political rival, Athens, the money was paid at once by the Athenians, and a brazen statue dedicated to his memory by the grateful state. The choral dignity of these odes, and their public character, of course precluded any particular description of the successful contest, or much personal praise of the individual victor, which was reserved for a very different sort of composition, the Scolion, or the Hyporchema, while here everything is taken in the most general sense; and the state which had educated and trained the man, and in whose name, and with whose omen, he conquers, is the main object. Accordingly, the poet, when he has once stated the occasion of his festive appearance, soon leaves the individual, and, according to the established practice, proceeds to celebrate the gods and heroes of the state in a mythical fable, and only recurs to him at the end, by way of conclusion. Such is the method observed also in the Panegyrics of Plato, Lysias, and

Isocrates, which are, by the way, the best introduction for the modern reader to the study of Pindar, as they express at full length, in clear prose, what is only implied and alluded to as a matter of course by the poet. Δοκει μοι χρῆναι, says Socrates, in the Menexenus, κατὰ φύσιν, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ ἐγενοντο, οὕτω καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς· ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἐγενοντο διὰ τὸ φῦναι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν τὴν εὐγενεῖαν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζωμεν. This honour, however, is allowed to the victor, that the old mythical stories of his country are adapted to his particular case and treated so as to apply to him; those qualities are dwelt most upon in the old heroes and founders of his race, which he himself has now displayed, and those incidents in their fate which most correspond with his own. It was something in the same way that the Roman emperors, as one sees in their statues and coins, delighted to be represented in the character of some god or hero, or, as the French happily express it, "*en Hercule, en Apollon*;" with this difference, however; that in their case it was a mere imitation, and outward resemblance; whereas the Greeks believed that they were of the very same blood and race, and that the actual spirit* of their ancestors lived in them, and guided their destiny. It is with difficulty, indeed, that we can go along with that strong feeling about purity of blood and separation of races which possessed the ancient Grecian as well as Hebrew world, and which it seems nothing less than the efficacy of the Christian spirit, in such an organ as a St. Paul, could have abolished; and yet we must put ourselves back into their place, to understand the force of their endless genealogies. The English reader will have a just notion of the state of the case if he set it down, that what Moses and the Patriarchs were to the Hebrews, the Æacidæ were to the Æginetans, the Dioscuri to the Spartans, Theseus to the Athenians, and similarly in all the other many states of Greece.

By reason of this intimate connexion of the real and the mythic parts, the reader is to interpret the one by the other; either, what is said darkly in the direct words, is made evident by the context of the mythical story; or what is hinted in the ideal mythe is explained openly in the real part; or

* Εἰ δὲ Δαιμον γενεθλῖος ἔρποι, &c. Ol. xiii.*

what is not said in the one, is to be concluded from what is said in the other. Perhaps it will be best to give an instance of this.—In the 7th Olympian, from the whole arrangement of the mythes, it is evident that there was something unfortunate which had happened to Diagoras; yet this is alluded to in direct terms only in the slightest manner. In the 4th Pythian, the long description of Jason, and his equitable discourse and reconciliation with the usurper in the fable, is explained by the open appeal to King Arcesilaus at the end of the ode, in behalf of the refugee Demophilus, whom he had banished. In the 10th Nemean, the beautiful story of the twin Dioscuri, on which the poet dwells so long, plainly shows that there must have existed some uncommon affection between Theæus, to whom the ode is addressed, and some brother of his, of whom there is no mention in direct words.

The very idea of the ode implies that it should be not explanatory but suggestive; it should not act, neither narrate, but suggest. The paramount tone should be that of reflection and feeling, not as *in* the action, which belongs to the drama, but *about* it. But as in the epos, or drama, there is a unity of action, so in the ode there must be a unity of reflection; some one theorem, or ground-thought, must pervade the whole, and support all the parts, and leave a decided result for the mind to carry off. Yet there must be something like a dramatic evolution and catastrophe to excite the attention and to keep it in suspense: accordingly, the enunciation of what is meant must not be declared first, as in a regular proposition; but beginning with his construction, to use a geometrical term, the poet must lay the foundations of an unknown work before the wondering reader, and not before the end allow him to attain that point of view which shall flash upon his mind conviction of the meaning of the whole; and the reader must submit himself to the poet as to a mysterious hierophant, who shall lead him through many winding ways, and show him glimpses of strange sights, till at last he finally initiate him into the perfect vision of the truth. And this is the so-much-mistaken wildness of Pindar; this intricacy of arrangement, this veil of clair-obscure, which he throws over his glowing meaning, and without which a poem, like a picture, is hard and flat. The intellect, like

the eye, must be exercised, must be dilated and content to be pleased.

As an instance of the ground-plan which Pindar makes his whole ode, and bases upon some one decided theme, we will take the 2nd Olympian, addressed to the aged and noble Theron. After many misfortunes and changes of family, one of the oldest in Greece, and tracing its descent from Cadmus, had settled at Acragas, or Agrigentum, Sicily, where he had held the supreme power for about thirty years, and where, having defeated the Carthaginians, he had those magnificent temples, the ruins of which surpass in our belief, all the other remains of antiquity. He was a very old and venerable man; but his latter years had been disturbed by the misfortunes of his daughter Demarete, an attempt of two of his own relations to raise a revolt at Acragas. He had, however, the consolation of gaining the prize in the chariot-race of Olympia, and Pindar wrote this ode for the festive celebration of this event. He takes for his theme the necessary vicissitudes of happiness and sorrow, and adapting his discourse to the age of the monarch, suggests that life itself is but the state which alternates with death; and that as life is so dark, death must be joyful and lightsome*; and he consoles the old king by showing that the vicissitude of fortune had especially attended all the former names of his own family, and holds out to him the hope of obtaining after all his toils, as they had done, according to the established mythology, a blessed lot in that other life to which he was approaching, and heroic honours upon earth. This is the theme of the ode, but it is by no means so put together as we have stated it, openly, consecutively, and didactically. The images are presented to the mind, their connexion is hidden, and all seems to flow from the impulse of the moment. Thus the idea of another world is introduced, apparently that of a world of punishment for the bad, those who misused their wealth and power; and it is only surreptitiously and by implication, only by dwelling longer on the b

* This is exactly the *γενεσις ἐξ ἐναντιων* of the Phædon, and shows that the doctrine must have been Pythagorean, and have been used as a basis for the theory of metempsychosis.

side, and on the splendid hope of immortality, that he offers it to Theron. When he has described the islands of the blessed, he says that Peleus and Cadmus are living there, and Achilles, who razed the pillar of Troy, Hector, and slew Cycnus, and the Æthiop son of the morning. And there he stops, with an eloquent aposiopesis; Peleus being the emblem of the good old man, Cadmus the ancestor of his race, and the victories of Achilles over the barbarians suggesting those of Theron over the Carthaginians. Here he stops; and to make the transition from these great mysteries to the mortal present, he introduces a noble image, in which he appears all-inspired, alighting from the pure region of poetry, and settling upon the praise of Theron himself, with which he quickly concludes.

It is this admirable economy of his materials, this rhetorical skill, which in a later age would have made him a Demosthenes, that is the peculiar excellence of our author, and that makes such a wide difference between him and the great modern with whom he has been sometimes compared, and who is, indeed, in sublimity his equal, Dante Alighieri. Perhaps the chief point of resemblance between them in the eyes of certain critics is, that in both there are some splendid passages here and there occurring, with much dull matter filling the interspace, over which the reader may securely sleep; otherwise, as to the general texture of their work, Dante is more like Defoe than like Pindar.

It is the arrangement of these various parts, the intersections of these various circles of the mythical and the real, what is hinted and what is explained, what is gloomy and threatening with what is cheerful and glorious, advice and admonition with praise, that knits the odes so indissolubly together. Sometimes they are arranged in large masses, alternate and corresponding; as Fuseli says of Tintoretto, large wings of light and shade dividing the picture. Such is the 1st Pythian, the theme of which is the notion of the two principles of good and evil; and as the ode opens with the magnificent assembly of the gods, in their eternal peace, enjoying the hymns of Apollo and the Muses, in contrast with the fire-vomiting Titans suppressed under the mountains, so it concludes with praise of the glorious monarchy of Hiero,

in contrast with admonitions and cautions against the worse part of his uncertain character. Sometimes the one is inclosed within the other; sometimes a more varied and almost spotted effect is produced by their intermingling. But it is useless to insist further on the art with which this is done, without giving instances, and this we cannot do without swelling our remarks to an unconscionable length. Suffice it to say, that the distinctness of these parts, and their implication one with another, and the admirable transitions between them, is what is most peculiar to our author.

The diction of Pindar is remarkable for its force and strength. The ancients called it austere. His sentences are composed of a few large words, like a wall built of Cyclopiæ stones, or like a stately grove of trees, which stand apart from one another, each one in its own dignity, with ample space around it. The junctures of the words are not smoothed off and polished away so as to let them run together, and form, as it were, one long word of the whole sentence, but the one generally ends with such a letter as repels that with which the next begins, and so necessitates a short pause between them; and this requiring an effort, and a vigour of utterance to overcome, and to mould into the flow of the rhythm, suits the athletic character of the choral dance. It reminds one of the *το ἕτερον* in Timæus, which *προς βίαν ὁμως δε*, is involved within the *ταυτον*. His language has a plainness of construction and a simple gravity, which is more like the Hebrew poetry than like anything we have been accustomed to hear called Pindaric. In this respect he particularly excels the tragedians, who are, we cannot but think, very bad models of style for any one off the cothurnus. One meets in his writings none of the *sesquipedalia verba* which frightened poor Bacchus in the 'Frogs,' *προς κενον κομπων εκπεπτωκατα*; and none of those malformations of intricate grammar which disfigure the tragic chorus. The majesty of Pindar is unstilted; it stands like a Doric pillar, based on itself.

His metre is of a similar character, plain, straightforward, but decided and vigorous, and especially simple. In the odes of Dorian mood he uses nothing but the Ditrochæus, whether light or heavy (to use Thiersch's convenient distinction

between that with the short and that with the long final syllable), and the dactyl; in various proportions of course, according as the pacing step or the more dancing spring was to prevail. In the Lydian and Æolian odes, the Cretic and its resolutions into the fourth Pæon, and the Bacchius, are the chief, if not the only, feet used. The metrical student may contrast this short catalogue with the extensive nomenclature with which he must prepare himself for the tragic metres, and then judge if the accusation of incomprehensibility brought against the versification of our poet is any more tenable than that which was so long the '*asylum ignorantie*' about his sense. The prejudice on both subjects was purely owing to the stupidity of the Alexandrian critics. Glory and honour to the great German scholar, Boeck, who has rescued our poet from them, and re-composed his scattered limbs into the fullness of their perfect form.

We must now say a few words of the several modern editions of our author. Dissen's, with which we have headed our article, is certainly the most convenient and useful, or rather the most accessible, as Boeck's great work is so large and so expensive and expansive, as to be quite beyond the reach of ordinary intellects or purses. Dissen has followed that great critic in his arrangement of the metres, and has extracted *κορυφαίαις ἀρεταῖς ἀπο πάντων* from his notes and commentaries; and though he sometimes seems to exercise an extraordinary and Lyncæan power of seeing into millstones, yet many of his conjectures and hypotheses are so ingenious, and tally so happily with the phenomena of the text, that they apparently verify themselves. The preface contains an elaborate examination of the method of the odes, and the various forms of the arrangement of the argument, to which we confess ourselves indebted for much of what we have been presenting to the English reader. The book is printed in a beautiful clear type, and the text is a separate volume from the notes.

Fr. Thiersch's edition is prefaced by a learned essay, in which he treats of the music and metres of the ancients, and especially of the way in which the Pindaric odes were actually performed. He has there started an hypothesis which we will take this opportunity of examining, as we think it likely

to throw a new light on some of the *δανλοὶ δασκιοὶ* τε π of the old poet. We must, however, now bid farewell to English reader, and beg to address ourselves to those who already well versed in our author. The question then is, in relation the choragus, or exarchus, the band-leader, stood towards the chorus, or comus? We think that we can be forward passages which will prove it to have been very different from that which obtained on the tragic stage.

First, then, it is evident that the odes were actually sung by a chorus of men or youths. See Ol. I. 8 (edit. Disse Pyth. I. 98; Pyth. V. 20, 97; Pyth. X. 6, 55; Nem. I. 4, 11; Nem. X. 34; Isth. X. 1.

Also, that this band danced or stepped to the music which, indeed, the very terms of strophe and antistrophe imply,—may be seen from Ol. III. 5; Ol. XIV. 17; Pyth. I. 4; Isth. I. 7.

Again, that this chorus was composed, at least in some cases, of the fellow-citizens of the victor. See particularly Pyth. X. 55. "But I hope more and still more to celebrate Hippocles, the *Ephyræans* pouring forth *my* sweet voice by the Penæus." And again, Nem. III.,—

"O sacred Muse! mother mine! come, I pray thee, to the Dorian Ægina; for by the Asopian stream the young men await thee, making of sweet-sounding choral dances, longing for thy voice. Each thirsts for its own completion, and victory requires the song, most happy companion of crowns and successes; of which full measure give them from my deep thought; and begin to the cloud-enveloped ruler of heaven, thou his daughter, a worthy hymn, and I will combine it both with *thy* voices and with *the* lyre."

Again, Isth. I. 7, he says, I will "celebrate with dance Apollo in sea-girt Cos *with the island men*." It seems implied also at the beginning of Isth. VII., that the chorus were natives; see also 67 of the same ode. And in an ode addressed to an Æginetan (Pyth. VIII.), he ends with this prayer: "Ægina, dea mother, O, preserve this state!" which must have been said by an Æginetan chorus in their own person; as Pindar who is so very scrupulous about his genealogies and degrees of relationship, and has mentioned in one place his grandmother Stymphalis (Ol. VI.), and in another expressly claim *cousinship* with the men of Ægina, could never have been

transported with any assignable degree of inspiration, as to have called his aunt his mother.

For so far, then, the chorus of the Doric ode seems to have resembled that of the Athenian tragedy, in that they danced and sang, and had a character of their own, a local habitation and a name. But now comes another point, on which we must equally insist. It appears then, secondly, that in various passages the poet speaks of himself individually; not as the common "I" or "we" of the chorus, but as "I, Pindar the Theban."

Of this, one of the strongest instances has been given above, in the passage from Nem. III., where he represents himself as holding a sort of mediatorial office between the Muse and the chorus of Æginetans. In like manner, Isth. VII. 3, he says—

"Awake up the dance, O young men, for Cleander! for whom *I also*, though heavy at heart, am required to invoke the golden muse. But it behoves one bred in seven-gated *Thebes* to give the flower of his favours to *Ægina*."

Isth. I. he begins,—

"O my mother, golden-shielded *Thebes*! thy business will I hold superior to all incommodity; and let not rocky *Delos*, on whom I brood, blame me. What is dearer to the good than their revered parents? Give place, then, thou *Apollonian* one!" &c.

Cf. Ol. I. 106; Ol. II. 86; Ol. XI. 1, 85, 100; Isth. II. 47; Isth. V. 74.

These passages can have no sense at all, unless understood to be spoken by the poet in his own person and character; and that no chorus of Æginetans or Ephyræans could have sung them is sufficiently evident. These passages are, however, mostly from the beginnings and endings of odes; and it may be said that the exarchus, perhaps, began and concluded solo, as was the custom in the dithyrambic ode, with a short prayer or sentence; and, as we find in Euripides, the *ωμεγα σεμνα νικα* at the end of several plays. Yet in what we have quoted already, the passage from Nem. III. occupies nearly one whole strophe and antistrophe. That in Pyth. X. is twenty lines from the end, the whole ode being only seventy lines in length. However, there exists a still stronger text in the very heart

of the composition of one of the odes. Ol. VI. 82, claims,—

“My tongue seems like unto a sounding whetstone; it draw not against my will indeed, with the current of inspiration. For phalian nymph is the mother of my mother, flourishing Metope, horse-taming Thebè, whose lovely water I drink, weaving the v hymn for warriors. Bid, then, thy companions, Æneas, first sing nian Herè, and then judge whether we truly escape the old rep Boeotian pig; for thou art the true messenger, the scytalè of th the sweet cup of sounding songs.”

Now who is this Æneas? and who is it that address him? None of the commentators that we have seen have dared to look upon these difficulties, *fixis oculis*. Dissen, Æneas is the choragus. Does then the chorus speak to himself? or can it be the chorus which says “Bid thy companions sing Parthenian Herè”?

The only supposition which offers any clue to the last is the only scytalè which exactly fits the *περιπλοκή*, and is right and consistent, seems to us to be this: that Æneas is the leader of the dancers * who had been sent to Thebes to learn from the poet the dance and the method of performance and that some one else there, in the *persona* of the poet himself, addresses him, and directs him to perform the Prologue to Herè, which he had been taught, and which we suppose was sent together with the ode. We know from Plutarch (de Saltatione) that the pantomimes, in his time at least, wore masks, as he contrasts their natural mask with the humorous uncouth distortions of the tragic one; and we may suppose that in ancient times the choragus wore a Pindaric mask, the idealized face that is still extant in busts as Pindar’s word *messenger*, indeed, is still difficult, but we find it used in Pyth. IV. 278, in something the same sense. A similar hypothesis appears to us the only possible explanation of the corresponding passage, Isth. II. 42.

To recapitulate shortly, we find first, various places

* See Pausanias, v. 25, where he describes the thirty-seven bronze statues of the Olympia of the chorus, which the Sicilians used to send *κατ' εθος* every year for games, the *χορον παιδων, και διδασκαλον του χορου, και ανδρα αυλητην* also iv. 4, where he says the Messenians used to send to Delos also, *θυσιαν ανδρων χορον*.

which the chorus is spoken of as distinct from the poet, as natives of the country which is celebrated, fellow-citizens of the victor; secondly, several others, in which the poet speaks of himself as the Theban, the poet, as distinct from the chorus. And what can we conclude from this, but that the chorus sings at one time in their own persons, and the poet at another, solo, in his own character?

We must suppose, then, the performance to have begun with the music, and that the chorus accompanied it with silent evolutions, and that these motions continued in regular time, and measured out to the eye the forms of the complete strophe and antistrophe, whether they joined in the song or not. It will, perhaps, make our notion clearer, if we fancy the quire in a cathedral engaged in continued symbolical action during the whole service, and at one time chanting, at another silent, while the priest reads. If we go back to the Homeric account of the Phæacians, we there find the dance and σχηματισμος of the chorus quite independent of the words of the bard, and there is no passage in his song which could well have been sung in chorus. If we look on to the later times, we shall find κομματα, such as that of the eunuch in the Orestes, where one skilful actor both sang and accompanied his words with rhythmical motions, and such must have been the wonderful pantomimes which Lucian describes. But between these two extremes we may conceive a period when the poet and the actors, or dancers, were not so completely separated, as in the first case, and yet did not coalesce into one person, as in the second, but where there existed an intercommunion between them, a sort of dramatic alternation of persons.

But what document have we to witness directly to the fact? Hardly any, indeed, but still some little. The curious MS. found by Kircher in the library of a monastery at Palermo, of old psalm tunes, contains a fragment of the 1st Pythian of Pindar, with the musical notation; and over the *third* line are written the words χορος εις κιβαν, which evidently imply, that during the recitation of the *first two* lines the chorus was silent.

Of course, such an hypothesis can only be substantiated by applying it and working it out, and seeing if it succeeds

in explaining the phenomena. Such an attempt is some-
like what it would be to restore the colouring of
Titian from an engraving, and all that can be expected
be only a distant approximation. Thiersch has arranged
11th Pythian in the following manner, which certainly re-
an intolerable harshness of transition. Let the chorus
and go on down to the end of line 12; then the poet
from that to line 53; from which on to the end is as
as anything in the tragedians. In passing may we be
to suggest an emendation of the corrupt *αμυνονται* at
55.? We would read

φθονεροι δ' αμυνονται
Ταδ', εἰ τις, &c.,

so that the formula of the expression should correspond
that in Pyth. XII. 31,

αλλ' εἰσται χρόνος
Οὔτος, ὁ καὶ, &c.

Ol. VIII. Let us suppose the chorus to cease at line
certainly there the elevation of style ceases, "the song
the mighty singing is suddenly withdrawn," and the style
changes.

Ol. IX. The chorus begins and calls upon the poet
speaks in his own person from line 21 to the end of line
then we suppose the chorus to join in down to *θνασκα*
line 35, repeating, as it were, the subject of the A-
chian hymn, which we know, from the Scholiast, to
be addressed to Hercules*. The poet replies,—

"Sing not such unholy strains, but of the pure Deucalion and I
raise to her the song, and know that though old wine is best, such
hymns (as those of Archilochus) are not comparable to mine."

From line 49 the ode proceeds in full chorus down to line
where the poet makes a transition like that in Ol. I.
then the chorus takes up the song at line 86; and at
100 the poet reiterates his pious observance of nature and
gods in every department of excellence, and tells the chorus

* This hypothesis has not occurred to Dissen, but it seems to us to explain
difficulties.

to shout aloud, line 109, as we may suppose they accordingly do, the three last lines.

Ol. XI. Here, at line 24, there is one of those decided breaks which seem to require our intervention *ex machina*. We conceive the poet to have begun; the chorus to have struck in at line 9, comparing itself to the dry pebbly bed of a χειμαρρος in summer, till filled by the poet with the stream of music; 15-19 exarchus; 20-23 chor.; 24-34 exar.; 34-42 chor., in allusion to Anaxilaus, king of Rhegium; 43-63 exar.; 64-96; then the poet concludes.

In the grand ode, Pyth. I., we have, according to Kircher's document, the exarchus to line 2. Now we would let the chorus sing to ελελιζομενα, and leave the elaborate description of the eagle to the poet alone as far as line 10; chorus to the end of the antistrophe; exar. to line 17; chorus then to line 28; exar. to line 35; chorus then to line 40; exar. the next strophe; then chorus 47-57; exar. the two next lines; then chor. 60-80; 81-92 ανεμοεν; chor. 92-98; exar. concludes. The picture of the eagle is too minute and too particular for the voice of the chorus, and by giving that to a single singer, the grandeur of the lines about the volcano is thrown out more prominently; the transition, too, from the blessed gods to the Titans, is more natural and easy. After the loud thunders of Ætna cease, a single voice is heard making intercession for the new victorious city. Toward the end, the good wishes and congratulations are public and choral, while the warning cautions are spoken by the poet himself.

Pyth. VIII. The noble opening of this ode,—alluding to the war with Athens, then on the point of breaking out, we may well suppose to have been sung by a chorus of Ægineans in their own persons down to line 28. After this follows what could not well be put into the mouth of a choral band, as will be evident to any one who considers the whole structure of the passage, and the φαντασια of Amphiaras; and, above all, what comes after line 56, where the poet speaks evidently in his own person. But from line 61 to the end, the mixture of triumph and gloomy anticipation is the very voice of the public feeling of the island.

Pyth. X. Exarch. 1-6; chor. 7-26. Here the transition is very sudden, and the fable seems dragged in, ἰππηδον πλο-

καμῶν, if we suppose the whole chorus to continue singing: but from the exarchus such rapid movements are expected. Let them continue therefore down to line 36; chorus to line 50; exarch. to 63; then chorus concludes.

That charming ode, the 4th Nemean, was sung solo, we learn, both from the absence of antistrophe and from line 1 where he says, "Surely if your father Timocritus were warmed with the bright sun, often would he, with the dian harp, hanging over this melody, be singing your phal song." It is interesting, therefore, to compare this ode with the wider and larger compositions, which were folded and displayed, like the purple tapestry in the phoræ, by the evolutions of the chorus. Here one meets a shorter and more compact style of diction, and a more variety of allusions, with quicker transitions. The poet, like the bee, darts (*θυεῖ*, Pyth. X. 54) instantly from source to the sweet depth of one flower into another.

Nem. VIII. The chorus begins down to line 15; then follows one of those movements which it seems to us could have been written for a chorus. The poet is beginning to compare the wealth and prosperity of Ægina with that of Cyprus, but suddenly breaks off and turns to another subject. He then, *προφασιν μὲν*, speaks of himself as the object of the chorus, but the chorus well understand that he alludes to the imbruing enmity and envy of the Athenians, and join in, heart and soul, line 24, in the contrast which is drawn between the straightforward Dorian Ajax, and the *πολυτροπος* character of an Ionian sort: line 40, the poet re-appears in his person, and rejoices that if he cannot assist them in the war, at least he may celebrate their peaceful triumphs. We may suppose, from the beginning of the ode, that the young man was going to be married.

Isth. II., line 42. The difficulties which beset this passage seem insuperable if Nicasippus was the exarchus, as some suppose; for, in that case, who speaks to him? or how is the line spoken?

Isth. IV. After those inimitable verses, lines 49, 50, it seems requisite that the exarch. should speak alone when it is said, "nevertheless quench in silence the boast"; and the chorus could hardly be supposed to abstain of itself

such a theme, or so quickly to descend from such an exaltation.

Isth. V., line 35, there occurs one of the harshest transitions in all Pindar. Indeed, a speech of the kind that follows, and the whole conception of the scene, is not adapted for choral delivery. We would suppose, then, the exarch. to begin down to line 7; then 7-13 chor.; 14-21 exarch.; 22-35 chor.; 35-59 exarch.; 60-73 chor.; exarch. concludes.

The last ode in the series is one of the most beautiful; there is a melancholy wildness both in the treatment of the subject and in the expressive metre. Here the poet certainly begins in person down to line 5. By the way, it is to be remarked that the plural *λυθευτες* is used here nom. abs., and immediately after *θεραπευε* in singular 2nd person, and then the next verb in the 1st plural; 5-11 chor.; then the *αλλα μοι* seems to mark a change of persons, so let exarch. follow 11-20; then the chorus address themselves to the nymph Ægina, and go on to line 26; then follows that ingenious parable about the balance of power, which could not well have been adapted to the choral voice; this lasts from 27-46; then chor. 46-60, not without allusion to their brethren who had fallen at Salamis; 61-70, the poet concludes.

Now if we admit this theory, and allow that *ὁ χορος*, according to the expression of Diogenes Laertius, *αρχαίως διεδραματιζεν μόνος*, and recollect the other means at the disposal of the poet for changing the tone of his song, such as the power of altering either the mood of the music, or the instrument altogether, and adopting at one time the enthusiastic flute, at another the equable harp, we shall be able fully to justify the most abrupt transitions: indeed, what seemed a blemish, will come out, when thus seen in the true light, as a great beauty.

We have purposely omitted all reference to the disputed passages, Pyth. V. 68, ff.; Pyth. IX. 91; Nem. VII. 85, as we thought that we could make good our case without touching them; and as to what Boeck and Dissen in their notes on them, and Ulrici in his 'History of Lyrical Poetry among the Greeks,' have affirmed, that in lyrical odes the *first* person must always mean the *poet* himself, we cannot but

think that the constant practice of the tragic chorus is sufficient refutation.

Müller, in his ingenious commentary on the Euripidean *Philoctetes*, supposes the choragus to say the *φραζον* (line 125), and the chorus to follow with their *λαβε, λαβε*. He supposes in that *παροδος* which he has so happily and satisfactorily explained (line 300), that each clause was spoken by one of the chorus, and even that the sentence begun by one (line 309), is concluded by another. In counting the seven pairs too, the choragus, the 15th, is not in the same way Pindar (*Nem.* V. 25) does the beautiful *χορος* of the Muses, and Apollo Muse among the middle, distinct from them, as their exarchus. We recollect, too, what one of the Scholiasts says on occasion of a comparatively easy passage, *Nem.* IX. 19: "It is doubtful," he observes, "whether the *chorus* or the *poet* says this."

Again, there is much meaning in the words of the Scholiast to *Nem.* VIII.: *συνταττει το προοιμιον εις το της ωρας ειναι επικωμαστικως των πατριων εφαιπτεται*. We may suppose, moreover, that in the dithyramb there was an interchange of reciting and singing; and though this was introduced in a later period by Crexus (*Plutarch. de Mus.*, 1141, A.) it betokens a something in the original construction of the chorus of at least, which must have suggested it, and pointed the way for it.

But it is time for us to have done; and we will close with referring the classical reader, who understands Greek and is desirous of seeing more on the subject that we have been discussing, to Fr. Thiersch's ingenious essay published in his edition of Pindar, and to Ulrici's elaborate volume on the lyric poetry of Greece, in which he has collected a mass of facts bearing upon the matter*.

* "With regard to our hypothesis of the chorus dancing in silence while they sang, we beg to refer to a curious account of the Guipuzcoan dance in the *Foreign Quarterly*, No. 4. It appears that they have thirty-six dances, distinguished by particular ceremonies and different symbolical movements, corroborative of ancient histories; and that the tambourine player recites or sings private verses to inspire the dancers, who move in silence:—verses, dances being old-established forms, handed down by tradition, like the *Αρχιλοχον* alluded to *Olymp.* xi."

ARTICLE VI.

The present Government of Russia.

MUCH has been published, and still more said, respecting the Emperor Nicholas. To women he is described as a good husband and a most affectionate father; to the Tories as a stanch ruler, and one of the pillars of conservatism in Europe; and the Radicals are told that his bearded Russians carry civilization at the point of their lances, and that Bashkir, Circassian and Turk are alike regenerated by their genial influence. The prime minister of this country, at a public dinner, declared him "inferior to no man in the world in truth, in honour and in justice;" whilst O'Connell in the House of Commons pronounced him "a miscreant." A traveller, not one of those whose judgment was blinded by the crafty wiles of an artful despot, but who observed him closely, has stated that "Nicholas is not a devil, but no angel either." From such a heap of various and contradictory opinions, proceeding from natives of the same country, who by their education and national prejudices might be expected to have formed similar judgments, what conclusion can be drawn? We remain as much in the dark as ever respecting the true character of Nicholas; and if we learn anything, it is rather what he is not than what he really is. This disagreement of opinion has its source in the partial or rather superficial views that have been taken of him. Has any one yet described him in his principal character, as ruler over a territory, than which a larger is not recorded in history? Has any one attempted to estimate his merits as arbiter of the destinies of a conglomerated population of fifty millions, consisting of races, some akin to each other, others wholly differing in origin, in language, in manners, in religion and in civilization, and all depending upon him for the improvement of their condition, both moral and physical, for justice and for happiness?

We are far from wishing to disparage the domestic merits of the Czar, as manifested in his affection for his family, although even these have been questioned; but we cannot join that class of writers who seem to think that they deserve greater commendation from being found in the person of the Czar than in that of the meanest of his serfs. They are inherent in the nature of man, and as usual in his moral, as the desire of eating and drinking is in his physical constitution. Such instinctive feelings are scarcely entitled to praise at all. Each individual character has its appropriate standard, whereby it is and ought to be measured. The actor is valued according to his qualifications for the stage; the general for his conduct on the field of battle; a constitutional sovereign for his observance of the charter; and, in like manner, an autocrat must be tested as an autocrat, by the manner in which he wields his irresistible sceptre, and by the motives which impel the actions, for which he knows that he runs no risk of being called to account. To test the character of such a ruler as the Czar is no easy task; and to form a correct judgment of it at the first glance would be almost miraculous; since it is in the nature of despotic governments artfully to conceal one portion of their deeds and to misrepresent the other. Few travellers in Russia have sufficient penetration to discover this fact. From the first step they take in that country to the last, the impressions they receive at the Russian capital and at their audience of the emperor, are alike as delusive as the mirage which mocks the wanderer in the sandy plains of Egypt; and on their return home they relate these as so many positive truths. Our effort shall be to enable our readers to view these objects in their true bearings, and then Nicholas and his government will appear such as they really are. We are not of those who hurry over countries only to be deceived.

The true character of the Emperor Nicholas as a ruler, may be best shown by placing it in juxtaposition with that of Alexander, his immediate predecessor. Alexander was ambitious of being beloved by his subjects; Nicholas scorns their love, and is determined to be feared. Though his figure is finer and more commanding than that of Alexander, he is less pleasing; his aspect is stern, and no smile graces his lips.

Alexander was mild and affable; severity looks out from beneath the brow of Nicholas; but though insolent and harsh, he has an air of distrustful timidity. The traits of his character resemble those of his ferocious brother Constantine, with this material difference; that as the fury of the latter was vented upon individuals, that of Nicholas is directed against classes of men, races and whole nations. It is reduced to a system, and therefore the more frightful and pernicious. Ferocious as was Constantine, he not unfrequently repented of the evil he had committed, and would even make reparation when it was in his power, to those whom he had wronged. Not so Nicholas; however he may err, he never repents. Cruel by nature, it is a remarkable fact, that during his reign no sentence of a court-martial, on being presented for his signature, has ever been known to be cancelled or even mitigated by him, and most frequently he aggravates the penalties. The religious creeds and liberties of the various nations subject to the sceptre of Alexander were respected by him; Nicholas evinces utter disregard of them, violating alike charters and privileges, oppressing alike religions and sects. Alexander appears to have had some affection for the Poles, or at least seemed anxious to gain theirs by flattering them with the hope of preserving their nationality. The very names of "Poland and Poles" are abhorrent to the ear of Nicholas; he cannot endure them, and would rejoice that the whole population of Poland had but one neck, that with his own hand he might cut it off at a blow. This hatred it is that urges him to endeavour, with the concentrated force of his despotism, to erase that nation from the memory of man, and to wage, as he is doing at this moment, a barbarous war of extermination against its language, history and religion. Alexander was fond of science and the arts, encouraged learned men, and bestowed upon them rank, honours and rewards; Nicholas affects to do the same, but in reality he looks upon them with aversion and distrust; for he suspects them, in common with all enlightened and upright men, of a crime unpardonable in his eyes, namely, liberalism (*volnodoumstvo*). The most infamous characters, robbers, highwaymen, felons of every description, may hope to obtain his pardon for their crimes; but let every liberal man beware how he comes with-

in his reach, if he would avoid being doomed to perish on the Caucasus. Alexander established colleges and schools for the encouragement of learning and the arts; he restored a Polish university at Vilna, and founded another at Warsaw. Nicholas has abolished both, together with most of the schools existing in Poland; and in those that remain, he has introduced the most compulsive system of corrupted education. There was no difficulty in getting access to Alexander; the humblest peasant could approach him with a petition; and he was distinguished for his courtesy to men and his gallantry to women. Nicholas is as inaccessible as he is inexorable to his unfortunate subjects, and brutal both to men and women. His courtesy to the empress seems intended only for outward show, as he is known to be both imperious and harsh in private; and if the example of licentiousness which he sets be followed, his court runs great risk of becoming as profligate as that of Catherine II. All the men who were held most in esteem by Alexander are disliked by him, and some among them have become the objects of his most cruel persecution. It must be acknowledged to the credit of Alexander, that he did much towards civilizing Russia by introducing into it European industry and improvements; but Nicholas barbarizes by prohibiting his subjects from travelling; and thus cutting off in a great measure their intercourse with other nations, hopes to facilitate his meditated conquest of the adjacent countries, and his project of trampling under foot Europe and her civilization. Alexander, at least during the first years of his reign, was liberal; but in this respect also, Nicholas has shown himself the reverse of his brother, for he hates liberty alike in his own empire and in others. Countries enjoying a popular form of government and liberal institutions, are abhorred by him as his natural enemies. The sound of the drum and the peal of cannon are the music in which he most delights; he can conceive no higher standard of excellence than Napoleon, and no sublimer plans than his; it is in fact to this *idée fixe* that Prince Leuchtenberg is indebted for obtaining the hand of his daughter. He is susceptible of no gentle affections, no generous emotions, no magnanimity. Even in his youth, when it was his custom to drill his soldiers in his apartments, he was always pro-

vided with a whip, and would flog them mercilessly for the least inaccuracy ; and if on meeting one of his guard in the streets, the man did not salute him in a manner that suited his fancy, or happened to have a button of his uniform unfastened, he put him under arrest for several weeks, or degraded him to one of the regiments of the line. Now that he is emperor, those who incur his displeasure are marched off to the Caucasus. Cruel and inexorable himself, he dislikes men of a different disposition ; to witness concord and friendship is offensive to him, and he is much better satisfied when dissensions arise at his court or amongst foreign nations, which latter he is ever ready to foment by his secret agents, "*Divide et impera*" being his motto. The commander of a regiment, who does not behave ill to his officers, and encourage these in their turn to illtreat their subalterns, is despised as unfit for service, and soon dismissed. Even his own son, the presumptive heir of the crown, has, on account of his little disposition to cruelty, received from him the appellation of "old grandmother," and his tutor has been rebuked for giving him that turn. All established customs and judicial forms must give way when one of his fancies intervenes : his will is a decree, and brooks no delay in its execution. From his military predilections, the Czar will devote hours to drilling a company of raw recruits, which could be equally well performed by any corporal ; but he will give himself no trouble respecting the civil government of the state, and still less for the administration of justice. He does not, indeed, object to sign decrees for the augmentation of imposts ; but if any of the oppressed serfs present to him a petition complaining of injustice, both the petitioner and the writer of the petition are sentenced to Siberia, the one as a rebel, the other as an abettor of rebellion !

Overcharged as this picture of the Emperor Nicholas may seem, we have rather understated than exaggerated the facts in the present policy of Russia, and the events actually taking place in that empire. The principles upon which the whole of the present government of Russia hinges, are three in number :—*autocracy*, or the total subjection of the inhabitants to the principle of despotism ;—*orthodoxy*, or the total subjection of all religious creeds to the established church of Russia ;—

nationality, or the total subjection of numerous populations of different origin, races and languages, together with their respective civilization, customs and laws, to the nationality of the Muscovites. These three powerful watchwords are repeated from one end to the other of that vast empire, and they are the motives and objects to which everything is made subordinate and subservient. In consonance with these, statesmen in the cabinet, priests in the church, and authors in their books proclaim, that of all forms of government, despotism is the wisest; that to despotism Russia owes her territorial aggrandizement, her salvation in misfortune, her present power and greatness, and that to despotism also she will owe her future glory. Woe to him who should dare to express a doubt of the magic power of autocracy, or attempt to counteract it: by the mighty spell of that very power, he would soon find himself an exile in distant regions, or locked up in the dark dungeon of some fortress, to reflect there upon the folly of his disbelief. No means are left untried whereby to impress on the minds of the people the sanctity of the high office held by the Czar as the vicegerent of the Almighty on earth; to inculcate blind submission to him, and to ensure that from the Spitzberg to the Carpathian mountains, no form of praise shall be heard than the eternal chant of "*Hospodi pomilny*," (God have mercy upon us,)—the most appropriate invocation that a subject under such a government can utter—and that no other language be spoken, no books be read, but only Russian. With these notions are entwined visions of a final fusion of all the different nations composing the empire, into Russians; of the re-conquest of the Slavonian provinces which still belong to Austria and Prussia; and of domineering over the rest of the world through the mighty influence of that vast Slavonian league.

These ambitious schemes of Russia met, however, at their very outset with failure, owing to which their accomplishment has not only been retarded, but altogether defeated. Such fusion of heterogeneous nations into one mass, as she contemplated, can only be advantageously effected by mutual interest and attachment, and by such guarantees of reciprocal rights, as we much doubt its being in the power of Russia to give. But what she failed to effect by amicable measures,

she has attempted to perform by revolting acts of persecution, oppression and cruelty. Witness her barbarous and perfidious conduct towards Poland, which sister country of Slavonian origin, instead of using as a wise policy would have dictated, as a stepping-stone to the great and important union, she has by mismanagement converted from henceforth into a stumbling-block in her way. The fate of Poland will for ever be a warning to other Slavonian races, not to unite themselves with Russia. Although through the intrigues of her Greek priesthood and other secret agents spread far and wide, she may gain some influence among the Slavonian populations under the government of Turkey, the more enlightened and humanized portion of them under Austria and Prussia, calling Poland to remembrance, will shrink from the idea of contaminating themselves by entering into a bond with a member of the family so barbarous and perfidious, however alluring may be the end proposed by such a union. It is true that they desire a change in their present political condition, and mourn over their oppressed nationality; but having now for ages been accustomed to the regular system of administration and impartial justice of the respective foreign governments to which they belong, they will not lightly exchange a despotism tempered with humanity, for an autocracy of the wildest description—an offshoot of Asia, which can never thrive in the Slavonian soil, and which is entirely opposed to their ancient municipal customs, the mildness of their manners, and the social welfare of their communities.

It is from the fact of Poland being the greatest resisting force that can be opposed to Russia, that the Polish question has all along appeared to us of such vast general importance, as to induce us to devote a series of articles* to the exposition of the atrocities of Russia and her flagrant violations of faith.

* See the State and Prospects of Poland, No. I.—Diplomatic relations with the free town of Cracow, No. II.—The Poles and the Czar, No. III.—Occupation of Cracow, No. IV.—The Polish War of Independence, No. V.—Russia; Constitution and Procedure, No. VI.—Russian System of Education, No. VII.—The fate of Cracow, No. VIII.—State of the Jews in Poland, No. X.—Commercial relations between Poland and England, No. XII.—Manners and Society in St. Petersburg, No. XV.—Church and State; The Russo-Greek Church, No. XVII.—Recent Occurrences at Cracow, Nos. XIX. & XX.

In this we do no more than second the warm discussions that have at different times taken place in parliament upon the subject. In thus harping continually upon the same string, we gradually fulfil our plan of making the real policy of Russia understood, and of calling attention to its consequences. This policy is the combined result of the emperor's personal character, and of that of the agents employed by him, both at home and abroad, and for whose deeds the emperor, from his peculiar autocratic responsibility, must in fact be held solely accountable. Imperial decrees, and the lamentable results of the measures adopted in the execution of them, sufficiently display the peculiar features both of his government and of his individual character; moreover, they prove, that were it not for the resistance that Poland has offered, and, though abandoned to her fate, still does offer, the designs of Russia would long since have been accomplished.

For the purpose of overcoming the obstacles arising to her ambitious plans from the nationality of Poland, a special privy council was established some years ago at St Petersburg. It bears the unpretending name of the Committee for the Western (*i. e.* Polish) Governments. The members composing that committee are Tschernisheff, Bludow, Prince Galitzin, and General Benkendorff; and it was formerly presided over by the notorious enemy of the Poles, Novosiltzoff, whose disgrace for peculation, and disastrous end, are well known. Not a single Pole is of the number. The deliberations of the committee, its resolutions, and the instructions issued by it to the governors of the Polish provinces, are involved in profound secrecy. Such is the mystery in which the transactions of this inquisitorial council are wrapped, that the secretaries and clerks employed by it, on entering upon their functions, are bound by oath never to divulge anything that passes at its meetings. But whatever pains the committee may be at to conceal its deliberations, they are sufficiently revealed by their results; and from the peculiar kinds of persecution inflicted by the governors, who are the executors of its secret instructions, it is manifest that the grand object in view is the suppression of every vestige of the nationality of Poland, the effacing her name from the map of Europe, and her history from its annals,—in short,

the Russianizing her whole population*. Whoever stands forward in defence of these objects,—so dear to every nation and to every individual not wholly debased,—or is only suspected of being disposed to do so, becomes a marked man, and is sure sooner or later to fall a victim. The country swarms with informers—the church, the tavern and the brothel are alike infested by them. At court the dignified body of decorated counsellors perform the office of spies; in the streets the beggar who asks for a morsel of bread speculates on the wages of treachery. Within the walls of a man's own house, his domestics or his nearest relations may perhaps be paid informers; and he can neither play, nor sing, nor read,

* The provisions of the Congress of Vienna in 1814 with respect to Poland under the then existing difficulties, were not altogether injudicious, and ought not to be underrated. By protecting her nationality, her existence as a nation was secured. It is true that the Poles were not satisfied—nothing could, or ought to satisfy them short of the political independence of their country; still, had the conditions been faithfully observed, Europe would not have been deprived of the great benefit they were intended to effect, namely, that of constituting Poland, by her separate nationality and national interests, an intermediate power between the three co-partitioning governments,—a sort of moral bulwark to preserve the balance, and prevent any hostile collision which might disturb peace in the North of Europe. Lord Castlereagh having failed to restore Poland to its former independence under a distinct dynasty, as he had proposed to the Congress, it was hardly possible to imagine any better arrangement than that which was ultimately acceded to, viz. *First*, that all the provinces of ancient Poland, to whichever of the three governments, Austrian, Prussian, or Russian, they belonged, should have full enjoyment of their nationality; *secondly*, that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the population of which amounted to four millions, and which at that period did not belong to any of the three powers, should be erected into a kingdom of Poland, with a constitution and government of its own, to form, as it were, a *centre*, with the national *radii* extending westwards to the Duchy of Posen and the district of Bromberg; southwards to Galicia; eastwards to Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia and the Ukraine. It is true that the central portion of Poland, the kingdom, in consequence of the imperious circumstances and confusion arising from Napoleon's unexpected return from Elba, was surrendered to the Emperor Alexander as its king; yet it was to be annexed to Russia only by its constitution; according to which the diet was to be convoked every two years, and opened by a speech from the KING. His successors also were to be crowned at Warsaw. The kingdom was to have its own army, its own treasury, its own functionaries, who were to be all Poles, and no Russian was to be admitted to public office but by an act of naturalization. How mighty a centre was that kingdom, and how much more powerful might it in the course of time have proved, with its national laws, institutions and civilization gradually developing themselves, had it not been with wanton outrage swept away by Nicholas! It had a national army of 35,000 men, with a distinct uniform, and all the badges of nationality, and which by Art. X. of the Charter "*was never to be employed* (by the Emperors of Russia) *in a war out of Europe*;" but which, nevertheless, as if in derision of treaties, has been since 1832 drafted into the Russian regiments of the Caucasus, of Siberia, of Georgia, and with the levies of 10,000 recruits annually taken from the kingdom, must now be considered as thrown into the scale of Russia against the other powers of Europe.

still less write, without incurring the risk of being denounced as a traitor. To speak or to be silent is alike dangerous; for the most innocent words may be distorted into treason, and silence construed into brooding over some plot. If he be a Catholic, the priest in the confessional is bound by a recent imperial ukase to betray him, on pain of being considered an accomplice, in which case both are dragged before the inquisitorial courts, probably tortured, and finally sentenced to transportation or hard labour. The very prayer-book may become a witness against him, should it chance not to bear the *imprimatur* of the imperial censorship.

In tracing the sufferings of Poland since the late insurrection, it will be seen that not a year has passed, not a province escaped, unmarked by some calamity inflicted on its population in various, and often wholly unprecedented forms.

In 1832 Warsaw became the scene of kidnapping infants, who, under the false pretext of their being orphans, were carried off, and most of whom died on the way from fatigue, cold, or the want of proper food and care. The rest have never been heard of since they were placed under the paternal guardianship of the Emperor. These children are not only doomed to renounce their religion, and their native language, but even their very names are changed. An anecdote is told of an awkward attempt made by the emperor to place his conduct respecting these children in an amiable light in the presence of a distinguished foreigner*. After the termination of some manœuvres performed by the school of cadets near Peterhoff, in 1833, one of them was presented by the Emperor to his consort as the son of a gallant Polish general (Sowinski), who had fallen in the redoubts at Wola, fighting against him. Unfortunately, however, for the Czar, the general left no child; it now turns out that one belonging to other parents was selected to perform in this piece of sentiment.

The year 1831-32 was rendered remarkable by an ukase for the transportation of 5000 families from Podolia to the steppes of the Caucasus. Much as is said of the improved

* See *British and Foreign Review*, No. XV. p. 60.

character of the government of Russia, these improvements are more nominal than real, and it still remains essentially Asiatic. The custom practised formerly by the Turks and Tartars, of transplanting the populations of conquered countries from their own soil to some other district, has been often resorted to by the Muscovite rulers; but by none to such an extent as the present Czar. During the Turkish campaign of 1828, the fortress of Rachova having been taken, the women and children were carried as prisoners into Russia, in revenge for the brave defence that had been made*. Poland is now considered as a similar conquest; yet the execution of the same measure is the more atrocious from not being directed against a rude and distressed population, or needy peasants, having but little to lose, but against independent gentlemen and citizens, on the plea, as it is stated in the ukase, that they are suspected of "being ambitious in all their plans;" amongst these are also included *lawyers*, "their interest being" "to prolong suits and acquire fortunes at the expense of" "their clients." They were sentenced to be immediately transported; their wives and children, in case they had any, were to be sent after them. When settled on some uncultivated steppe they were to be incorporated with the Cossack colonies, and in future to form part of their troops. This inhuman decree, communicated in the most secret manner to the governor of Podolia, to be executed by him with equal secrecy, was subsequently to be extended to other Polish provinces, with all the horrors accompanying such acts of violence and heartrending scenes of separation from home and kindred, such outrage to the family affections, for which so much credit has been given to the emperor, and which in the present instance he so monstrously trampled under foot†.

* Lieut-Col. Chesney's Report on the Russian Campaign in 1828-29, drawn up for the Duke of Wellington.

† We insert the savage ukase, as well as the correspondence with the governor of Podolia, that our readers may judge for themselves of the barbarity of its tenor. These documents were never destined to come before the public, and their appearance may serve to show that the *Imperial Secret Chancery* is not quite so inaccessible as the Czar supposes it to be.

I. Order of the Minister of Finances to the Governor of Podolia, dated 9th (21st) Nov. 1831.

"His Majesty the Emperor has condescended to promulgate a supreme order to

This is sufficient to prove that the Czar is not the ble being he is represented. The cruel and ill-advised sure, it is well known, could not be carried into direct execution without the risk of kindling in the country a ne of despair. It was therefore relaxed, but not abandoned the principle of it is still acted upon. On the slightest mation given by the secret police, on the most frivolous pretexts, in consequence perhaps of any one of its agents dreaming of some new plot, persons are at once

make the necessary regulations for transplanting, at first, five thousand for Polish gentlemen, of the government of Podolia, to the steppes, under the co the Treasury, and by preference on the line, or in the district of the Caucas those thus transplanted may there be enrolled in the military service.

"To carry into execution the above transplantation, it is necessary to select persons who took part in the late insurrection; those also who have been cor in the third class of offenders, and who have subsequently obtained the favo pardon of His Majesty; secondly, those persons who, from their mode of life, opinion of the local authorities, excite the distrust of the government.

"According to this, your Excellency will make use of all necessary means out publishing or making known the tenor of this order) to register the f who ought to be transplanted, in order that you may begin, without delay, th cution of this order, according to the rules which will be ultimately commu to you."

II. Literal Extract from the Answer of the Governor of Podolia to the M of Finances, 29th Nov. (11th Dec.) 1831.

"I have had the honour of receiving Your Excellency's communication 9th November, No. 1183, reproducing the order of His Majesty for transplanting thousand families of Polish gentlemen, of the government of Podolia, to the tivated soil of Caucasus. In hastening to fulfil, in the strictest manner, this su wish, I consider it my duty to fix the attention of Your Excellency on the foll points:—

"The Polish gentlemen in the government of Podolia may be divided into classes: the first is the class of proprietors; the second are occupiers, farmers, boursers, artisans; the third are servants, and other persons employed by the prietors; and the fourth are the counsellors (*avocats*), lawyers, and the idle in tants of the towns. As to the first class, it promises nothing good for the p rity of the country; the second has taken no great part in the late insurre the third, which is very numerous, consists of persons who frequently go from place to another, from one district to another, and from one government to an and who, having nothing to lose, are not bound to any place, and who, in se the masters that pay them, are given up to all the practices which are inimi commerce and integrity—mercenary servants, they are ready to perform any of their employers; ambitious in all their plans, they serve as tools, and principally accomplices to the leaders of the revolt during the insurrection: are dangerous persons, who may yet be very mischievous in unforeseen ci stances. It would be very beneficial, in every point of view, to depopula country of this people. The counsellors and lawyers, whose interest is to p civil suits, and who acquire their fortunes by the injury of the citizens, poss much the more influence over them; and it is desirable for the good even o country, that their number should be considerably diminished by transplant

(Signed) "The Governor LUBRENOWI

"Kamieniec, Nov. 29 (Dec. 11)."

ried off into the interior of Russia ; and however self-evident their innocence may be, they must yet remain there until, as they are told, the "falsehood of their accusers" can be proved in the regular slow course before the tribunals. But this never takes place. In most cases the accused, after pining for several years in vain expectation, is offered by way of pardon to enter military service, and compelled to sell his property in Poland. In the latter case the government usually comes to the aid of the unfortunate individual, by taking what landed property he may possess, and assigning him by way of compensation some portion of waste land on the Asiatic confines of the empire.

III. *Extract from an Order of the Minister of the Interior to the Governor of Podolia, dated April 6 (18), 1832.*

"His Majesty, in confirming these regulations, has deigned to add in his own hand-writing :

"These regulations are to serve not only for the government of Podolia, but also for all the Western governments.

"Independently of this, His Majesty has ordained—

"1. That in no case will the government be responsible for the debts of the persons transplanted ; nevertheless, those who are to be transplanted shall not be previously apprised of it ; the creditors shall act according to the laws ; but this shall not create an obstacle to transplantation.

"2. In the first place, the persons who are capable of working must be transplanted ; their families shall be subsequently sent.

"The *ci-devant* gentlemen non-proprietors, who have neither means nor permanent occupation, who change their residences, or remain unemployed, shall be transplanted to the line of the Caucasus, among the Cossacks, and shall be inscribed amongst them ; and as for the future they will form part of the Cossack troops, their colony must not be in any relation with the colonies of the *ci-devant* Polish gentlemen.

"St. Petersburg, April 6 (18), 1832.

"Received at Kamieniec, April 20 (May 1)." (Signed) "BLUDOW."

IV. *Literal Extract from the last Order of the Minister of the Interior to the Governor of Podolia, dated the 14th (26th) August, 1832, No. 665 ; received at Kamieniec, 29th August (10th September).*

"If the Polish gentlemen have no wish to let themselves be transplanted, you are authorized to constrain them to do so by force."

V. *Literal Extract from the Letter of the Governor of Podolia to the Authorities of the Police.*

"For the first time a transplantation is to be made from the district of Kamieniec, 150 families ; Proskuro, 50 ; Latyczew, 100 ; Lityn, 100 ; Winnica, 100 ; Braclaw, 106 ; Haysin, 100 ; Olhopol, 100 ; Balta, 150 ; Jampole, 75 ; Mohylew, 75 ; Uszyca, 100 ; selecting those gentlemen having families, proprietors, farmers, and townspeople ; and commencing with those who have taken part in the revolt, and who by their manner of living, and by their conduct, are suspected and dangerous.

(Signed) "LUBRENOWSKI."

The years 1833 and 1838 were especially unfortunate, on to the appearance of emissaries from France, who were presented by the secret police as having come to insurrectionize Poland, and to assassinate the Czar. Three of them were captured, tried by court-martial and executed: Zawadzki at Warsaw, Wollowicz at Grodno, and Konarski at Wilna; last in 1838. But with the punishment of these patriotic and ardent, though inconsiderate young men, misfortune did not end. Their course had been tracked, the places they had passed through noted, and an account taken of all the persons with whom they visited or spoke with. As may be supposed, their relatives and immediate connexions and friends fared the worse. The prisons throughout the country were crowded, inquisitorial courts multiplied, in many cases corporeal punishment and all kinds of privations resorted to in order to extort confession. Many were doomed to banishment or death on mere suspicion, unsupported by the slightest proof. Muravieff, the governor of Grodno, stood foremost in the rank of these executioners, for they cannot be called judges; and his conduct was so outrageous, that volumes might be filled with his cruelties; even Nicholas at length thought it advisable to recall him. He prided himself on his cruelty; and a brother of his own having been hanged on the accession of Nicholas for his part in the celebrated Russian conspiracy, he used tauntingly to admonish his victims not to mistake him for the Muravieff who was hanged as a traitor, as he was only there to hang others. In brutality, and even in cruelty, he resembled the Emperor Paul and the Grand duke Constantine, but he far surpassed the latter in cruelty. He spared neither age nor sex, nor were the clergy safe in their sanctuaries. Women of condition were often dragged from amidst their families and *flogged in public*, and afterwards being imprisoned for months, were sent to monasteries for years of penance. Hardly inferior to him was Prince Trubetzkoy, late vice-governor of Wilna. From the time of Konarski's arrest in 1837, he has uninterruptedly pursued the most revolting course of cruelty. The death of that young man, whom he caused to be shot at Wilna, did not satisfy his rage, and the heroism with which he suffered the inhuman tortures inflicted upon him without betraying any of his associates, only

exasperated the governor, who, incapable of comprehending such patriotic virtue, styled it a mere obstinate persisting in rebellion, which he is bound to conquer by all the means with which he has been so amply furnished by the secret committee we have already alluded to. All that is now known in other countries of torture, is from the history of former ages, or the annals of the Inquisition. Long since the halls of justice have been cleared of racks and screws, and such instruments are banished to cabinets of antiquities, where they are preserved only as objects of curiosity. It is not so in Russia. A governor of any of its provinces is permitted to apply torture, and even to enrich his stock of instruments with the inventions of his own ingenuity. Konarski having refused to betray his associates was deprived of food, and when hunger was excited to a certain height, he was fed upon salt herrings, and kept in a heated room without being allowed one drop of water to quench his burning thirst. This not being sufficient to shake his constancy, burning sealing-wax was poured drop by drop on his arm-pits; his head was pressed by bands of iron; the nerves of his arms were pulled up and torn, and nails driven under his finger-nails. All this was done in the presence of Prince Trubecki, who acted as president of the court of inquiry. He directed and even assisted in these horrible proceedings, fiend-like rejoicing to witness the sufferings of his victims; for beside Konarski others were subjected, as his accomplices, to that dreadful trial, though some who were not able like him to bear it in silence, by confessing what was required of them, saved themselves from going through all its intolerable gradations. Before proceeding to the scenes of that horrible chamber, it was the Prince's custom to swallow two capacious tumblers of rum, that he might be in better spirits for tormenting his unfortunate prisoners. He, like Muravieff, had had a near relation of his own name condemned by the Emperor, though only to the mines of Siberia for life; and it is thus that men in Russia make atonement for the crime of liberalism perpetrated by their relations.

Sickening as is the task of recording such deeds, we must yet add a few more facts, in order to show the extent of

misery that unenlightened despotism can entail upon a patriotic people. One of its victims having been released after an incarceration of several years, arrived at his brother's residence during the absence of the latter. His long beard and emaciated countenance had so altered him that he was not easily recognizable, and on his approaching his favourite niece, the frightened child exclaimed, "Go away, Muscovite!" The Russian gend'arme, who had accompanied him, reported this to the authorities, and the father, who held an office under the government, was dismissed for having neglected to educate his daughter properly, and for having instilled into her mind dislike of the Russians. The child herself was brought before the municipality, and her father only saved her from being flogged by declaring her to be subject to fits of insanity. He could not, however, rescue her from their cruelty; she was taken from him, her head shaved, and she was then shut up in a lunatic asylum. This event occurred some years ago, but more recent acts of a similar nature might be related. After the ill-fated plot of Konarski, a Polish nuncio of the name of Wiszniewski was arrested on suspicion of having been implicated in it, solely from the circumstance that his wife was the aunt of that young man. He was confined two years in a dungeon at Warsaw, and when at length released he was so altered by suffering, that his friends could scarcely recognize him. His wife was then summoned to appear before the court of inquiry, but she was so ill at the time that the physicians declared that she could not be removed without endangering her life. The court, however, grew impatient, and an escort was sent for her, accompanied by a physician appointed by the authorities, with orders to bring her at any risk to the capital, a distance of 200 miles. Just as they were preparing to place her in the carriage—she expired.

After the execution of Konarski the chains he had worn were obtained, and made into rings, which were worn from patriotic feelings by the Lithuanian ladies. Notice of this having been given to the police, all who had done so were arrested. They were all of the most respectable families in the country. Declared guilty of high treason by Trubecki, they

were conducted through the streets loaded with chains, and thrown into prison with common felons. We do not know the names of all these victims of brutal tyranny, but one of them is Josephine Sniadecka, of the family of Sulistrowski, which ranks amongst the most noble of Poland, whilst her husband's name is associated with all that is high and admirable in the annals of Polish literature and science. His father, Andreas, was a distinguished writer on chemistry and physiology; and the name of John Sniadecki, his uncle, who was many years rector of the university of Wilna, is known throughout Europe. Both brothers were esteemed by the emperor Alexander and decorated with many orders. Happily for themselves, they were not living to witness the ruffian-like outrage committed on the wife of their descendent. Some English ladies were horror-struck on hearing this story related, and naturally inquired what did her husband on the occasion? What could he do? He might supplicate the governor, appeal to heaven, or call down imprecations on the persecutors of his wife, but he could neither rescue her from her executioners, nor obtain permission to console her in her prison. Could he not solicit pardon of Nicholas? it would not avail. To pronounce the name of Poland or of Poles in the emperor's presence, is alone sufficient to incense him, infinitely more so in a case like this, when he considered his personal safety as having been endangered. These are some of the traits of Russian autocracy, and this the happiness of the subjects that live under its rule! We have lately received intelligence that similar persecutions have taken place at Kieff. We should hardly have expected that, in a city which the Muscovites like to consider as their ancient capital, such a revolutionary spirit should prevail; but our information comes from an unquestionable source.

The melancholy fact did not transpire in Europe, and would probably have been for ever buried in oblivion like many others of the like nature in that empire, but for the late accidental visit of the Emperor to that city. It is now a German newspaper* that first announces it as an act of signal mercy,—for some how or other German journals always

* *Vide* Leipzig Gazette, September 19, 1840.

contrive to know the tender sentimental side of the rule,—to the following effect, that

“At Kieff the emperor had pardoned some political offenders ladies exiled to Siberia, or shut up in Greek convents as accomplices. Konarski, had been liberated, on condition that they should not reside in any of the frontier governments of the empire. The individuals implicated in the same affair, who had been sentenced to the mines, were by another imperial act to be transported to Si-

In this act of mercy, if Russian commutations of punishment deserve that appellation, we find only three individuals so favoured out of two hundred, at least, who were then banished from Kieff, and the rest are ladies. Though good in itself, is hardly entitled to praise, for niggardliness; and it will appear still more paltry, as it may say “unroyal,” considering that it was exercised towards women, who God knows are no fit subjects to come under the pale of political offenders, and doubtless never should be punished as the women of Kieff have been by the Czar. Such utter disregard of humanity, and brutal vindictiveness. Whether we have used language too harsh, let our readers decide after they have perused an extract from a letter relating to those horrible proceedings, coming from the quarter.

“By order of the governor, Bibikoff, a number of Polish ladies, some of the most respectable and ancient families, were dragged in chains to the place of inquiry, and punished* in public: their high rank and station in their tender or infirm age, education or accomplishments did not avail them. After the sentence had been executed, many were carried into the interior of Russia, whither or how far heaven only knows! to be confined in Russian monasteries. During their journey they were left altogether to the mercy of their escort of gend’armes, and when arrived at the monasteries were delivered to the fanatical fury of the Russian nuns, to whom they were represented as heretics brought thither for penance. In that case these helpless beings pass their days in sorrow and tears, separated from their families and friends in a foreign country, without even the consolation of their religion: their relations do not know where they pine away in a miserable life, nor can they even ask the authorities about their place of abode, to afford them comfort in their solitude. Europe does not know all we suffer. Short-sighted and mercenary writers deceive you about the real condition of things in Russia; but do not proceedings like

* Flogged!

show how much reason we have to detest both the character and government of the Czar?"

The orthodoxy of Russia is worthy of its autocracy, and the propagation of it is now one of the emperor's principal objects. It is, as we have already shown in a former article of this Review, a mere tool for stultifying the people, in order to render it the more easy to govern them; and from the number of its external observances and ceremonies, and its various superstitions, it may be considered as one of the worst of idolatries. A greater insult could scarcely be offered to the Protestant religion, than has been the assertion of some divines of this country, that its liturgy is much the same as that of the Church of England. The spirit of Christianity is entirely opposed to the persecution carried on by the Muscovite church against the other branches of the Christian faith, to whose humanizing influence the other nations of Europe are chiefly indebted for the little resemblance they now bear to the Russians.

Yet Russia has already her agents in every country on the Continent to praise her creed, and lie in behalf of her system of persecution. M. Durand, by his own confession a writer in the pay of Russia, speaks of the conversion of the Roman Greek church to Russian-Greecism in the following terms: "Since the period that the western (Polish) provinces were ré-united with the empire, a great number of individuals, and even whole districts, have renounced their union with Rome, and returned to their national church, i. e. Russian-Greecism. They have, in fact, returned by thousands, without any constraint on the part of the secular government, to that church; and have now solicited, *en masse*, the favour of being received into the bosom of the ancient ritual, which they regard as the badge of salvation, and the sacred legacy of their forefathers *."

There is not one word of truth in this statement, which was written by order of the Russian cabinet. There exist numerous petitions on this very subject addressed to the emperor by the Polish provinces, which prove that so far from wishing to be united to the Russian church, they deeply lament its en-

* *Frankfort Journal*. April 22, 1839.

croachments on their own. An extract from one signed by 120 inhabitants of Lubawicze, in the province of Mohilew, and dated July 10th, 1829, will show the state of feeling upon that point.

"Our fathers, born in the United Greek Church, ever faithful to the throne and their father-land, passed their lives peacefully in the profession of the religion in which they were educated. We likewise, brought up in that religion, have professed it unmolested up to the present day, and we did not anticipate that, without an express order from Your Majesty, we should ever be disturbed in the profession of our faith. The priests of the established church of Russia, however, upon the plea that some individuals that belonged to their creed have passed over to ours,—which, however, is not the case,—compel us to renounce our ancient faith, not by corporeal infliction, as was the case in the reign of Catherine II., but by the still more effectual means of prohibiting our priests from affording us any spiritual assistance, from baptizing our children, and from blessing our marriages. Thus it is that endeavours are made to detach us from their pastoral charge. In this cruel persecution our only refuge is in the clemency of Your Imperial Majesty. Sire, be the protector of those who suffer for their faith."

Another was addressed to the emperor by the nobility of the government of Witepsk, in which a shocking but too true picture is drawn of the manner in which the schismatics set about their work of conversion, and of the deplorable condition of morals induced by their conduct.

"Petition to the Emperor voted by the Nobles of the Province of Witepsk, in the Session of 1834.

"For some time past, but especially in the current year (1834), every means has been employed to draw the members of the United Greek Church over to the dominant faith. This manœuvre would make no impression whatever on the minds of the people in this province, if believers were permitted to guide themselves in this matter by the dictates of their conscience, in accordance with a strong and unbiassed conviction. But the means employed fill the mind with terror. For in many places a small number of parishioners is assembled without the participation and even unknown to the rest of the community; and they are then obliged, not by the method of free discussion, but by a violence that nothing can resist, to embrace the dominant religion; and after this pretended act of adhesion, which is invariably the act of the minority, has been thus obtained, the rest of the inhabitants of the village or parish, who had remained in their own houses during the transaction, are informed that they must profess the prevailing religion. Sometimes, without having any regard to the remonstrances made in the public assembly, all the parishioners, without being in any degree consulted, are included amongst the professors of that religion. In either case the former curate is dismissed, and the

united church converted into a Greek church, without observing the regulations prescribed in this matter. The union being thus established by violence and in spite of the inhabitants, if the latter have recourse to the civil or ecclesiastical authorities, and protest that they choose to remain inviolably attached to the faith of their ancestors, and to defend their cause in a legal manner, this proceeding is considered as a desertion of the dominant religion, which they are supposed to have voluntarily accepted; they are reputed as apostates, and as such various penalties are inflicted upon them. In some parishes, where a portion of the population remains, in spite of everything, faithful to the creed of their fathers, the parish church is still either converted into a Greek church, or closed and put under seal. In this manner, and without any previous notice, by the sole order of the magistrates, some through terror of an atrocious persecution, of which they have witnessed frequent examples, and some through the hope of obtaining some special favour or being delivered from public burthens or slavery, are drawn over to the dominant religion; and yet whilst professing it they remain in their hearts firmly attached to the religion of their ancestors, and which they have themselves long professed. They even acknowledge to those who force them to confess it, that if they do obey the orders given them, frequent the churches, and receive the sacraments of the religion they are forced to adopt, this does not prevent them from keeping internally, in the sanctuary of their hearts, which cannot be violated, their ancient faith. Finally, those who persevere in the faith are deprived of their churches, separated from their priests, and find the greatest difficulty in obtaining Christian instruction and spiritual aid.

“The result of all this is, that it begins to be generally thought by the people that religion may be changed according to circumstances, that it is only necessary to be persuaded of its truth, and to consent to it internally, and that it may be abandoned for the sake of private advantage. Hence religious maxims no longer make the impression upon their hearts that they ought to make; they cease to be the foundation of all duties and civil virtues. Citizens and subjects become the prey of continual doubts and anxieties, sometimes on account of the report generally spread that they must change their religion, sometimes because of the denunciations to which they are incessantly exposed, under the pretext that they prevent the propagation of the Russo-Greek faith.”

“Written relation, given by the inhabitants of the village of Uszacz, district of Lepel, province of Witepsk.

“In the month of August, 1835, We, the inhabitants of the parish of Uszacz, sent a petition to the minister of public worship at St. Petersburg, imploring his grace and mercy, because, being deprived of our church, we found ourselves forced to profess externally a religion which we were not willing to embrace; but we received no answer. We were only informed by Bishop Bulhak, that a commission would soon arrive among us with the priest destined for us. And in truth the commission did appear on the 2nd of December, and having convoked the people, invited them to embrace the Greek religion. But we all unanimously cried out

that we would die in our faith ; that we never had desired, nor ever receive any other religion. Then the commission, setting words aside, proceeded to action : namely, they began to tear the hair from our heads, to strike our faces, even to the drawing of blood ; to beat us about the head and to imprison some and transport others to the town of Lepel. The commission seeing that these means were equally unsuccessful, all the priests of the United Greek Church to receive our confession administer to us any spiritual aid. But we have said, ' We will do without priests ; we will pray in our houses ; we will die without confessing to each other, but we will not embrace your faith. Rejoice, O Lord, for we have prepared for us the fate of the B. Josaphet—that is what we desire. And the commission departed, ridiculing our tears and prayers. We remain, like wandering sheep, and we have no longer an asylum. " We sign, &c."

Finding their representations disregarded, and the emperor turned a deaf ear to their lamentation, the united churches ceased to attend at their former places of worship, now occupied by foreign priests, and crowded to the (i. e. Catholic) churches for confession and the sacraments. This was considered as apostacy, and the Latin priests severely punished, and some of them discharged from their parishes. In consequence of this, the Russian Catholic bishop Pawlowski, has lately addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy, forbidding them, under a severe penalty, to receive the confession of any individual besides their own respective parishioners, or to admit any unknown person to the communion. The cause of so extraordinary an order is stated in the rescript to be the conversion of a woman named Elizabeth Woytkowska from the Greek to the Roman Catholic church ; and henceforth the Russian clergy are directed to keep an accurate list of the persons belonging to their churches. The only exception to the rule is in the case of travellers taken dangerously ill on their journey, who are then permitted to confess even to an unknown priest, but not without a certificate of their actual danger being first signed by the physician of the place. To secure the observance of this rule, persons are placed at the doors of the Latin churches, armed with sticks, for the purpose of admitting only parishioners and driving off professors of the Greek united church, who often endeavour to get in by force. This gives rise to frequent disgraceful quarrels and scuffles in the place where they should least occur, and blood is often shed and lives lost.

been lost on the threshold of the Temple of God ! Yet Russia has been described as more tolerant than any other nation.

One year has elapsed since we exposed the treachery of three bishops of the Greek united church, who by going over to the Russian, have plunged about four millions of the Christian flock committed to their spiritual guardianship, into unspeakable misery. One of these apostates, Luzynski, the Bishop of Polotzk, has since met with his punishment, sent, as the people believe, expressly by heaven, having become insane, either from remorse for his offence, or more probably from the habitual drunkenness in which he indulged. The vanity of Siemaszko, the Bishop of Lithuania, has been mortified by a somewhat ludicrous accident, his beard having to his great distress refused to grow ; he is thus prevented from appearing *pontificaliter* at the Russian church, a long and thick beard being in that religion a *sine quâ non* for officiating at the "royal gate." Two Romish prelates, Gentillo and Zylinski, have been also accused of courting the favour of government to the prejudice of their own church. The metropolitan Pawlowski is reproached with having, to please the Czar, not scrupled to attend in person divine worship at the Greek chapel in the imperial palace, contrary to the forms prescribed to Catholic priests. This unprincipled servility of the higher clergy has not only lowered Catholicism in Russia, but may to a great extent prove injurious to all other denominations of Christians comprised by Russia under the general appellation of "foreign persuasions." These have hitherto been under the jurisdiction of the minister of the interior ; but we are informed that it is in contemplation to unite them with the Greek synod—a preposterous union, which would not fail, as in the case of the Greek united church, to involve them in new embarrassments, if, indeed, from the zeal of proselytism in Russia, it did not end in their extinction. The high-procurator of the synod, Col. Protassoff, is using every effort to effect this annexation.

The chapter of Warsaw is unshaken in its attachment to Rome, and so is the Russian population of the kingdom, who, in concert with the Bishop of Chelm, firmly adhere to Romanism. During his recent visit at Warsaw, the emperor did not scruple himself to tamper with the Polish clergy, with

the view of uniting the Polish Catholic church with the of Russia, under one common synod at Petersburg he met with a decided resistance. The clergy made it stood, that the Pope being the head of their church, he could decide, and therefore he alone should be referred all matters of their faith. At the same time they stated an ironical suggestion, whether, for bringing about so desired an union between the two churches, the residence of a nuncio at Petersburg, who should preside in the might not probably be the most efficacious means. Had this proposal agreed with the Czar's other arrangements, whether he was stung with its irony, or treated it with contempt, we cannot tell; but it is certain that, before His Majesty bade farewell to the Polish capital, in order to comfort them of his predilection for seeing the ecclesiastical affairs presided over, as in his own dominions, rather by the hilt of the sword than of the crosier, he appointed a Russian general, Pisareff, to act as director of the board of education in Poland.

The most abject and worthless individuals among the Catholic clergy are purposely selected to occupy the highest offices in the church, in order that, by depriving the people of instruction and protection, their conversion to the Greek church may be facilitated. The nobility, under whose patronage these outrages are perpetrated, look on, unable to afford protection to their peasantry; and any effort to do so generally entails on themselves transportation into the interior of Asia. The Duke of Leuchtenberg is a Roman Catholic; it is said, even a zealous one; yet he never intercedes with the emperor in behalf of his co-religionists. In fact the question as to what religion his own children are to be brought up in, is not yet settled. According to the law they ought to be of the schismatic church. Many negotiations on the subject have been exchanged with the Vatican; and the duke himself made a journey to Rome, accompanied by a Russian diplomatist, to endeavour to arrange the matter as is believed, without being able to come to any satisfactory conclusion, as both his mother and the Pope are strongly opposed to his offspring being educated in the Greek religion. He was even required to retract his agreement to some extent.

in the marriage-contract which he had signed on the day of his betrothal. A dispatch from Rome on this subject threw the Czar into a rage for three days, during which time he was unapproachable. "I do all I can for that old man," said he, speaking of the Pope to the Catholic metropolitan, "but I meet with nothing but refusals from him. He wants to send his legate here to watch me,—but I will have no spies here."

The same intolerant system is pursued in the Protestant provinces along the Baltic, Courland, Livonia, Finland and Lapland; everywhere endeavours are made to rear up the Russian church on the ruins of all others. The same law respecting mixed marriages prevails there as in Poland; as in Poland, too, the youths at the universities and schools are obliged to learn the Russian language; and no one who is unacquainted with it is admitted into any public office, even though its functions may not be of a nature to make such knowledge requisite. Like the Polish Catholics, the Protestants of those provinces are deprived of the benefit of their religion when on military and civil service in the interior of Russia, where churches are not to be met with for hundreds of miles. Their ancient laws and privileges, whether derived from Swedish or from Polish monarchs, are violated with even more impunity than those of the Poles, and without their having the poor consolation of the fact being known to other nations; theirs not having been, like some forms of the Polish government, sanctioned by European treaties. The Livonians have lately appealed, but in vain, to the charter of their liberties granted by Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland in 1550, by which public offices were to be conferred only on the natives, whether nobles or citizens, who were of German origin*. As in Poland, the higher offices are exclusively conferred on Russians. The machinery of government is here,

* Counsellor Winter, of Riga, was exiled to Wiatka, for having translated (or rather been suspected of translating, for the fact was not proved,) into German an order of Uwaroff, the minister for public instruction, tending to destroy the German language in Courland and Livonia, and published it in the Augsburg Gazette. The sentence was considered as showing great leniency on the part of the emperor, and was excused by the German press on the ground that Russia has a right to promote the use of the Russian language, it being that of the government. We do not know how far the Livonians may consider themselves bound to thank their brethren in Germany for such a defence!

too, essentially military, and depends on bribery and watchfulness of the secret police. If at this moment the Poles are more severely oppressed than the inhabitants of these provinces, it is only because the former are more numerous and more dreaded, and because they offer greater resistance to their tyrant.

The Russian government being as essentially military and despotic, makes its strength consist in uniformity and its constant effort to amalgamate the laws, customs, and religions of all the various nations under its yoke. In the eyes of view Russians themselves are not always sufficient means for its designs; and it may be observed, that reforms of the same plan are being carried on even in ancient Russia. A curious proof of this occurred last year. The numerous sects, which, as we have elsewhere stated, exist in the Russian church, frequently oppose much resistance to the progress of the church dominant. Of these, the Duchobortzi (the Quakers) and the Malakans are said to be the most capable, as well as the most resolute. Of late years they have become the objects of a violent persecution on the part of the established clergy, who, in their jealous spirit of proscription, have employed, instead of argument and persuasion, the knout and the bayonet. A member of one of these sects, from the interior of Russia presented himself last year at the audience of the metropolitan, Seraphim, in St. Petersburg, with a paper in his hand, supposed to be a petition. On being admitted into the presence of the prelate, instead of presenting it he struck him so violent a blow on the head, that had it fallen on the temple instant death must have ensued. Instead of attempting to escape, the stranger with the same composure allowed himself to be secured; and on examination freely acknowledged that his object had been to avenge his persecuted religion; he disclaimed all political motives, saying that his sect always kept quiet, led honest lives, and paid their taxes, and that their only cause of discontent was the religious persecution they were made to endure. He concluded by regretting that he had failed in his attempt, and stated that there were many others prepared to follow his example. He was sentenced to the knout and to hard labour in Siberia.

Transition to another persuasion from the Greek church is on no account whatever permitted. During her residence in Italy, the Princess Wolkonska went over to the Catholic faith. Immediately a notification was made by the Russian embassy, that the time of her sojourn abroad had expired, and that she would do well to return to Russia, which she refused. Upon this two Russian priests were sent to reconvert her, but in vain. The Russian princess was then sentenced to perpetual banishment, and the confiscation of her estates.

In regard to religious toleration, Russia is greatly inferior to her Mahomedan neighbour, Turkey. The late Sultan, a few years before his death, during a progress he made through his European provinces principally inhabited by Christians, addressed the following words to the Turkish Pasha, the Ulemas, and other authorities :

“ I desire you to watch with unremitted attention over the welfare of my people, without distinction of religion.”

And turning to the Greek, Armenian and Israelite rayahs, he continued,—

“ You have heard the command which, in your presence, I have given to the chiefs of the city. You will have observed that I make no distinction between you and the Mahometans. You are all my subjects, and I have your happiness at heart, as much as that of the Mahometans. Do you need anything? Are your churches in want of repairs? Address your demands to Seid Pasha, to whom I have given my orders.”

Contrast with this mild language the speech delivered by the Czar in 1835 to the Municipality of Warsaw, in which he reproaches, in the harshest terms, the corporation with “dishonesty,” and the whole nation with “infidelity,” “irreligion,” and “bad education of their children;” and after announcing to them that he has built a citadel, from whence he will batter down their church steeples, and the roofs of their houses, and bury themselves under the ruins, he concludes by telling them, that “It is a true happiness to belong to Russia, and to enjoy her protection*.”

* The following were his actual words:—“J’ai fait élever ici la citadelle, et je vous déclare qu’à la moindre émeute je serai fondroyer la ville : je détruirai Varsovie, et certes ce ne sera pas moi qui la rebâtira.” Further,—“Croyez-moi, Messieurs, c’est un vrai bonheur d’appartenir à la Russie, et de jouir de sa protection.”

There is but too much reason to dread the contagious nature of Russian intolerance. It is spreading itself over her co-religionists in the East, and under Turkey, and stands in the way of education in Greece. The late contest, in which the seditious machinations of the Patriarch of Constantinople in the Ionian Islands involved Lord Ponsonby, is an instance of it. But the evil has not terminated with the deposition of the patriarch, and will soon recur in some other form,—perhaps attended with more dangerous consequences. The ramifications of the philo-orthodox Hetairia appear to have extended far and wide; and it is not more than a few months since intelligence was officially communicated by Austria to King Otho (intended probably to warn him of the danger that threatens him from that secret society), that “the Greeks in Hungary had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor of Austria, but had sworn fidelity to the emperor of Russia, *the head of the orthodox Greek church.*” A Russian consul, Parazigopoulos, has been observed travelling about in Greece, with a sanctimonious mien, and well provided with relics, spreading reports of great and beneficial changes to take place in the year 1840! Absurd as are such things, they yet have their weight with an uncultivated and fanatical population.

Equally intolerant is Russia in education. Her aim is to extinguish all nationalities, and to resist every species of intellectual improvement not conveyed in a form itself Russian. All who publish or read books in foreign languages, especially in Polish, are looked upon with a suspicious eye; at the public schools such an offence is even visited with corporeal punishment. It has already been shown that the Russians do not hesitate to distort, or altogether falsify historical facts, for the purpose of calumniating other religions and nations. The children of those very nations, against whom their calumnies are aimed, are taught history from the works containing them. To his instructions in the faith of the established church of Russia, which is mostly taught in the schools, no priest ever thinks it necessary to add the precepts of Christian morality. Submission and reverence to the emperor, the regular payment of taxes, the duty of being ready to shed the last drop of blood for him, are all that is inculcated; and all

who have not been educated in these principles are excluded from public offices. The first question addressed to candidates for office is, whether they are Poles or Catholics, the emperor's ministers having received a general injunction not to promote such. By a recent ukase, no Pole can serve in the imperial guard, or even be appointed surgeon to that corps. Those who previously belonged to it were sent into regiments of the line. Even the subordinate office of a clerk is shut against them, till they shall have served at least five years in the interior. A Catholic is not allowed to farm a crown estate, even though the peasantry upon it be Catholic, still less where the peasantry are Greek; and it is with no small difficulty that a Pole can even obtain a passport to St. Petersburg. With the privileges enjoyed by Russian orthodoxy and Russian nationality, to the prejudice of all other, the former must necessarily grow daily in power and extent, whilst the latter proportionally contracts within narrower limits.

Since the universities of Poland were abolished, together with most of the numerous schools dependent on them, there exist but six universities in the Russian dominions, those of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Charkow, Kasan, Dorpat and Kieff. The seventh arrondissement of White Russia has none; that province, having belonged to Poland, is prudently forbidden to advance in civilization until ancient Russia shall have got the start of it. That the Poles may gradually be brought to the low level of the slavish population of Muscovy, the educational institutions in the whole kingdom of Poland were subjected to the direction of the Russian Board of Public Instruction, in consequence of which union no less than 1159 Polish schools are now being organized on the Russian model. This arrangement is styled by M. Uwaroff*, in his Report, "a great organic measure." Out of solicitude for these schools, Nicholas addressed, on the twenty-fifth of August, this year, the following rescript to Field-marshal Paskevitch:—

"Prince John Theodorowitch.—Considering that there is a great want of

* Uwaroff's Report of the State of the Schools in Russia in 1839, on which the emperor wrote with his own hand, "Read with delight."

the necessary aids to instruction, namely, books*, in the district of the University of Warsaw, I have thought fit to present to it a *collection* *selected of about 13,000 volumes*. The minister of public instruction gave directions respecting the conveyance of these books for the literary and scientific institutions in the district under the Warsaw University in union with the University Library. May this present serve as a new proof of my care for the prosperity and education of the Polish youth, as it excite in them the most zealous endeavours to answer my present intentions!"

We have elsewhere given copious details respecting schools†; but to enable our readers, in some degree to estimate the civilization spread over millions of inhabitants, we subjoin a list of the actual number of professors and pupils at the respective universities, taken from an official statement in 1835.

	Professors, teachers, and employés.	Pupils
At the University of St. Petersburg	64	285
„ „ Moscow	. . 120	415
„ „ Charkow	. . 56	342
„ „ Kasan	. . . 89	252
„ „ Dorpat	. . . 68	567
„ „ Kieff	. . . 61	120
Total	458	1981

The two Polish universities of Warsaw and Wilna, both of which were abolished by the emperor, numbered as many professors and pupils as all those of Russia collectively! From the hostility of the government to anything like progress, it is likely that the relative proportions of professors and students have undergone little alteration up to the present day; the pupils of the University of Kieff have, however, since the above estimate, been dispersed by the war for rebellion. It is remarkable, that small as is the number

* Two great public libraries at Warsaw, those of the University and of the Learned Society, were plundered by the Russians in 1832; as also the cabinet of medals, antiquities, and zoology, of which latter the emperor made a present to the University of his own foundation at Kieff. What wonder if, during his late visit to Warsaw, on entering the spacious and empty saloons which formerly were crowded with hundreds of thousands of volumes, the Czar, conscience-struck, exclaimed, "I did impoverish, but I will enrich them." As an instantaneous proof of his sincerity, he ordered a huge stuffed elephant, which was packed up to be sent to Kieff, to remain at Warsaw for the benefit of the Polish youth.

† Russian System of Education, No. VII. of this Review.

of pupils in proportion to that of the professors in the western universities, it is still smaller in the eastern. The gymnasiums, and inferior schools under the jurisdiction of the universities, are also on the decrease. From no mention being made of Siberia and the Asiatic provinces in the above Report, it would seem that these districts are altogether unprovided with educational establishments. It may be calculated, that of the whole population about one in fifty-two is able to read and spell. There is no faculty of divinity at the Russian universities, as at all others; and consequently the Russian priesthood, as a body, consists generally of ignorant, rough and uncouth men, little superior to the common boors. Most of the ecclesiastical institutions are on a very low scale, and none of the European methods of instruction are allowed to be adopted in them, these being considered heretical by Russian orthodoxy. As, from the absence of parish schools, the people must chiefly depend for their spiritual cultivation on the clergy thus educated, it may readily be imagined what sort of instruction they receive.

From this universal neglect, the military school, at the head of which is the Grand-duke Michael, and that of diplomacy under Count Nesselrode, may be excepted; they are well organized, and enjoy the special encouragement of the Czar and the imperial family. This is but the natural consequence of the peculiar government of Russia, in which the chief reliance of the ruler is on the bayonet, and whose best policy lies in the *mala fide* stipulations of her able diplomatic agents.

At the few schools that are still left in Poland, in place of the high moral sentiments and noble feelings that used to be instilled, together with scientific information, base adulation of despotic power and obedience to the Czar are the chief duties inculcated on the pupils by ignorant and fanatical teachers. Military rank and decorations, not the cultivation of the mind, and literary attainments, are held up as the sole objects worthy of pursuit. Profligacy and drunkenness are not only connived at, but encouraged. The youths are permitted to do all that degrades man as a moral and intellectual being; but they must form no friendships with each other; such might lead to dangerous combinations and plots. They must nourish no philanthropic desire for the establishment

of liberal institutions; these are considered high treason against the Czar. It was for some such unpardonable tendency towards liberalism, discovered by General Bibikoff, that the university of Kieff was suspended for a year. It has been lately re-opened, with the number of its students considerably diminished, many of them having been sentenced by the general to a discipline somewhat unusual in universities; namely, to run the gauntlet, and afterwards be marched off as recruits to the Caucasus! The professors did not come off better than their pupils. One of the charges against them was, that being natives of Volhynia and the Ukraine, they were not able to speak the Muscovite idiom, and therefore delivered their lectures in the Russ language, which more resembles the common dialect of those provinces. Of course this excited apprehension, lest through the cultivation of the popular tongue and the formation of a new centre of civilization at Kieff, the surrounding provinces, conjointly with the Cossacks, amongst whom there exists a great deal of dissatisfaction, should be awakened to a sense of moral and political independence, which might impede the advance of that uniformity Russia is so anxious to establish in every part of her dominions. According to their national logic, the emperor's tools seem to think that if all populations can but be compelled to speak Russian, disobedience, rebellion and ungodly heresy will disappear from the country, and that Poles, Germans, Baskirs, Tartars and Calmucks will present one unbroken front, like a line of grenadiers, understand the command of the Czar, observe fasts, and bow with him to the mother of God. It is not therefore considered sufficient that it is studied at the schools; but functionaries are sent even as far as Wiatka and Perma to acquire it at its purest source, and are required to make it the language of the domestic hearth and household. For Russianizing females, institutions are established not only under the eye of the empress, known by the appellation of "Seminaries for the education of the daughters of the nobility," but also in remote conquered provinces, where they are superintended by the governor. Schools on the same plan and for the same purpose, expressly designed for Polish girls, are established at Bialystock and Kieff; it is in contemplation to have one at Pulawy,

a lately confiscated estate of Prince Czartoryski. At an early age children easily forget their native language; and if in future years they should be blessed with offspring, these will speak Russian, and know nothing of their ancestors. Many parents prefer retaining their daughters at home, and giving them only such education as they can themselves impart, to exposing them to the contamination of Russian doctrines and their teachers. In 'The Progress of Russia in the East,' we find a picture of the universal grievance in the complaint of a Georgian noble, that

"Soldiers of a different creed to his own are billeted in his house, and the privacy of his family violated; that he cannot move from one village to another without a passport, which he cannot obtain but by hours of attendance or by a fee; that wherever he turns he is met by a rude soldier, whose personal manners and indecent habits are offensive to all his sensibilities, whilst his person is never secure from their insults; that even the Georgian and Armenian Christians have reason to complain of the rigour with which a strict compliance with Russian habits is exacted, and are mortified to find, that in adhering to their national customs in the dress and conduct of their wives and daughters, they give umbrage to their superiors, and that to make themselves acceptable to the government it was necessary to deck their females in the frippery of Moscow milliners, and have them taught to waltz with the Russian officers."

Still more revolting are such things where European manners prevail, as in Poland; where the wives and daughters of Poles, invited to a ball at the governor's, have not the alternative of refusing; where at the seminaries young ladies of Polish families are compelled to recite Russian poetry in the presence of Russian generals and their officers; where the emperor himself assists at such insulting exhibitions, and in return for the amusement he derives from them, corrupts the modesty of innocence with baubles from St. Petersburg*. These girls, especially if rich, whilst yet at school, are often selected as wives for his favourites; and even married women, whose husbands become political exiles, are encouraged to violate their matrimonial vows and remarry with Russians.

Such outrages upon propriety are but the reflex of the manners prevalent at the court, which is *not* the model of chastity that it has been described to be. It might be con-

* The emperor presented a young Polish lady, at a boarding-school at Kowno, with a pair of ear-rings for having recited Russian verses before him at an examination.

cluded from some published accounts, that after a profligacy and corruption, the court were suddenly formed into a pattern of purity. Unluckily it has the observation of the foreigners who have visited it well known to all Russians, that the maids of honor (leinen) there are almost without exception the Czar's nieces, and that the empress being no longer young and of declining health, connives at her husband's infidelities, and endeavours to gratify him by surrounding herself with easy women. This unusual mode of evincing conjugal affection has ever, estranged from her all mothers of respectable families are anxious to preserve their daughters from any connection with the court. In consequence of this, most of the ladies at the imperial court are the daughters of the inferior nobles, and are maintained at the emperor's expense. This adds to the riddle the mystery which perplexed a certain traveller, some parents, whom he knew to be possessed of very good incomes, could maintain their daughters at so expensively at court. When any of them becomes *enceinte* she is placed upon one of the Czar's aides-de-camp, and the marriage quits the capital for one of the provinces, usually Poland, with the understanding that they are at liberty to enrich themselves as they can. One beautiful girl was thus given in marriage, but the selected husband's estates being miserably impoverished, the emperor with a stroke of the pen annihilated the mortgages then held by creditors, and thus produced the ruin of numerous families. But it is not the lot of all couples to enjoy so happy a honeymoon. Another was married to a Russian general; but as she did not find it necessary to discontinue her former intercourse with the Czar, her husband chastized her by a severe thrashing, and complained of his harshness to her imperial paramour, whereupon the poor general was ordered to join the army of the Caucasus, from whence he will most probably never return.

The difficulty in obtaining justice must not be referred to the want of legislation, since even lately fifteen volumes of laws for Russia have been published, called "Swood," and a commission appointed to compile a code for the benefit of the western (Polish) provinces; both will remain a mere paper letter. Recent intelligence from St. Petersburg, dated

of Sept. last, informs us that "the Russian journals published "an imperial ukase, by which the Russian civil code is extended to the western (Polish) provinces of the empire; "viz. the governments of Kieff, Podolia, Volhynia, Minsk, "Wilno, Grodno, with the province of Bialystock; and the "Lithuanian and Polish law to be no longer in force." By the introduction of this code, the last stroke is aimed at the Polish nationality and free institutions. There was a project to furnish these provinces, which are so different from those of ancient Russia, with a separate code, adapted to local usages and interests, and a commissioner had been appointed for the purpose of framing it; but just as his labours were completed, which lasted several years, we see the fruit of it destroyed by the ever-changing and wayward fancies of the Autocrat. The emperor himself is foremost in infringing the law, and every public functionary, from the senator to the attorney's clerk, is emulous to follow the example set by the sovereign. From the interminable proceedings in Russian judicature, and the expense attending them—since the decisions are always in favour of the highest bidder—almost any compromise is usually preferred to entering upon a law-suit. In Poland, from the country being still under an interdict of treason, the matter is still more hopeless. There the clearest case, after passing through all the courts,—a process which occupies years, when it at length reaches the supreme court, is regularly sent back for revision, and must again go through every step of the former process, for the sole purpose of enriching Russian judges at the expense of Polish litigants. We cannot refrain from giving a case which came under the Czar's own especial jurisdiction. During the French campaign of 1806-7, the house of Meyerowicz and Co. had the contract for the Russian army; but a number of bills, bearing the name of General Bennigsen, having been recognized as forgeries, the claim was suppressed by a special rescript of the Emperor Alexander. Twenty years elapsed, during which every attempt to revive it on the part of Messrs. Meyerowicz proved vain. At length the creditors applied to Colonel Nostitz, and having by some fraudulent process of anti-datation, transferred their claim to him, the colonel threw up his commission, on the plea that he was a ruined man. In consequence of this a

revision of the whole claim was ordered by the emperor; it was admitted, and its amount—three millions of silver roubles—was paid to the new claimant. Another party, however, a Jew of the name of Rosenberg, who stood precisely in the same category with the colonel, was not only refused a hearing, but the secretary of the court, Czarniawski, was discharged from his office for having expressed himself in his favour.

Public dishonesty seems to encourage, if not to become an incentive, to commit it in private without shame. An instance offers in the recent failure of M. Perling at St. Petersburg, in which the fortunes of several families, almost exclusively Polish, were involved. That individual had been for twenty years known as a rich banker and merchant. To no speculation or mercantile disaster can his failure be traced; his son-in-law, who was poor, had just previously purchased a large estate, and his sons receive an expensive education at one of the colleges in Paris. Yet he declared himself insolvent, has not been attainted by the laws of the country, and is free;—free, because he has had the impudence to boast that he ruined only Poles, and in doing so acted as a Russian patriot!—a gross political roguery, which could not be winked at except in a completely disorganized community like that of Russia. The aim of government is the impoverishment of the Poles; and in whatever way that object be obtained, whether by vexatious public measures, or private faithlessness, it is considered alike justifiable. The remainder of the bankrupt's property, not amounting to 100,000 rubles, is advertised as left to be divided among his creditors, by what is called 'Concourse.' But whoever is acquainted with judicial transactions in Russia knows that this Concourse will probably last ten years before the dividends are declared, and that these dividends in the end scarcely cover the costs of the law proceedings.

There is a great scarcity of able men in Russia; and with the degraded state of public education, and general corruption of morals that prevail there, it would be a subject for wonder were it otherwise. The ministries for foreign affairs, and the financial and police departments, are in the hands of foreigners, as is also the army, where, from the semi-barbarous

condition of the people, native talent should thrive. The especial favour shown to Germans commenced previous to the present reign, and was connected partly with an introduction of European reforms, and partly with an idea, on the part of the Czars, of self-preservation against their own subjects, which latter motive appears to have especially prevailed under the present reign. There has, however, existed all along a strong opposition to these Germans amongst the ancient Russian nobility, who from that circumstance are styled the *old Russian party*, both from jealousy of the advantages enjoyed by them, and from dislike to the peculiar interests of the foreign party, always opposed to those of the nation. The German party was in such very high favour during the reign of Alexander, that when General Yermoloff, a man of high military reputation, was asked by the emperor what favour he would have bestowed upon him, the former in reply requested to be ranked as a German. It met with a check, however, during the Polish war, when General Diebitsch, a German, with a host of German generals*, at the head of 200,000 men, was defeated in several battles by an inferior number of Poles. Such significant remarks as the following were then current at St. Petersburg: "How should we succeed when Germans are set to command Russian troops?" "It is clear that no trust is placed in us. They say there is no military talent amongst Russians, as if Souvaroff, and Koutouzoff and Yermoloff were not Russians! What can be expected? we are governed by Germans; how should affairs go better than they do? Is not the emperor himself a German†?" These speeches were not without effect, and Nicholas found himself obliged, as Alexander was in the French war, to throw himself into the arms of the Russian party. Diebitsch died one day after dining with Orloff, one of the Russian party, sent to review the remainder of the troops near Pultusk. Paskewitch succeeded him in the command of the army; but still after the danger was past the German party could not be supplanted, and its influence

* They were as follows: Pahlen, Rosen, Geismar, Sacken, Kreutz, Gerstenzweig, Rüdiger, Berg, the two Tolla, etc.

† The Portfolio, vol. v. p. 605. State of Parties in Russia.

still continues paramount. The Germans may be called "*les Suisses*" of the imperial family; and though distant far and wide, they perform, and more effectively, the services as that mercenary body-guard. Hated as they are by the nation, the Czar is too well aware that he must rely for safety upon antagonistic principles. Germans, especially Prussians, swarm therefore in every department of government; they are promoted in the army and the civil service; they are sent as envoys to foreign courts, or are mixed up as *attachés* or secretaries with the Russians. Through their agency, and through that of their chiefs, Nesselrode and Bismarck, from the particular offices they hold, the Czar becomes almost omniscient and all-powerful, both abroad and in his empire. The natives are clearly herein thrown into the background, from want of confidence either in their capacity or fidelity; and the very system of education is calculated to keep them in that moral vassalage to foreign domination. One able man there is, Prince Lubecki, to whom the Czar often defers in matters of policy, and whose advice is frequently followed, in opposition to the members of his council; but he will never be made a minister. Lubecki is a Pole, and took part in the proceedings of the Polish insurrection during its first stage—a crime for which he can never be pardoned. In occasionally employing him, the object is to create distrust and split opinions in the cabinet of state, and thereby to augment antagonistic elements in the Czar's safety-valve. As long as he reigns, the national has nothing to hope for. Foreigners are his servants, natives are subjects. The former completely depend upon him, and are in his interests; the latter depend upon their national rulers, and are to a certain extent in the interests of the people. To admit subjects to a participation in the government, in his opinion, to give up part of his own rights, which he will do: encroachment on autocracy is tantamount to its destruction!

This exclusive government of the Czar does not gain him friends amongst the Russians. He participates in their hatred of the Germans, with whom he is identified. It is not that Alexander's was a reign of promise, but that of Nicholas is one of despair. The former contemplated giving a

stitution to Russia, the latter destroyed that of Poland. Convinced that there was nothing to hope for their liberties from him, the Russians turned their thoughts to their Slavonic nationality and brotherhood, and flattered themselves that by the development of an union with the other Slavonian nations, all might finally work out their emancipation. The government, however, has succeeded in diverting their minds from that noble purpose, and by exciting in them the barbarous pride of conquest and tyranny, has rendered them its accomplices in the destruction of a kindred nation, and compelled them to vent their fury against those very elements of freedom which might have accelerated their own emancipation. Much as travellers are deceived by appearances as to the real merits of the Czar, they are still more so with respect to the attachment felt for him by his people. The higher classes owe him no love, and the demonstration of it made by the lower, arises more from servile cunning than sincerity. Their occasional "huzzas" when he appears in public may deceive the stranger, who does not know that these shouts usually come from the police agents, who hover near his person; and those uttered at parade are mere military observances—a part of the drill.

The life of a common soldier in Russia is infinitely harder than that of soldiers in any other country; he is exposed to ill-treatment by his superiors, and obliged to associate with the lowest criminals*. Pursuant to an ukase, dated November 3,

* Being on the subject of the Russian soldiery, we are tempted to subjoin an anecdote illustrative of the severity used towards them, and still more of the fatal influence the general moral degradation of the people has had in destroying the strongest natural affections. It is well known that young men frequently mutilate their persons so as to render themselves unfit for service. Two young peasants, who had become recruits against their will, contrived to escape, and returned to their native village near Kieff. The severest punishment awaits those who give an asylum to deserters; yet these unfortunate young men were given up to the authorities by their mothers; through, we hope, excess of terror of the punishment, rather than, as was reported, "through indignation at the crime." This being reported to the emperor as a "most rare deed," he was graciously pleased to reward the unnatural and monstrous women with the decoration of the order of St. Anne, to be worn on the breast. The rescript conferring the disgraceful decorations, bears date March 24th, 1836.

Warsaw had for the first time this year to witness a similar instance of demoralization, in the case of a young man, Ambrozewicz, who, on account of participation in some plot, was imprisoned, but escaped, and was surrendered by his own father, in whose house he endeavoured to conceal himself. For this unnatural act, a sum of one thousand rubles had been assigned from the treasury to the base parent; and on the arrival of the emperor that sum was doubled,—a worthy deed of

1836, all criminals, who previous to that period would have been sent to Siberia, have since then, if under thirty-five years of age, been enrolled in the ranks. The soldiers of no other country would endure such an insult.

The pay of the soldiers is no better than their treatment. We give the information we have received relative to the state of the army and navy at Cronstadt, and it is said to be much on the same scale in all parts of the empire. The pay of a private soldier or sailor is three paper rubles and fourteen kopecks per quarter; that of a sailor of the first class is four rubles forty kopecks, and out of this sum he must give two rubles for the mess, which consists chiefly of sour kroust, grütze, shtchyi, kvas, with scarcely any meat. Besides this, a gift of from eight to ten kopecks, termed voluntary, is, nevertheless, rigidly exacted, for the "beard shaver" and for the mother of God (*Matier Boza*), a daubed painting hung up in every barrack with a lamp burning before it, to which the soldiers address their prayers. No soldier is allowed to have in his possession more than five rubles (about four shillings) at a time; any sum above that amount he is bound to place in the keeping of his serjeant; and, omitting this, should it be stolen, he must not only bear the loss, but receive a flogging. This regulation is with a view to prevent desertion. A soldier of the line with this small allowance is better off than those at Cronstadt; for wherever the former is billeted, the peasant is obliged to maintain him; but the sailor can scarcely keep life and soul together with his scanty pay. To enable them to subsist, they are frequently sent to work in the docks, where for a day's labour they receive one paper rouble, of which the captain, however, gets half. The treatment both of soldiers and sailors at Cronstadt is such as to have gained for that place the appellation of "little Siberia." It presents a medley of people of all nations and tribes, sent thither for all kinds of offences and misde-

both donor and receiver! The son was also pardoned, as if the Czar shrunk from heaping outrage upon outrage; but he did not let the public escape unpunished. The former laws against aiding deserters were exceedingly severe: he issued an ukase, aggravating the penalties against those who may in future conceal them; and that in the event of a recruit deserting from his regiment, a substitute should be given by the parish from which he was raised, who should continue in service, even if the other was found.

meanours. The number of Poles there alone amounts to about 12,000. Cronstadt is selected for this purpose, because its situation offers great obstacles to desertion, which, however, is very frequent, especially during winter, across the ice. The peasantry, particularly the Swedish, gain their livelihood by hunting out deserters, for which they are paid by the government. The punishment of deserters is dreadfully severe. The ordinary discipline is also intolerable, the most trifling offence being punished by causing the offender to be flogged or run the gauntlet.

A Russian officer of distinction, who had known service and was consequently familiarized with the wear and tear of life in it, on witnessing the disembarkation of a party of about sixty Poles brought from Archangel, to recruit the garrison, observed that not one of them would be alive in five years*. Yet the emperor visits this place weekly to superintend the works and fortifications, and at each visit he is huzzaed by the army and hurraed by the people in the presence of the foreign envoys he brings with him to witness his power and to report it to their respective sovereigns, and who never suspect the depth of misery contained in this little spot; and that the feeling there is such, that should a hostile navy appear before it, in spite of the forts that protect it, and the iron spikes concealed under the water to perforate approaching vessels, the marines appointed to defend it, Poles, Tartars and Jews, would throw the few Russians there into the sea, and hail the enemy as their deliverer. Misery is a desperate giant, for in her resolves she has to choose only between victory or death; Nicholas may, perhaps, underrate her force.

With all her external parade of power, Russia has still a source of great internal weakness in her heavy national debt which, considering the poverty of her population, is enormous, and which, after paying the interest, leaves her with only eleven millions sterling of disposable revenue. She is, besides, under heavy responsibilities for other debts, contracted for the kingdom of Poland, by the Jewish bankers of Warsaw; and we have authentic information that there is a considerable deficit in the treasury, owing to the magnitude

* "Je vous assure, Monsieur, qu'aucun d'eux ne vivra dans cinq ans."

of her warlike preparations. This deficiency* was butted to the incapacity of the minister of finance, K arising from his advanced age; and he is to be repl Bibikoff, who, the Czar flatters himself, will find as er means for recruiting the exhausted finances, as he did suppression of conspiracies in the Ukraine. The money is universally felt, while the taxes are exacted w greatest rigour; the farming prospects for the prese are so indifferent, that famine is apprehended†.

The estates confiscated in Poland, which were fr given to Russian generals, in recompense for their s during the war, are now sold for the benefit of the tr Those who had already received these rewards retain but the Czar will find himself at a loss for others to on such of his generals as may return from the war the poor Circassians, or the still poorer inhabitants desert of Khiva.

The Muscovites are as rapacious as they are poor; t indifferent to glory or to principle, they are ever ready t for the hope of booty. A war in Europe would be att with less expenditure to Russia than her Eastern exped and would be more popular with the army. "War by war," was the expression of Napoleon, and Niche well aware of its truth, being an admirer of that savagrior, and ambitious to rival his glory. In the wealthvinces of Prussia and Austria there would be no want oplies for his Asiatic hosts. With their usual effronter, Russians already frequently boast, that ere long the reclaim from Austria and Prussia the Slavonian provi "for why," say they, "should Germans govern the S "nians? They should be ours, they are our breth Though we relate these words as a sample of Muscovite *faronade*, still we cannot agree with those who cor

* This deficiency is now filled up by a new loan of 25,000,000 of silver negotiated since the 5th of August, at Messrs. Hope and Co., bankers at Amst

† Since the above was printed, we learn from different quarters, that on of dearth of provisions, and a bad harvest, serious disturbances have taken p different provinces of the interior of Russia. Driven to despair, the wretche santry abandoned their villages, and, wandering in tribes, committed acts o violence and plunder. Governors appealed to the sympathy of the nobility lief. At Moscow the price of corn is at the present moment higher than at l burgh and Riga.

them as mere empty words, and think that nothing is to be feared from Russia. We ought not to rely too confidently on our superior civilization, since barbarism has also its own peculiar means of influencing the affairs of mankind. The Macedonians were less enlightened than the Athenians, yet Athens was subjugated by Philip and Alexander; and more civilized Greece met with a similar fate from Rome, with no other consolation left to the vanquished than that of civilizing their conquerors. Rome in her turn was overwhelmed by nations which she called barbarians. The Huns and Vandals came from the North, and the West is now once more threatened by the North, the ancient *Officina Gentium*. Is Europe destined once more to become the teacher of her vanquishers? Some philosophers seem to desire such a consummation; but before they expose others to it, they will do well to consider whether they themselves are ready to meet with the fate of an Epictetus and a Seneca. Let them call to mind how many a noble spirit, Russ and Pole, has been obliged to waste his energy in the deserts of Kamtschatka, and, like Ovid, to sing his 'Tristia' on the steppes of the Caucasus, for having attempted to civilize Muscovy. If individuals must suffer, why should whole nations be made to suffer also? Ought not the fate of Poland to be a warning,—the land of valour and devotion, that for centuries presented itself as the outpost of Europe against the inroads of the Tartars and Mussulmen, and that 200 years back attempted, though without success, to plant civilization on the Tartar Kremlin? If knowledge is power, we have demonstrated that barbarism, directed by knowledge, is also power. It is increasing in strength; and which is the civilized nation in Europe that does not shun to cope with it?

It is by the arts of civilization that Russia promotes her designs abroad, while she supports her sway at home by all the force of barbarism. The perfection of her policy consists, as every page of her history testifies, in her system of espionage, bribery, cunning, and reckless faithlessness. Foreign writers in France and Germany, and the public press, are employed, sometimes unconsciously, in advancing her covert designs, or in defending her insidious policy. She avails herself largely of the democratic spirit, and in every move-

ment for liberty her agents are sure to be active; for she knows that by creating discord and mistrust in other countries, she weakens the social tie of their communities, and that her principle of despotism will rise triumphant on their ruin. This has been her undeviating course in Turkey, Greece and Austria, as it was also during the reign of Catherine II. in Poland. Russian agents were busy in producing the miserable Chartist outbreak in Wales—a fact which we challenge Lord Palmerston to excuse or *deny*! It is a certain fact that one of her agents was detected in the East Indies in endeavouring to excite the native princes to shake off the English yoke. Another went so far as to take the command of a body of auxiliaries for the insurgents in Canada, and was made prisoner and hanged*. Both have been disavowed, and so will ever be all who are detected. The skill of Russia in employing religion for political purposes is unequalled. She has in this art outstripped the Vatican itself under Gregory VII. Her wooden idols and mouldering relics of male and female saints may be said to be so many Pozzos and Mesdames Lieven. Every priest in the East is the agent of her diplomacy, and the churches and crypts are so many brilliant saloons, where the members of her peculiar embassies assemble. A political pamphlet has recently appeared, entitled, ‘The Influence of Russia on Civilization,’ in which that empire is called “the flower of the Slavonian countries.” There are but few traitors among the Poles; this production, however, was written by one of these renegades, who receives an annual pension of 400 rubles for his baseness. Works on Slavonian literature and antiquities are encouraged by Russia, and their writers are munificently rewarded with orders, medals and places under government. The most favoured of these literati have hitherto been those who have directed their researches on Servia and Bohemia†, these being the countries on which the desire

* Von Schultz. The British government was apprised about a fortnight before the affair of Prescott, of the character of that agent, then at New York. He was a native of Germany, and served in the Russian army. He represented himself to be a Pole, and endeavoured to enlist Polish refugees in his corps of auxiliaries, who however rejected his offers with scorn, well knowing by whom he was employed.

† Kopitar, librarian of the imperial library at Vienna; Hanika, librarian of the national museum at Prague; Gai, editor of a journal at Agram; and Szafaryk,

of Russia at the present moment are especially fixed. But though such may be her policy towards those she is endeavouring to draw into her toils, when once she has subjected them it soon becomes harsh and oppressive; destructive of the Slavonic character, which is marked by mildness and frankness, and of Slavonian laws and institutions, which are essentially liberal and popular. She renders the different nations and classes of inhabitants the instruments of their mutual destruction, by sowing amongst them the seeds of civil and religious animosity; and this, her general policy, is the reflex of the individual policy of the emperor. His manner is almost incredibly rough; and he has been known even to tear off the moustachios from the lip of persons admitted to audience when they have happened not to be trimmed in the right fashion. He has published an ukase prohibiting the wearing of spectacles. His harshness to his generals equals that of Peter to his Strelitz leaders. His favourites or sycophants may oppress and plunder with impunity; they may aspire to and obtain riches and honours, but they are not to be on friendly terms with each other; if they do not quarrel spontaneously he takes care to make them do so, in order to figure in the character of a mediator. He suspects that his life might be endangered by their union. This is the reason that he takes care to irritate Wolkonski against Prince Galitzin, and Tschernisheff against Benkendorff. Remembering the fate of some of his predecessors, he is careful that no one shall know in which apartment of the palace he sleeps at night.

Nicholas may be justly said to excel all his predecessors. However ferocious the natures of some of them were, the small extent of their territory, and consequently lesser power, limited the consequences of their malevolence to the destruction of a few cities, or a single district. Some vented their rage, under the pretext of reform, upon some one class of their subjects, as when Peter I. chastized the insolence of his

the most distinguished writers among the Slavonians; and all have been liberally recompensed by Russia. Their independence of character, however, renders them proof against any dishonourable suggestions on the part of that government. M. Szafaryk, though only a private teacher at Prague, has lately declined a very lucrative situation offered him at Moscow.

Strelitz guard, or the overbearing of his clergy; and some, from pride, exacted unusual marks of reverence towards their persons, or from absurd caprice, like Paul I., insisted that all should adopt some peculiar fashion of clothes, or at most, like Constantine, selected some individual objects for their malignity; but when the mad fit passed, all of these would be easy, jocular, and almost good-natured to those about them. But not one of them was ever bent, like Nicholas, on the destruction of a whole nation, or pursued his course with such unity of purpose, and such cold-blooded inhumanity. Not one has been so reckless a destroyer of human life by every variety of means. He climbed to the throne over the corpses of the sons of the noblest Russian families, and hundreds besides were sent to the mines of Siberia. Of the 200,000 Russians that served in the Turkish campaign in 1828, scarcely 30,000 passed the Balkan; the rest perished from want, disease, or the springing of mines, over which the emperor himself led them. The 120,000 sent into Poland to quell the insurrection there, notwithstanding the number was doubled during the course of it by further reinforcements, so dwindled by cholera and destructive conflicts, that Paskewitch could scarcely muster 70,000 before Warsaw. Who can number those who perished at the foot of the Caucasus during the period that war was secretly carried on against the Circassians, to which thousands of individuals, many of them of the highest blood as well as of exalted talent, Russians and Poles, have been sent, expressly that they might perish? * What a mad catastrophe has he not prepared within this very year! In order to carry his point of "negotiating peace with England at Calcutta," he has made a vast cemetery for 20,000 human beings, and 10,000 camels and horses, in the snow-drifts and amidst the deserts of Khiva. Who can compute the multitudes that have been torn from their homes and sent to Siberia, where, if they did not sink under the weight of their chains, or the ill-treatment of their savage escort, they have died of grief at being separated from their families and

* Russian regiments along the borders of Circassia are swelled with degraded officers, nobles, and students, who are condemned to serve as privates. One single regiment was found to contain no less than 346 persons of this description.

friends? * What can be said of the 600 young women sent to the lustful camp of Wosnosensk, or of the innocent children † who had known nothing of life's bitterness till they fell into the power of the Czar? Such are the tender mercies of him who would unite all the Slavonian tribes under his rule. The throne he is so ambitious of is based upon their bleaching bones. His breath, like the Sirocco, has withered the beautiful flowers on their plains, and swept their fragrance from the surface of the earth. He has destroyed the charm of life, and almost extinguished hope. Song and dance are banished; and where once were the sounds of joy and mirth, is now mourning and the silence of the sepulchre.

"Proclaim this to Christian Europe," writes one of our correspondents from that vale of misery; "let the world know what we are doomed to suffer at the hands of Russia, who, with her treaties and congresses, with her wily professions of faith and of disinterestedness, does but deceive the cabinets of Europe, until they will awaken from their lethargy too late for salvation; whose interests, by truckling to Russia, are so miserably sacrificed. One propitious moment offered for curbing Russia, for legitimately checking her further encroachments; but Europe made a great mistake respecting Poland, as she still does with regard to Russia. Still the governments of Europe seem not to comprehend their own position and interests; and it is that very deficiency of knowledge, and the neglect of all precautionary measures, which render their positions relative to Russia so complicated and perilous, and their future prospect so overcast and gloomy. Russia, since the accession of the present emperor, has committed so many flagrant infringements of international compacts, and so many violations of law, human and divine, that civilized nations and Christian Europe have sufficient reason for declaring even a crusade against that inhuman power, and would do rightly in soon unfurling their banner."

What can be said in answer to such statements? or what suggestions of consolation and hope be offered for the immensity of misery to which Poland, disarmed and unoffending, is subjected? The time of crusades is passed, and chi-

* The official statement makes the number of persons of both sexes transported to Siberia from 1826 to 1836, amount to 120,000.

† "Eye-witnesses have borne testimony to their having seen the dead bodies of children extended near the public roads, by the crust of bread which had been left with them, but which they had not had the strength to touch."—*See the Mirror of Parliament*, part cxxxii., *R. C. Fergusson's Motion*, July 9, 1833.

valric ideas are forgotten, or called to mind only through the mock pageantry by which luxurious triflers endeavour to beguile the *ennui* of their aimless existence. Brilliant speeches have been made in parliament on the subject of Poland; but the atrocities they told were held to be incredible, and credit was still given the Czar for humanity. Some who knew them to be true styled it knight-errantry, and spoke with a warning voice of the consequences to England, should she undertake to redress all the wrong done in the world; and the senatorial assembly abandoned the cause that ought to have been that of all Europe. An ambassador-extraordinary, who was sent to the court of the Neva to speak some words of intercession, returned the friend and admirer of the Czar, and one of Poland's greatest enemies. Pamphleteers are found to say, that "Poland has benefited by its incorporation with Russia," and newspaper writers to apprise the public, that all accounts coming from that quarter must be read "with considerable caution;" whilst travellers who have seen the Poles in chains going in companies of a hundred in a lot to Siberia, have asserted, that "they looked happy!" There is a Russian company in the city of London, which, on the arrival of every fresh envoy from that empire, never fails to give him a sumptuous turtle dinner, at which the guests vie with each other in praises of the emperor. And why? Because some of that company import "tallow" from Russia; and Russia, in return, takes "cotton twist." It is only lately that we have heard it asserted in parliament, that in the important question now pending in the East, Russia has acted with "perfect candour." It is a desperate task to endeavour to make people believe what they are predetermined to discredit; and this is our predicament. Though every fact we have referred to is authenticated, and the victims well known, one-half of what we have said, we are certain, will be taxed as idle declamation, and the whole as an unwarrantable libel on the Czar. But we are determined to tear away the veil which Russian diplomacy has spun before the eyes of the vain, the frivolous and the unguarded; and though we regret that we can say nothing that is pleasing, we will not violate the sacredness of truth.

There is *one* man in Europe who on reading this article will acknowledge in his soul that we have spoken the truth, for he is cognizant of the truth in all its hideous horror—that man is the Czar of Russia!

ARTICLE VII.

Historical Publications in Italy.

1. *Historiæ Patriæ Monumenta, edita jussu Charoli Alberti. Chartarum Tomus I. Augustæ Taurinorum, 1836. Leges Municipales. Aug. Taurin., 1838. Scriptores. Aug. Taurin., 1839.*
2. *Documenti di Storia Italiana, copiati sugli originali autentici e per lo più esistenti in Parigi da Giuseppe Molini. 2 vols. 8vo. Firenze, 1836.*
3. *Istorie Fiorentine, scritte da Giovanni Cavalcanti con illustrazioni. 2 vols. 8vo. Firenze, 1838.*
4. *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato, raccolte, annotate ed edite da Eugenio Albèri a spese d' una società. 3 vols. 8vo. Firenze, 1840.*
5. *Carteggio inedito d' Artisti dei secoli xiv, xv, xvi pubblicato ad illustrato con documenti pure inediti dal Dott.—Giovanni Gaye. 2 vols. 8vo. Firenze, 1840.*
6. *Enciclopedia Storica di Cesare Cantù. Torino, 1838–40.*
7. *Storia della pittura Italiana esposta con monumenti da Giovanni Rosini. 2 vols. Pisa, 1840.*

THE annals of no country present a greater variety of stirring events, or are calculated to leave on our minds a deeper impression, than the history of Italy. Apart from the epic narrative of the warlike achievements of Rome, which indeed belongs to the memorials of another world, the romantic records of the many states that rose on the ruins of that old social edifice, are pregnant with the most salutary lessons. We know of no novel more entertaining than the sixteen volumes of the History of the Italian Republics during the Middle Ages, by Sismondi.

For a long lapse of years Italy was to Europe what Europe itself is now to the rest of the world,—an organized body of highly civilized states, different in their origin, laws and constitutions, divided by local jealousies and opposite interests, constantly engaged in their endeavours to establish a political equilibrium by the manœuvres of a wary and even unprincipled diplomacy, baffled oftentimes in their ambitious schemes, and brought into sudden collision, but still deriving new energies from their very rivalry, and almost unconsciously promoting with their own the interests of social progress.

Of this primeval political system, which was in later ages to preside over the destinies of nations, the Italians early gave theoretic no less than practical essays. As they were the first, in modern times, to think and act, the first among whom true social life was fully developed, so were they also the first to write. The age of writers closely followed in that country the age of heroes; or rather, we should say, that the same men were both heroes and writers. And yet, strange and contradictory as it may appear, it is nevertheless indisputable, that whilst history, as well as almost everything else that is noble or beautiful in modern civilization, either originated or was revived in Italy, and whilst that country may justly boast of having produced, from the earliest part of the fourteenth century to the present age, the greatest number of excellent historians, there should be as yet no work answering the purpose of a general history of Italy. Beside the political impediments or party prejudices, commonly alledged as the great obstacle to the completion of such a work, the vastness and labour of the undertaking are alone sufficient to deter the most active and persevering mind; nor could a just idea of the extent of the subject be formed from considering similar works on the history of any of the other countries of Europe. The annals of these last can always be referred to one determinate epoch, and comprehended within one period; and though the natural course of events may have been repeatedly interrupted, and the national unity broken, still there is always a centre, a great metropolis, a dynasty, forming, as it were, the main *Cordillera*, from which all secondary chains can be easily traced, and on which they mainly

depend. That political, literary and scientific spirit of centralization, by which all historical monuments are insensibly drawn, to enrich the royal museums and archives of the capitals, enable the French and the English historian to survey at a glance the materials for his narrative. But the history of Italy is the history of many nations and states. With its head hidden among the clouds of the remotest antiquity, the history of a country, acting for many ages the principal part in a drama, in which other nations only played the episodes, is necessarily divided into several distinct periods, and each period into a number of subdivisions, offering but few general points of analytical survey.

It is true that the Italians are in no want of materials for such a work : the patriotism of their municipal governments, the vanity of their noble families, the diligence of their antiquarians, have not left the most obscure corner unillustrated, or the most trifling event without description or comment. But those monuments are scattered through numerous private and public collections ; and the most illustrious of them, such as the Genoese and Venetian archives, have not yet recovered from the losses inflicted on them by French Vandalism. Still the descriptions given by recent foreign travellers of the treasures of historical lore that yet remain buried in Italy, are such as to raise an eager delight in those who are found to pay attention to such studies. Those precious depositaries seem to have escaped the ravages of time, of sacking and conflagration, to send down their treasures safely, for the gratification of posterity. There they all lie in scrolls, parchments and manuscripts, huge folios and ponderous quartos, in barbarous Latin, and in rude French or Italian, piled up,—the shelves groaning under their weight, dark, dusty and silent, like spell-bound warriors, threatening the daring man who should attempt to break the enchantment. Yet this is precisely the dearest object of the literary chivalry of our days ; nor is it rare to find, even under the seductions of a southern climate, such persevering champions, willing to shut themselves up in those haunted chambers, to grapple with the phantoms of the dead, to rescue from them the secrets of the past.

Our age is the age of history. We succeed to a generation

whose object it was to war with the past; to carry on, in the name of liberty, the most illiberal and indiscriminate system of demolition. They thought the evils of feudal and ecclesiastical usurpations could not be considered as fundamentally eradicated until the very records of those institutions were erased from the memory of men. It was a hasty and presumptuous age, that loved to tread on the relics of the past with a feeling akin to that of the ancient Tartars, who levelled all buildings with the ground lest they should prove an incumbrance to the velocity of their steeds. Such a state of violence could not fail to bring about a re-action in our days; in fact, men are beginning again to study the monuments and institutions of our forefathers, and to derive important instruction from the experience of the very evils which we are most inclined to deplore. The ephemeral duration of the specious systems of those reformers of the last age, is to be chiefly attributed to the unsparing sentence which they pronounced against everything that belonged to the past. No era can be considered apart from the foregoing periods; human progress, like everything else, must obey the universal law of continuity; and the better we know on what degree of the scale of civilization we have been left by our fathers, the bolder will be our onward start, the wider and safer our strides.

The period of comparative repose that followed the downfall of Napoleon, has witnessed the unanimous efforts of all Europe for an accurate compilation of history. The historical societies of Frankfort, of Prague, and many other associations of a similar nature in Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden, England and Denmark, have already led to the most unexpected results; the North is teeming with gigantic works, such as the *Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum*, *Antiquitates Americane*, *Monumenta Germanie*, and other similar publications, the greatest number of which have appeared in the course of the last ten years.

Italy, of all countries the most absolutely doomed to commercial and political inactivity, ought to afford the more leisure for historical inquiry. Italy is almost by birth-right the land of history: the memories of past ages are written in indelible characters on the monuments of the country: every plough-

man has a tale to tell of the field he tills: the plains of Lombardy heave with mounds, covering the remains of all nations. Italy, as the eldest of the European nations, has never ceased to transmit to them her hard-won lessons of experience. The Italian historians have, until the present day, enjoyed an undisputed ascendancy. It was in that country that, in the palmy days of republican governments, the worthiest and most active citizens were first intrusted with the compilation of national annals; and we still peruse with deep interest the often ignorant, but always conscientious, Italian chronicles of the middle ages. They are generally dictated in disorder and hurry, as if the hand that wrote them was still trembling with the excitement of public life; as if the writer regretted the few moments he consecrated to register the events of the past, in his anxiety to take his share of the present, or to provide for the future. The sentence they passed upon the events which they witnessed, the opinions they transmitted relative to the character of their contemporaries, are uttered in a tone of deep, almost of disdainful conviction, as if they were placed too far above suspicion to deign to support their assertions by the accumulation of evidence, or to dream of the possibility of their statements being ever questioned by the inquisitiveness of after generations.

But when, in the so-called golden age of the Este and the Medici, Italy became a prey to domestic and foreign usurpations, and, the scene of active life being transferred elsewhere, she was left to exercise her dominion over the realms of the mind, historical studies were pursued under calmer circumstances and with wider views, and, allied with strength of reasoning and the charms of style, they constituted that science to which succeeding ages have given so great an importance. But the insidious liberality of princely patronage not unfrequently enlisted the writer in the cause of despotism, and the republican annalist was turned into a court historiographer; the prevailing taste for classical literature gave to elegance of style and purity of language an ascendancy over the merit of historical veracity; and that gravity and earnestness, that air of candour and forbearance, which enchanted us in the pages of Andrea Dandolo or Giovanni Villani, loses much of its attraction when coming from so bitter a partisan

as Francesco Guicciardini, or such a notorious sycophant as Paolo Giovio.

But if flattery, venality, or party spirit, have sometimes prevailed over the sound judgement and honesty of the Italian writers of the sixteenth century, and our reliance even upon their accounts of contemporaneous history is often weakened, much less are they entitled to our credit and acquiescence in their attempts at a compilation of retrospective national annals, in which, imitating Livy and Herodotus, they did not hesitate to mix up such legendary traditions as might flatter the vanity of a petty republic, or throw some new light upon the doubtful pedigree of a lordly ruler. History was for them merely a branch of exornative literature; and so long as the particulars of a battle were drawn vividly, and with harmony of language, so long as a real or imaginary speech was reported with all the redundancy that constituted eloquence in that age, no one took the pains to ascertain its authenticity. Such was, notwithstanding their versatile talents for criticism, and their power of abstracting and generalizing ideas, the historical school in Italy down to the last models of Botta, in whose works, in fact, we have been often surprised to find the debates of the American congress or of the Venetian senate, and even the soldier-like reports and speeches of Washington, translated or paraphrased in long-winded periods, after the manner of Monsignor Della Casa.

Our age has witnessed a revolution in history, no less than in every other branch of science and literature, and for this we are, in great part, indebted to the indefatigable activity and diligence of the Germans. We have been taught that history is a thing apart from historical romance; that we must sacrifice even what is noble or beautiful on the altar of truth; that no assertion is to be admitted, however long-cherished in popular tradition, flattering to national vanity, or akin to feelings of our nature, unless grounded upon such solid bases, and confirmed by such irrefragable documents, as sufficiently constitute the evidence, or at least the plausibility, of its authenticity. Truly, this system of matter-of-fact research may be, and has already been, carried to an extreme, and, by a vain display of erudition, historical works have often been made to groan under the weight of unprofitable appendixes, and

the attention of the reader has been drawn into a labyrinth of puerile discussions. An unlimited credit has too often been bestowed upon moth-eaten manuscripts, or too wide and vague an interpretation of fragmentary inscriptions has led to conclusions verging on absurdity. We have had occasion again and again to deplore the demolition of some of the specious fabrics of our forefathers, which had a stirring influence on our imagination, and we could never cordially rejoice at the ingenuity of those writers who succeeded in ranking the exploits and existence of William Tell among the fictions of Helvetian mythology; or of those who ascertained that no well-grounded evidence is to be found of that sublime "Y SI NO, NO," with which the Arragonese nobility hailed their king at his accession to the throne. It is nevertheless a fact, that no historian, however venerable his character, can any longer advance assertions merely upon personal responsibility: no historical essay is, in our days, expected to come to light without a vast supply of quotations and references from the texts of long-forgotten authors, reported with all their luxury of quaint orthography or obsolete language; without a display of ancient charters, edicts, letters, medals and inscriptions, and without discriminately weighing and sifting all those different and often contradictory testimonies from which may result the corroboration of the opinions started in the text.

From the earliest part of the sixteenth to the close of the last century, the Italians have been zealous collectors and publishers of historical documents; nor can we agree with the opinion expressed by the *Journal des Savans*, that "the Italians have come very late to take into consideration the writings of the middle ages;" or that, "jealous of the purity of their Latin, and in later times of their Tuscan languages, they proscribed or neglected the best number of their less classical historians, never printing any but such as Malespini or the Villani, who were destined by their grammarians to constitute a model of style." We find in Corio's 'Ancient History of Milan,' in Sigonio's *Historia del Regno Italico*, and in several other writers of the sixteenth, and many more of the following century, copious quotations from the rude annalists that preceded them; and although we will not deny that very important works of Italian historical erudition issued from the

French and German press, such as *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores Varii*, printed at Frankfort in 1600, and *Tesoro di Storie d' Italia*, published in Leyden in 1704, yet it could be easily demonstrated that Italy had never relinquished to foreigners the care of her national glories, when her historical documents were, for the first time, reduced into a vast and methodical system by the efforts of one man.

Muratori, a giant with a hundred eyes and a hundred hands, one of those antique frames cast in bronze and steel, which would almost induce us to believe in a deterioration of the human race at the present day, left us the result of his labours, which would appear wonderful, even if, like Nestor, he had outlived three generations. Placed over the Ambrosian library at Milan, and the Estense in Modena, aided by the researches of the Società Palatina, whose members belonged to the most conspicuous Milanese nobility, he was enabled to publish, in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* and *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Ævi*, nearly all that could then be found on the subject of Italian history. But though by far the most industrious and celebrated, he was not the only efficient labourer in laying open the treasures of the Italian archives. Passing over several works, which enjoy even in our days a classical reputation, such as Maffei's *Verona Illustrata*, or Giannone's *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli*, we shall mention such productions alone as, by their size, are only intended for public libraries; such are *Italicae Historiae Scriptores*, published by Assemani at Rome in 1751; *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ex Florentinae Bibliothecae Codicibus* (Florence, 1748-70); *Collectio Anecdotorum Medii Ævi ex Archivii Pistoriensibus*, Turin, 1755; *Ad Scriptores Rerum Italicarum accessiones Historiae Faventinae*, Venice, 1771; *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium*, Milan, 1756; *Historia Principum Longobardorum*, Naples, 1749; *Delectus Scriptorum Rerum Neapolitanarum*, Naples, 1760. There are many other works of a similar nature, of which the catalogue alone would occupy more space than the limits of our article admit.

It would appear that, if any country in the world could be considered especially rich in historical monuments, and entitled therefore to repose from labour, that country was Italy; it would seem that for want of documents, or deficiency of

materials, the compilers of Italian history have never been at a loss, but rather that an indiscriminate redundancy and confusion perplexed the labours of the persevering, and led astray critical judgment; for, as we have said, in the midst of such vast means, the man has not yet arisen to give order, system and life to the formless and ponderous mass, and a general history of Italy still remains to be written.

The Italians are, however, far from considering their preparatory researches complete; and no sooner had the country recovered from the consequences of the French revolution, than they resumed the work, and soon found that the field of discovery widened in proportion as their progress seemed more rapid. The king of Sardinia created a commission under the name of "*Deputazione Reale*," charged with the duty of publishing every rare or inedited work illustrating the history of the Piedmontese monarchy. The king's choice could not have fallen upon more distinguished personages; and the claims that many of them already had to the gratitude of their countrymen, sufficiently prove that the subjects of Charles Albert needed no great inducements to enter into his views. We find among them the names of Counts Prospero and Cesare Balbo, both illustrious by birth no less than literary reputation; that of the Baron Manno, the well-known author of the History of Sardinia; of the Cavaliere Sauli, to whom we are indebted for a valuable Historical Account of the Genoese Colonies in Asia; of the Marquis Serra, one of the last patriotic patricians who survives the extinction of his beloved republic of Genoa, of which he has given the early history in a splendid work, published in 1834; of Count Saluzzo, a diligent collector of materials illustrating the military achievements of the House of Savoy; of Count Sclopis, who has written the History of the Ancient Legislation of Piedmont; and finally, of the Cavaliere Cibrario, of whose essay on the *Economia Politica del Medio Evo* we gave some account in a late number.

The members of this deputation, divided into different branches, have been, since the year 1832, engaged in inspecting the archives of the principal towns of Piedmont, extending their search to those of Provence, Northern France and Switzerland, with a view to remove all obscurity con-

cerning the origin of the House of Savoy. The result of their labours we have also partly noticed in one of our foregoing numbers, and shall give here only some account of their publication more immediately concerning the history of the country, the *Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ*.

It has been a subject of universal regret, that at the epoch of Muratori's gigantic undertakings, the Piedmontese archives were shut against him by the jealousy of the government, and that his collection remained imperfect so far as related to Western Italy. Charles Albert laid open what the narrow-mindedness of his predecessors had withdrawn from public curiosity, and the monuments of national history published under his auspices, have gone far to satisfy the most anxious demands of the learned. The first of these three volumes contains 1051 charters, from A. D. 707 down to the year 1292. They are the grants of the Counts and Dukes of Savoy, of the Marquises of Saluzzo and Montserrat, and of other independent lay or ecclesiastical lords, to their vassals; hence their political relations with the enfranchised towns, showing the gradual increase of the power and importance of these last, and the vicissitudes by which they were led ultimately to assert their absolute independence. The second volume is an exposition of municipal laws, furnishing the means of obtaining a fair insight of the constitutions of the Lombard republics, a subject upon which so much interest has been of late generally evinced. The third volume, published in 1839, is filled with the history of the county of Nice, by Pietro Gioffredo, a writer of the seventeenth century, historiographer to Charles Emanuel II., and whose works are intended to be the first of a long series of chronicles respecting the different provinces. Some of the charters and statutes were already known through previous publications, and these have been here reprinted, with a view to offer in one mass all the documents of Piedmontese history.

The whole of the work is illustrated by preliminary discourses, furnished by the accomplished members of the Deputation, by their notes and dissertations on the most obscure points of controversy, by diligent emendations and critical scrutiny of the texts. The ancient diction and orthography have been strictly adhered to, sometimes even to the detri-

ment of common sense and perspicuity, the collectors having apparently been led astray by a superstitious veneration which is no uncommon foible of antiquaries. The three volumes are got up with all the luxury of royal munificence; the typographical art, in Turin, no less than in Milan and Venice, together with all the accessories of paper-making, map-engraving and lithography, having reached a degree of beauty hardly inferior to any of the most flourishing foreign establishments.

The importance of works of a such a nature can only be felt by persons initiated in all the important questions about the precedence of the municipal liberties of the different countries of Europe,—a precedence which has been given at one time to some of the German towns, at another to the French, English, or Castilian communities; while the Italians not only assert the priority of their Lombard and Tuscan republics, but even hold, that the Roman municipal institutions were never entirely abolished in some of their southern and eastern provinces; whence, by the force of example, they soon revived in the north and west, wherever the Lombard, Frankish, and German dominion gave way. Some of the most ancient charters of the Piedmontese collection go back to the beginning of the eighth century, and the most ancient body of municipal laws, the *Statuto Consolare* of Genoa, bears the date of 1143. But the archives of that town have, as we have said, suffered severely from the depredations of the commissaries of the French Directory, and were sent to enrich the royal library at Paris. Some documents in the Genoese dialect, bearing date 958, have in fact been recently published in Paris. Meanwhile, to the care of the learned Deputation we are indebted for the completion of the chronicles of Uberto Foglieta, the oldest annalist of the Genoese republic, which were printed in 1838.

The *Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ* is a work in progress, and the labours of the Deputation are daily bringing to light new treasures, furnishing materials for a long series of volumes. By a voluntary act of sovereign liberality, not only have the members of the Society been declared free of access to all the archives of state, but, under responsibility of their

president, their publications enjoy all the privileges of freedom of the press! Truly, if we consider that the president and some of the most conspicuous members of the association are among the ministers and the highest officers of government, we shall not have much reason to apprehend that they will abuse an immunity so unconditionally granted. Still, free from censorship, in the strictest sense of the word, they certainly are; and such an exemption appears to us so unexampled, that we could feel inclined to believe that Charles Albert, having sincerely espoused the cause of learning, begins to perceive that its real interests can be promoted only by a free and untrammelled pursuit.

We are not aware that any of the sovereigns of Italy have hitherto shown any disposition to emulate the glory of Charles Albert of Savoy, by countenancing similar efforts of historical inquiry; and less than of any other can this be said of the Grand-duke of Tuscany, to whom G. P. Viesseux, the proprietor and editor of the ill-fated *Antologia di Firenze*, has been these two years applying in vain for permission to publish a *Biblioteca Storica* in the shape of a monthly journal, intended (in imitation of the 'Historical Annals' published quarterly under the direction of Dr. Fortman in Germany,) to constitute a register of every discovery that may take place in Tuscany and Italy on historical subjects. But what governments refuse or neglect to do, the zeal and ardour of private individuals is zealously achieving; and Florence above all is striving to maintain the first rank among the towns of the Peninsula, in this as well as in other branches of study.

The historical documents of Tuscany, relating to the middle ages, are already before the public; they form part of the great collection of Muratori, or have been added to that great work in the appendix furnished by the manuscripts of the Florentine library. The gleaning of what may have been left from the harvest of their predecessors, and the collection of documents of a more recent date, are the main objects of the labours of the Florentine scholars.

There exists in the Parisian libraries a vast number of Italian manuscripts, most of them of the highest historical im-

portance, which having, *per fas et nefas*, come into the possession of France, would be for ever lost to Italy but for the diligence of some distinguished Italians residing abroad. In 1836 and 1838, Professor Marsand, a native of Padua, published two large volumes of *Manuscrits Italiens de la Bibliothèque Royale, et des celles de l'Arsenal, Mazarine, et Sainte Gèneviève*, a compilation made with the greatest accuracy and the most enlightened criticism. In the mean time, Giuseppe Molini, a Florentine, a gentleman of considerable bibliographical attainments, whilst searching for a manuscript of Benvenuto Cellini, which he believed to exist in the royal library at Paris, discovered a collection of 1923 manuscripts unnoticed by Marsand, for the most part Italian, and relating to Italian history. This collection was begun by the Count Philipe de Bethune, brother of Sully, during his embassies to Italy, Scotland and Germany, and continued by his son Hippolite, who bequeathed it at his death, in 1663, to Louis XIV. and the royal library.

From 203 out of 990 volumes of this vast collection, comprehending the historical documents from the times of Charles VI. down to the close of the reign of Francis I., Molini made a selection of several hundred Italian manuscripts, which he published in Florence under the title of *Documenti di Storia Italiana*. The work is prefaced by a short account of the fortuitous circumstance through which the editor discovered the existence of this long-forgotten collection, and by a copious index of other highly interesting manuscripts belonging to the Hotel Soubise, to the library of the Arsenal, or to the remaining volumes of the Bethune collection which he had not leisure to examine, and even to those same 203 volumes from which the *Documenti* were drawn, some important manuscripts of which he was unable to transcribe, on account of his imperfect acquaintance with the old French handwriting.

The *Documenti di Storia Italiana* contain Latin, French and Italian letters, political and commercial treaties between Rome, France, and the different Italian states, and copies from autographs of popes, kings and emperors, and of the most eminent men of the sixteenth century. We find there, among the most illustrious names, those of Andrea Doria, of

the Marquis Trivulzio, of the Marquis of Marignano and other heroes,

“che di vederli in me stesso m’ esalto ;”

and the insight that their correspondence gives into their private life and character, the peculiarities of their different styles of writing, the petty *tracasseries* of their domestic establishments, have the advantage of giving us a minute and faithful picture of real life in that tempestuous age, such as the most elaborate history could hardly afford.

The work is throughout illustrated with notes by the Marquis Gino Capponi, who, for true patriotism no less than for the interest he takes in the cause of literature, has few equals among the Italian nobility, and whose name is foremost in every generous enterprise. The extent of his information, and his especial acquaintance with that period in which his ancestors played so conspicuous a part, enabled him to arrange Molini’s publication in the best order, and to invest the subject with an interest which enhances the importance of the documents, and puts each of them in its proper light before the reader.

We notice among the most remarkable of these historical monuments the letters and memorials of Ludovico Sforza il Moro, Duke of Milan, written during his long captivity in France, breathing all the venom of a powerless rage, and displaying all the talents of that crooked policy which brought about the last calamities of his country, but of which he was the first to taste the bitter fruits in the loneliness of a dungeon. We find, likewise, the last testament of the captive prince, by which he meant to provide for the regency of the duchy of Milan during the minority of his son, and from which is clearly seen (according to the illustrious commentator’s remarks), “How the government of Lodovico Sforza, in all that regarded internal administration and jurisdiction, did not correspond to the wickedness of his external policy; how as an ambitious man he courted popularity by works of daring grandeur, as a usurper he strove to sanction his power by an unbounded liberality. The men of genius whom he called around him, as the best ornament of his court, such as Leonardo da Vinci, Fra

“ Luca Pacioli, Bramante, and others in great number, raised his name to the rank of the noblest monarchs of his age.” And we have little doubt that, had Sforza’s life been closed amidst the splendour of his court at Milan, in the plenitude of success, history would have told a different tale, and his name would rank by the side of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Alfonso da Este. In the fragment to which we allude, Ludovico, having received tidings of the death of his high-spirited duchess, Beatrice, on whose talents the unhappy prisoner so implicitly relied, dictated his last orders for the succession of his heir. But “ his inexpiable crimes,” observes the Marquis Capponi, “ were visited upon the head of his guiltless descendant, and the last intentions of the haughty usurper lay unheeded and forgotten in the archives of France.”

Our curiosity has been likewise attracted by the letters of Andrea Doria, which the Marquis Capponi accompanies with a long note, to give demonstration, if any were longer necessary, of the uprightness and integrity of that Genoese Washington, whose only fault, if a man can be held accountable for an error universally cherished in his age, was, to centre all his patriotic affections on his native town, and to forego the interests of Italy in his anxiety for the safety of Genoa.

As a continuation to the *Documenti*, Filippo Polidori published in Florence, in 1838, the *Storie Fiorentine scritte da Giovanni Cavalcanti*, complete in two octavo volumes, and by him dedicated to Gino Capponi, at whose suggestion and under whose auspices the work was undertaken. The existence of the important manuscripts of Cavalcanti was long surmised in Italy and abroad ; but neither the real name of the author, nor the period referred to in his narration, was distinctly known. It appears from this recent publication, that Giovanni, of the noble family of the Cavalcanti, “ being on account of his debts arrested and confined in the dark and noisome prisons called the *Stinche* * * * although, in good truth, his seclusion was irksome enough to him, yet he would have thought nothing of it, but for the horrid company with which he was brought into contact in those infernal dens, in spite of himself; that in order, therefore, to find some relief from the tediousness of his solitude, and to rid himself of that odious company, he undertook to write

“an account of the civil dissensions that tore the Florentine republic in his own times, which brought about the expulsion of Cosimo de’ Medici from Florence, and of the events that prepared the way for his triumphant return.”

This epoch, of such importance in the annals of Florence, and which paved the way to the usurpations of the crafty family who at last curbed and silenced the different parties of that republic, engrossed the best part of the Florentine history of Macchiavelli, who without doubt must have availed himself of the contemporaneous narrative of Cavalcanti. But the *Istorie* of this last have the one great advantage over the more philosophical work of the Florentine secretary, of minutely descending into all the particulars of public and private life, and picturing it in colours “so living and breathing,” as the editor observes in his preface, “that if all other Italian historians had always been equally communicative, we should not now be obliged to study the manners and feelings of by-gone ages from the vain conjectures of scholars, or in the absurd fictions of novelists.”

The history of Cavalcanti is divided into fourteen books, embracing a period of as many years, from 1427 to 1440, and these were most probably written during the author’s confinement. Then follows a second history, in fact, merely a large fragment, containing an account of the seven following years, which appears to have been written after his release. The second volume is also enriched with historical documents relating to that age, for the most part furnished by the Marquis Capponi, and more important perhaps than the work itself, to which they are only meant to form an illustrative appendix.

We come now to the most interesting of these Florentine publications, a complete collection of the *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, of which it will be necessary to give a more circumstantial account. It is well known that, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the principal Italian families who had taken part in the management of public affairs, enriched their family archives with large collections of state-papers, accumulated during their administration at home, or in the course of their embassies abroad. This practice was more generally observed in

Venice, where the patrician families held for a longer period the sovereignty of the state. The collections of manuscripts invariably attached to the library of every Venetian magnate, and which related for the most part to the affairs of the republic, were to a great extent dispersed on the general subversion of that ancient aristocracy in 1797; but a few of these private archives are still in existence, and are shown by the owners to their guests with a melancholy complacency,

“col misero orgoglio d’ un tempo che fu.”

In the year 1296, it was ordered by a decree of the Great Council, that all the Venetian ambassadors should on their return read before the senate an account of their mission, which was afterwards to be deposited in the state-archives, —a practice regularly observed until the last days of the republic. These papers, which “had gradually increased “to a large library, furnishing the lover of modern history “with one of the richest treasures of authentic documents,” after undergoing severe losses in the first heat of republican devastation during the French invasion, when manuscripts were wantonly scattered in every direction, and sold by the French soldiers for waste paper, shared at last the fate of the remaining archives, and travelled across the Alps to France and Germany, whence a great part of them have never returned.

All that remained of the memorials treasured up by the diligence of those provident patricians was, therefore, to be found either in the public libraries of Paris or Vienna, or in some of the private museums and archives of the Italian nobility. The first attempt at a revival of these historical monuments seems to have been made by Luigi Cibrario, under whose direction appeared at Turin, in 1830, the Reports on the State of Savoy in the years 1574, 1670, and 1743, as given by the Venetian ambassadors, Molini, Bellegno and Foscarini, with the editor’s notes and illustrations. Five years later, 1835–36, Professor Leopold Ranke, among the documents with which he has enriched his History of the Popes, (a work recently and admirably translated into English by Mrs. Austin,) published a vast number of these Venetian Reports, which he had the merit of bringing to light, most

of them drawn from the public archives of Vienna, and some from the family repositories of the Roman aristocracy. Again, in 1838, Niccolò Tommaseo, then an exile in France, extracted from the Parisian royal libraries, and published by the order, or at least the permission, of Louis Philippe, the *Rélations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur les affaires de France au XV^e Ime siècle, recueillies et traduites, etc.*, in two volumes quarto.

These partial publications stimulated the ardour of the Marquis Gino Capponi, who now resolved to carry into execution the idea which he had long conceived, of presenting his country with an accurate edition of all that was yet to be found of that widely scattered collection. Such an undertaking could not fail to find ready co-operators among the Florentine nobility; and the names of those who aided it by their advice or money, were printed in front of each volume, as a due mark of acknowledgment. The direction and care of the work has been intrusted to Eugenio Alberi, of Bologna, a young man of distinguished abilities, formerly an exile in France, for joining the insurrection of Romagna in 1831; and now, notwithstanding the papal amnesty, for some unaccountable reason, once more banished from Rome, and residing in Tuscany by especial favour of the Grand-duke.

“ Sæpe, premente Deo, fert Deus alter opem.”

The *Relazioni Venete*, now publishing at Florence, are mostly drawn from the Magliabechiana and Riccardiana libraries, or from the Archivio Mediceo of that city, which are said by the editor to contain immense treasures of these interesting materials. The Society has also opened an extensive correspondence with many distinguished scholars in Turin and Rome, and with Italians residing in Paris, in Vienna, Berlin and Gotha*. So that, including all that has been supplied from private collections, and what still remains in the archives of St. Mark, reasonable hopes are entertained that the edition will prove as complete as possible in the present state of things. So long a task was it, and so many different means had to be resorted to, in order to repair the

* We believe that several of these *Relazioni* are to be found in this country also.

work of destruction, caused only by a short military misrule, and by the abuse of victory of "the spoiled child of fortune."

The work was originally intended to be divided into three distinct series, a volume of each to be published simultaneously, with a view to afford sufficient leisure for the insertion of any new document that might be unexpectedly communicated. The first series comprehended the reports of the Venetian embassies to every European court out of Italy. The first volume is filled with seven *Relazioni*, three of them respecting the affairs of France in 1535, 1538, 1546, by the ambassadors Marino and Francesco Giustiniano, and Marino Cavalli; these documents are merely reprinted from the French edition of Tommaseo. Of the other *Relazioni* contained in the first volume, three are taken from the private collection of the Marquis Capponi: the first giving an account of Niccolo Tiepolo's legation to Charles V. in 1532; the second the report of Bernardo Navagero's deputation to the same emperor in 1546; the third was read before the senate by Lorenzo Contarini, on his return from the court of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, in 1548. The document that bears the earliest date in this first volume (1506), is the report of Vincenzo Quirini's diplomatic visit to the courts of Burgundy, England and Castile.

It is time for us to observe, that although, as we have stated, the practice of exacting from their legates and preserving in their national archives the reports of their embassies to foreign courts, goes back to the earliest organization of the Venetian oligarchy in the thirteenth century, yet, for some cause which the Florentine editor avows himself unable to explain, the regular succession of these diplomatic documents can only be traced to the beginning of the sixteenth century,—a few very rare copies having hitherto been discovered of *relations* bearing date in the later part of the fifteenth century.

The second series was to embrace the accounts of the legations to the Italian states in general; but the great number and importance of the Roman embassies have induced the editor to publish these last in a separate chronological collection, the first volume of which is ready for the press, and is

to open with the mission of Polo Capello to the court of Pope Alexander VI. in 1500.

The first volume of the Italian series already published, contains the account of the state of Florence from 1527 to 1561, furnished by the reports of three successive ambassadors, Marco Foscari, Carlo Capello, and Vincenzo Fedeli. They are, in fact, a minute and heart-rending picture of the last struggles and final extinction of Florentine liberty. The records of Marco Capello consist of a collection of official letters from that minister to his constituents, dated 1529-30, the epoch of the siege of Florence. To these documents have been added, in a separate pamphlet, several authentic letters by the Gonfaloniere Niccolò Capponi, by Francesco Ferrucci, the Florentine commissary, by the Prince of Orange, the general of Charles V., and by other principal actors in that lamentable drama. The volume closes with the account of the legation of Andrea Boldù, deputed to the court of Savoy in 1561. All these documents are derived, either from the public libraries of the Tuscan metropolis, or have been furnished by the liberality of the Marquis Capponi.

The third series contains the relations of the Venetian ambassadors to the Ottoman states, and, when complete, will afford the most authentic account of the political and commercial transactions, and of the heroic achievements of the Venetians in the East. The first volume of this series, which was also published in July last, opens with a genealogical and historical essay on the Ottoman dynasty, given by the editor, and a lexicon of the Turkish words occurring in the 'Reports.' These are nine, and embrace a period of forty-six years, beginning with 1534. Here we are introduced to Soliman, Selim, Mustafa, and all the other leaders who threatened for so long a period the total overthrow of Christian civilization. We are treated with lively sketches of Turkish, Persian and Syrian life, and are for the first time made acquainted with the secrets of the scraglio. The best part of these manuscripts are also the gift of the first promoter of the Florentine edition.

We need scarcely apologize for having dwelt so long on the contents of the three volumes hitherto edited by Eugenio

Alberi, and of which the continuation is prosecuted with an ardour uncommon in Italy, the merit of the edition being enhanced by frequent illustrations dictated by the most sober and enlightened criticism. The *Relazioni Venete*, if carried to the extent originally contemplated, will surpass in importance almost every historical work on the political events of the last three centuries. The spirit of enterprise and adventure which, from the days of Polo and Zeni, distinguished the Venetian diplomatists, and their peculiar capacity for inquiry and observation—the mystery and jealousy which involved the political transactions of the Venetian senate at home and abroad—that indefinable mixture of dread and love which bound every citizen, patrician and representative, to a central, inscrutable and iron will—that wary and selfish, but firm and unswerving system of impassive neutrality—that spirit of toleration and impartiality which the republic religiously observed in all political and theological dissensions, which sheltered Fra Paolo, Galileo, and a hundred victims of persecution, from the open vengeance of their enemies—the unparalleled sagacity of those able negotiators who laid the foundations of modern diplomacy, and by whose constant exertion and vigilance the queen of the Adriatic sat calm and serene on her watery throne, watching the vicissitudes that convulsed the main land—all these cannot fail to inspire us with a conviction, that the ocular testimony of the Venetian ambassadors is the work of men who neither dared to deceive, nor could be easily imposed upon.

“It is always with uprightness and candour,” observes the editor of the French work, “always with a consciousness of the dignity of their office and of the independence of their country, that the Venetian ambassadors give us their estimate of the state of things in France. Although sometimes more intolerant in words than their government was in fact during the conflicts of the Reformation, yet never do they conceal or palliate the errors and crimes of the Catholic party. Their portraits of Catherine de’ Medici, of the Guise Valois and Bourbons, are sketched with an equitable spirit, no less than with grand and enlightened views. They betray no desire of either exaggerating or softening the tints of their pictures; . . . they observe with a severe, but never with a hostile criticism; they write in a simple, but grave and sententious style. It is never without having long weighed every reason and listened to every party, that they venture to

give their opinion on any subject. It is not, certainly, in such a measure that Italy is dealt with by French travellers in our days."

It may be amusing for English readers to hear the plain and naïve, but on the whole fair and correct description of this country, by the senator Vincenzo Quirini, during his short stay at the court of Henry VII.

"England is a large island and a fertile kingdom, joined with Scotland towards the north, in such a manner, that at low water one can travel on foot from one end of the country to the other. On the north-west (Mastro) lies Ireland (Ibernia), at one day's sail from the coast. This island of England is divided into three principal parts, viz. Anglia, Vallia and Cornuallia, and the language of each of them so essentially differs from the others, that the people of the different divisions cannot understand each other. In these three parts there may be about twenty-two cities and fifty walled towns, between large and small, besides nearly one thousand three hundred villages; all which places now peacefully obey the present King of England, a man of about forty-four years of age, rather well made than otherwise, clever, prudent, neither much hated nor yet greatly beloved by his subjects. He has only one son his heir, the Prince of Wales, called Henry (afterwards Henry VIII.), a youth about sixteen years old, naturally a *French-hater*, and married to a princess of Spain. He was born in 1491, June 28.

¶ "This King of England receives, as a revenue of the crown-property, and likewise from taxes and duties, a sum of 100,000 ducats per annum*. Besides, from the duties raised on all the towns and provinces in the island, a yearly revenue of 400,000 ducats. Moreover, from the tithes he takes from the clergy every three years, and from the property which reverts to the crown at the demise of every bishop, 100,000 ducats; also, as guardian of the orphans of the nobility, 150,000 ducats. He has an additional income of about 500,000 ducats yearly, from the confiscation of property belonging to the principal dukes and lords of the realm whom he hath put to death. The whole amount of the royal revenue is therefore about one million three hundred thousand ducats.

"Now this same king doth not lay out in household expenses and in the maintenance of his men-at-arms and fortresses more than half a million of ducats; and even due allowance being made for extraordinary expenses, he can never dispose of two-thirds of his income, so that it is generally believed, that after so many years of reign he must be the wealthiest of all the monarchs of Christendom. Now this said king, so rich, hath only nineteen lay lords under his control in all his kingdom between dukes, earls, marquesses and princes; many more he used to have heretofore, but in order to feel more at ease on his throne, he hath, as I have said, curtailed the number of them. These lords that yet remain have altogether an income of 380,000 ducats. The dukes of Northfolch and Northumber-

* The gold ducat, or Venetian sequin, equivalent to nine shillings and sixpence.

land, who are the greatest among them, have each a yearly income of 30,000 ducats; the poorest have only from nine to twelve thousand, the middling even fifteen thousand a-year. The above-said king hath also in his states twenty-two excellent bishoprics and archbishoprics, whose revenue is, on the whole, 210,000 ducats; some of them have thirty, some from fifteen to twenty-four, some only from two to ten thousand a-year. The right of conferring these bishoprics resides exclusively in the king. There are in the country also fifty-six Benedictine and Augustine monasteries, both for monks and nuns, and their united income amounts to 400,000 ducats; the best endowed have a revenue of fifteen to twenty-four, but the others have only from one to ten thousand ducats a-year. Moreover, there are fifty monasteries of the order of St. Bernard, and these yield an income of 77,000 ducats; add to these, three Carthusian monasteries and two houses of the Knights of Rhodes, whose joint revenue is 72,000 ducats a-year. There are five thousand two hundred parish churches and about ten thousand priests in all England, and these enjoy an annual income of about 120,000 ducats. The sum total of the church revenue amounts, therefore, to 860,000 ducats.

“The rest of the wealth of England lies in the hands of the merchants, of whom there is a vast number throughout the country. The inhabitants of that part of the country which is called Vallia are tall, fine men, brave and warlike, naturally haughty, and rather inclined to war than to any other honest employment. In Anglia they are more polite and gentle, more wealthy, more addicted to commerce and trade. In Cornovallia they are more wild and ferocious, and poorer than in any part of the island; they are naturally disposed to rebel against their sovereign, and always fond of novelty. They have an inborn hatred of the French, and entertain no great opinion of that nation’s warlike abilities. They are generally brave; they travel almost always on foot, armed with a bow and arrows; these are their favourite weapons, those in which they seem to have most skill and confidence.”

It would not be easy to point out another government in that remote age whose ambassador took the pains, or was able, during a few weeks’ residence, to collect and bring home such an amount of statistical information. Far different, however, is the train of thought, as well as the style, of the successive reports; and we scarcely know of any historical narrative more deeply affecting than the simple exhibition of the long alternation of hopes and fears, of the deeds of heroism, the hardships and sufferings of the Florentine siege of 1530. As that subject has a more immediate relation to the history of Italy, we shall venture to extract a few passages, showing what long unshaken determination and true patriotic devotion must have sustained that generous people for ten months

against the combined efforts of an unnatural Pope, Clement VII., and of an all-powerful conqueror, Charles V., who, master of Spain, Germany and two-thirds of Italy, pressed them on all sides. Nor could their numerous bands of foreign robbers, nor the ravages of plague and famine, bring the Florentines to surrender without the treachery of Malatesta Baglioni, a mercenary *condottiere*, in whom the city had incautiously placed unlimited confidence.

"On the fifteenth of May" (writes the ambassador, Carlo Capello) "took place a religious solemnity, to celebrate the recovery of the liberty of Florence. High mass was sung in the *Duomo*, and Bernardo Cavalcanti delivered from the pulpit an Italian oration in praise of that liberty, to exhort the people to defend or die for it. On the following day, in the *Piazza di San Giovanni*, the *Signoria* and all the magistrates being present, the militia, a body of about ten thousand men, took, one by one, the oath of fidelity to the republic for whose sake they all are ready to conquer or die.....The city,—although it cannot be denied that many, unable through enfeebled constitution to bear the hardships of so long a siege, and others bound by family ties or affections to the besiegers, seem inclined to wish for a change,—the city yet is wonderfully tranquil: such being the measures taken by the present government, such the watchfulness of the commanders, such the zeal and activity of the soldiers, that we live here a more quiet life than it ever happened in a beleaguered city; and afflicted as they are by so many calamities, every hope of the harvest and every chance of otherwise obtaining provisions being utterly lost, so that the multitude have nothing to live upon but unwholesome bread and water; although diseases rage furiously and death meet you at every step; although the expectation of the succour of France has been sadly disappointed, and the Imperial cavalry, that was thought to have moved towards Naples to oppose the Turks, now, after three days, unexpectedly re-appears; yet so firm is their hope in God, so ardent their love of liberty, so unwavering their determination, that yesterday and today, in the council of the *Eighty*, they have unanimously resolved to bear out as long as they have bread and water, and, at the last extremity, to try the chances of a general combat; and it is a wonder still greater, that in such hard and desperate circumstances, neither by day nor by night, we hear of any of those disorders to which the most inoffensive and righteous men are apt to be driven by extreme want and hunger.

"The *Signori* have again and again, but never with more warmth than today, desired me to recommend this poor desolate city to Your *Serenity*, reminding you how generous and noble it has always been reputed, to have mercy on the oppressed; reminding you that their enemies are likewise yours, and that if they prevail against Florence they will equally conspire against the rest of Italy, and especially direct their attacks against Your *Loftiness* (*Vostra Celsitudine*); whilst, if
by them and save them in this stress, t†

gations to you, and you could always reckon upon their ready compliance with your desires. I answer them with kind but evasive words, and endeavour to convince them of the great interest Your Serenity takes in their peace and welfare, and of the earnestness with which you have never ceased nor will cease to interpose in their behalf, through the organ of your orators at the courts of the emperor and pontiff."

The republic of Venice had meanwhile come to a definite arrangement with Charles V., and, in pursuance of a short-sighted and inhuman policy had purchased their own security by abandoning their natural allies to their fate. Venice and Genoa were tranquil spectators of the ruin of Florence, nor felt that, by tacitly conniving at such an open violation of the rights of nations, they pronounced their own sentence, and hastened the day when they should come to a more melancholy and inglorious end. But the lessons of the past are soon given to oblivion; and those powers which, for many years, have followed the same line of policy, and heedlessly connived at the gradual extinction of Poland and at the utter degradation of Italy, would now exult less in the height of their prosperity if they reflected on the retribution by which Venice and Genoa atoned for their desertion of Florence.

We shall quote a few more lines from this ambassador, who after having in his previous letters dwelt at length on the particulars of the famine and mortality that thinned the ranks of the besieged, and their frequent engagements with the numerous host of the allies, in his letter of the 14th of August gives the following account of the last deliveration, to which they were driven by despair.

"And besides all these inconveniences and hardships, besides the horrors and dangers by which they are surrounded from an infinite variety of violent diseases, the pestilence broke out of late in several quarters of the town, whose ravages are the more to be dreaded, as there are no means of avoiding it by leaving town, or of curing it by the choice of food or medicines, of which there is the utmost scarcity. And yet such is the constancy, I should rather say the obstinacy, of every citizen's mind, that they have, with one common consent, determined never to yield to any extremity; and if Ferrucci can succeed in accomplishing the reunion of his troops with those that are stationed at Pisa, which would form an army of about 500 horse and 5000 infantry, and leading them over to Florence, they intend to rush out to join him with all their men-at-arms and militia, and to fight to the last; and they have ordered that those who shall be left to the defence of their walls and gates, if fortune should prove adverse,

should with their own hands slay their wives and children, and set fire to their houses, then hasten to share the fate of their brothers, that nothing of Florence may remain but the remembrance of the magnanimity of her defenders, as an immortal example, to show how men are to live and die for the liberty of their country; and as if to shut out every possibility of reconciliation, they have entirely broken off some negotiations that were going on several days since, between the Prince of Orange and the Signor Malatesta."

Unfortunately, Malatesta Baglioni, a soldier of fortune, who only knew how to fight as long as he was paid and fed for fighting, understood nothing of this blind transport of heroic devotion, and was determined, he said, to save an imprudent city, which seemed bent upon its own ruin. Already the best hope of the republic, Francesco Ferrucci, and 2000 of his brave followers had fallen, ineffectually though not ingloriously, on the field of Gagnana, on the 2nd of August. Six days later, Malatesta stabbed with his own hand the messenger of the *Signoria* who brought him the order to resign his command, opened the gates to the enemy, and turned his artillery against the town. Thus fell Florence.

"The Signor Malatesta," concludes the narrative of the honest Venetian patrician, "twice requested me to offer to Your Serenity the service of his own person and of five or six hundred chosen foot-soldiers he holds in his pay; and as no one could gainsay the valour of his troops, so neither could any man refuse him the glory of a dexterous and crafty commander."

"Dexterous and crafty," (*accorto ed avveduto*) observes the editor, "are the epithets that diplomatic courtesy and forbearance suggested; but in a letter added in the appendix, Carlo Capello proclaims the treason of Malatesta, and clears all doubts that might remain about the dishonesty of his conduct."

"Nor would I insist," adds Eugenio Alberi, "to bring further evidence of this historical truth, already fully confirmed by almost every moderate and conscientious writer, were it not that my duty as a man impressed with the dignity of literature obliges me to protest against the spirit of a book recently published at Perugia, entitled *Vita e Imprese Militari di Malatesta Baglioni*, in which the author Gio. Battista Vermiglioli, in his account of the conduct of the last general of the Florentines, undertakes not only the apology but the eulogium of perjury."

As a continuation to the *Documenti di Storia Italiana*, Dr. Gaye, a distinguished German, has lately published the

first and second volumes of his *Carteggio Inedito d' Artisti nei secoli XIV, XV, e XVI*. The third and last volume had already been announced in Florence, when Dr. Gaye was taken ill with a brain fever, which left little hope of his recovery*. The history of the fine arts constitutes an essential part of the history of Italy; and Dr. Gaye, who, with a view to write a history of art, visited the principal towns of Italy in quest of inedited manuscripts, has rendered a signal service to the country whose "hospitality so liberally supplied him with materials," no less than to the lovers of art in every nation.

Italy begins to be reconciled to the invasion of these well-meaning depredators. As in various branches of commerce or industry she yields her silk, her sulphur and other natural products to French or English manufacturers, so she throws open her archives and libraries for the gratification of those northern scholars, who, as if acknowledging her right to rest from her former exertions, are willing to search, to write, to toil for her sake. It is thus that the Italians passively translated the works of Roscoe and Sismondi, of Niebuhr and Leo, and applaud now the researches of Gaye, Thiers and Wildet, consoling themselves with the idea, that if these gentlemen work for the history of Italy, they only return the favour their respective countries received from the works of Davila, Bentivoglio and Botta.

The 'Correspondence of Artists,' collected by Dr. Gaye, goes back to the year 1326. The work opens with a curious document, consisting of the statutes of the Goldsmiths' Company at Siena, bearing the date of 1341. Besides papers from those celebrated founders of modern art, Masaccio, Mantegna, Leonardo, Titian, Raphael, etc., we have official and confidential papers from the most famous men of their age, such as Rienzi, the Este, the Medici, the Sforza and Borgia, Bembo, Varchi, Giovio and Pietro Aretino. All these documents are chronologically arranged in admirable

* Since the above was in print we have received tidings of the death of Dr. Gaye. The third volume of his *Carteggio* was however previously published, though it has not reached us.

† Mr. Wilde, an American, has for several years been collecting documents for a life of Dante. An agent of M. Thiers has resided for three years in Italy, to provide materials for a grand work on the history of Florence.

order, so as to throw light upon one another. At the end of each volume is given a fac-simile of the original autographs.

Among the many interesting facts which this edition brings to light, none has arrested our attention more than the letters 144-147, and 157-159, affording perhaps the most positive *éclaircissement* of a subject upon which the world has long been in suspense,—the motives of Michael Angelo's departure from Florence in 1529. It is well known to every person acquainted with the biography of the painter, sculptor, architect and poet, what an active part he took in the events of the Florentine siege, and what important services he rendered to the republic, both as one of the leaders of the militia, and as a chief engineer directing the works of fortification that were to shelter Florence against the storm which gathered around her. A vague rumour was spread many years after the siege, credited by some good historians, especially by Varchi, that either out of spite or fear Michael Angelo had deserted his post in the hour of need, and taken refuge at Venice or Ferrara. To this charge of baseness and pusillanimity the world has always lent a reluctant ear: the character of the great artist and patriot pleaded his cause, and for many years his admirers shrunk from further inquiry, as if the slightest doubt would be calumnious to his memory. A few years ago, however, at the time of Guerrazzi's publication of the *Assedio di Firenze*, some documents were produced, amply vindicating the fame of Michael Angelo. These were letters from the Signoria of Florence, which we translate from the *Carteggio*, No. CXLIV.

"Domino Galeotto Junio, Oratori, Ferrarie. Die xxviii Giulio.

"Magnifice Orator, etc.—We send our much-honoured Michelagnolo Buonarroti, a very rare man, as you know, for some business, of which you will hear from him. We wish him to be welcomed as a man truly dear to us, and treated according to his uncommon merits. We desire you to introduce him to his Excellency the Duke, and let all his court know in what high opinion he stands among us, so that he may be allowed to see all he may express a wish to inspect, in order that he may be better enabled to fulfil his business, and return well-informed about everything he wants. As this concerns the welfare of the whole city, we warmly recommend him to you. Bene Vale.

"*Nota*.—The bearer of the present letter will be Michelangiolo Buonarroti, who is sent by the Nine of the Militia, to see the style of fortification adopted by his Excellency the Duke, to whom you shall do your best to

recommend him, not only for his great qualities, but for the interest also of the city, for whose service he undertakes this journey."

Here we have the answer of the ambassador to the *Signoria*, No. CXLV.

"Galeoctus Junius, Doctor et Orator, ex Ferrara. Die ii Sextilis 1529.

"Magnifici domini observandissimi.—This evening I received the letter of your Lordships from the hands of Michelagnolo Buonarrotti. For all that concerns him, I shall, with due diligence, do all that belongs to me, in order that he may return with all the information your Lordships desire. I am indeed sorry that I could not prevail upon him to stay at my house, both for his credit and mine, as well as for regard to your Lordships. You will excuse me, therefore, when you hear that it did not depend on me.

"The above being written this morning at four o'clock, I have been round with Michelagnolo to see the walls: he likes them very well. Afterward, we have been at his Excellency the Duke's, who has been so glad to see the above-said Michelagnolo, that he has offered to go with him again, and show him everything himself."

This, and two more letters on the same subject, seemed to have explained the object of Michael Angelo's absence, and restored his fame beyond every shade of doubt. But Dr. Gaye, who valued truth before the artist's reputation, plunged deeper into the memorials of that age, and ascertained, that not only once, but twice and thrice, Michael Angelo was sent on similar official errands; but that these missions were quite different from the *flight* with which he stood charged in a letter of Giovambattista Busini, who had an interview with Michael Angelo in Rome, and who wrote to the historian Varchi on the 31st of January 1549—which letter constitutes the main argument on which all the suspicions about the artist's conduct had been grounded. This letter of Busini, as quoted by Dr. Gaye, runs thus:—

"I have inquired of Michelagnolo what could be the reason of his departure. He says, that he being one of the *Nine*, the Florentine troops having entered the town, together with Malatesta [Baglioni] and Mario Orsini, the Ten distributed the soldiers over the walls and bastions, and assigned to each commander his place, furnishing them with provisions and ammunitions; that in this distribution Malatesta was trusted with eight pieces of artillery, with which he was to guard a part of the Mount [San Miniato, for the outworks, of which the design was given by Michael Angelo himself]; that Malatesta placed his pieces not on, but under the bastion, and left them unguarded, while Signor Orsini did quite the con-

trary ; whereupon Michelagnolo, who, both as a magistrate and an architect, surveyed that part of the Mount, asked Signor Mario how it was that Malatesta kept his artillery so out of order ; to whom Signor Orsini replied, ' You must know that this man issues from a family of traitors, and he also will prove a traitor to this city.' Hearing this, he was *seized with such a panic* [*paura*], that he *must go away, fearing lest evil should befall the city and him likewise* [ET EGLI CONSEGUENTEMENTE]. Having so resolved, he met Rinaldo Corsini, to whom he opened his mind. Rinaldo, who was a hare-brained man, said, ' I will go with you.' Thus mounting on horseback, with a certain sum of money, they rode to the gate of the *Justitia*, where the guards, according to order, stopped them. In this moment some one, I know not who, cried out, ' Let him go ! he is one of the *Nine*—he is Michelagnolo.' Thus they rode out, Michelagnolo, Rinaldo, and another, who never left him. They arrived at Castelnovo, where there were Tomaso [Soderini] and Niccolò [Capponi], but Michelagnolo refused to see them.".....

Michael Angelo was banished soon after his departure, September 30th. He went to Venice, remained there a little while, and soon repenting his hasty retreat, sought to return to Florence.

In confirmation of the facts stated in Busini's letter, the *Carteggio* gives the following arguments, No. CLVII.

" Gal. Junius et Ferrara. Die xiii Oct., 1529.

" I know that your Lordships are informed of Michelagnolo's departure, and what penalty he has incurred in consequence. I am especially sorry that, before he heard anything of his banishment, the time appointed for his return passed. He would be glad to return if he could *hope to find mercy* ; and he has entreated me to write these few lines, which, on account of his abilities, I have been willing to do, warmly recommending him to your Lordships ; and promising, that if he be allowed to *return in safety, he will be at your feet* without delay, and obey all your commands."

No. CLVIII. contains the answer of the *Balia*.

" To Galeotto Giugni. 20 October, 1529.

" Your two letters of the xi, and another dated xiii, are thus answered : Our *Signori* have delivered a safe-conduct to Michelagnolo Buonarroti, and he can therefore return to his post."

And again, No. CLIX.

" Galeotto Giugni Alla Balia. Da Ferrara, 9 Nov., 1529.

" The bearer of this letter will be Michelagnolo Buonarroti, who comes to *throw himself at the feet* of your Lordships, and with all his might will exert himself for his city, whom I recommend, etc."

After his return, the Signoria issued the following decree :

" Nov. 23.—Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti and Agostino di Piero del Nero having been banished, *as rebels*, by a decree of the 30th of

September last, on account of having departed from Florence without permission, and not having come back within the time assigned to them; now, since they returned, the aforesaid decree of their banishment is revoked, excluding them, however, for the three next years from the *Consiglio Maggiore*, etc."

From the foregoing documents Dr. Gaye thinks he can draw sufficient proofs, that the journey undertaken by Michael Angelo towards the end of July, with the object of inspecting the fortifications of Ferrara, was wholly different from the other, which cost him his banishment, September 30th. And, in fact, admitting the authenticity of these important letters, it is evident that Michael Angelo had left Florence in some clandestine manner, and thereby incurred the displeasure of the Signoria. Whether this departure was occasioned by his wounded pride at seeing his dispositions as a military engineer disregarded, or by his apprehension of the treacherous intentions of Malatesta Baglioni, which he communicated in vain to the Signoria, by whom he was reproved for his timidity—whether, in short, it was from spite or fear—we have no other means of ascertaining than the assertion of Busini, to which few persons had hitherto given credit. Dr. Gaye, however, expresses his full reliance upon these statements; and although he endeavours to palliate the great artist's misconduct, attributing it to his professional jealousy and impetuosity of temperament, although he deems that his immediate repentance, his magnanimous confession and reparation amply atoned for that moment of levity, yet we must confess that Michael Angelo's character as a patriot has suffered severely from Dr. Gaye's disclosures.

As an illustration of the state of morals in the sixteenth century, and of the impudence with which one of the most impure of men dared to address one of the most upright in Italy, we shall quote a few passages of a letter of Pietro Aretino to Michael Angelo, bearing date November 1545, Venice. Those who are acquainted with the character, life and death of Pietro Aretino, need hardly any comment upon this singular epistle. (No. CCXXXV.)

" Signor Mio :

" I have seen the whole sketch of your ' Last Judgment,' and have been enabled fully to appreciate the exquisite grace of Raphael in the beauty

of the invention. Meanwhile, as a christened man [*battizzato*], I must tell you that I am ashamed of the licentiousness, *illicit to the mind*, which you have indulged in your conception of that great end to which every feeling in our belief aspires. Then that Michelagnolo, described by fame as so wonderful, so admirable [*ammiranno*], so noted for his prudence, has wished to show no less *imp'ety of irreligion* than perfection of art.

"Is it possible that you, who, as a divine being, did not deign to converse with men [here lies the source of the writer's venom—Michael Angelo would not have anything to do with him], should have done this in the house of God? on the first altar of Jesus, in the greatest chapel in the world? where the great hinges [*cardini*] of the church, where the reverend priests, where the holy vicar of Christ [Aretino was then suing for a cardinal's hat], with Catholic ceremonies, with *sacred orders*, with divine prayers, confess, contemplate, and adore his body, his flesh and soul? If it were not unlawful to institute a comparison, I could give myself credit for my '*Trattato della Nanna*,' showing how my *wise forbearance* was greater than the indiscretion of your conscience, inasmuch as I not only made use of pure and decent words on a lubric and lascivious subject, but even spoke in a chaste and irreprehensible style; while you, in so awful and sublime a theme, painted angels and saints without any earthly honesty, and almost entirely deprived of their heavenly ornaments."

After indulging at length in language too gross for us to translate, he concludes thus:—

"If, in describing the universe, the abyss and terrors of hell, and the glory of paradise, you had followed the plan sketched with so much knowledge by myself, in that letter which is now read by all the world [*che di mio legge il secolo*], I dare say that not only nature and every celestial influence would not repent of having given you so bright an intellect, but all-seeing Providence would preserve your work as long as this great fabric of the firmament endures."

Then, fearing that Michael Angelo should scorn to reply to such trash, Aretino adds the following postscript:—

"Now that I have somehow given vent to my anger against the outrage you had done to my devotion, and that I trust I have shown you that if you are divine, I am no water, [*Se voi siate divino io non soi d' acqua*,—a very poor pun for so great a wit,] you may tear this letter, for I also rent it into pieces; and do you remember that kings and emperors answer my letters"—[which was perfectly true].

No other historical association in Italy has led to such splendid results as the works published by Molini, Alberti, and Dr. Gaye at Florence: but we read in one of the last numbers of the *Rivista Europea*, that some attempts are made at Milan to revive the *Società Palatina*, to whose co-opera-

tion we are indebted for the great collection of Muratori. Every province, every insignificant town, even Casalmaggiore and the marquisate of Saluzzo, has, within the course of the last ten years, produced its annals; and as every modern work of that nature is a summary of all historical documents that each city or district can yield, all bring their local tribute to be added to the great mass of national historical erudition.

Such partial performances, however, can hardly be compared to efforts of a more daring nature, the greatest number of which are now in course of publication, and which are intended to condense the quantity of materials already known, and render them generally accessible to readers. Among the most applauded, we will only notice Repetti's *Dizionario geografico fisico-storico della Toscana*, Casali's *Dizionario geografico, storico, statistico, commerciale degli stati del Ré di Sardagna*, or the still greater works, *Dizionario biographico universale*, published by Missiaglia in Venice, and *Biographia degli illustri Italiani del secolo xviii*, edited by Tiplado, both works compiled by an association of literary men from every town and province of Italy. Republications of what are called in Italy classical historians, such as Guicciardini, Varchi, Adriani, and all their illustrious contemporaries, follow each other without intermission at Milan, Turin, Naples and Leghorn. The *Società Editrice Fiorentina*, also directed by Eugenio Albèri, besides the *Monumenti del Genio Letterario d' Ogni Nazione* and the *Enciclopedia Universale*, publishes also a *Biblioteca Storica*, announcing the translation of such works as Leo's History of Italy, Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, Mackintosh's England, etc.

We bring forward this phalanx of new publications, whatever may be their real merit, only in order to put an end to that constant and unmerited reproach which meets us everywhere, that we receive nothing from Italy, that Italy gives no signs of life. If public indifference has discouraged Molini and Rolandi from the importation of books, of which no one among us cares to know the existence, we have no reason to lay it to the charge of Italian inactivity. On the contrary, a country in which, twenty or thirty years ago, "the Marquis Rovalli" (we quote the *Rivista Europea*) "printed his

“splendid history of Como, and disposed of only eighty-three copies of it, and Pietro Verri sold no more than one copy of his history of Milan—of such a town as Milan,” and in which now so many thousand volumes of dry historical erudition are yearly printed and sold, is not a country to be despaired of; nor can we look without sympathy and admiration on the efforts of a nation, of all others in the world except the Jews the most divided and scattered, so unanimously co-operating in that one object of studying their history; as if, by dwelling on the glorious reminiscences of the past, they sought a refuge against the melancholy feeling of their present dejection.

We shall close our article with a few remarks on one or two works of a general character which have raised sanguine expectations, as more immediately conducive to a general compilation of Italian history. The earliest attempts ever made with any degree of success to answer that purpose, were the *Annali d’Italia* of Muratori, the *Revoluzioni d’Italia* by Carlo Denina, and, in later times the voluminous work of Luigi Bossi, *Storia Italia antica e moderna*, and the three volumes of Botta, entitled *Histoire des Peuples d’Italie*. All these works were written with sufficient skill and discernment, and enjoyed a certain degree of popularity. Still the histories of Bossi and Muratori were only works of erudition, and hardly to be numbered among the writings on philosophical history; and neither of the two Piedmontese historians displayed that wide power of genius, that eagle-eye, which embraces at one glance an immensity of objects, and presents them, in their mutual relations, with that proportion and symmetry which makes of history an edifice obedient to the laws of architecture.

The more recent essays on the general history of Italy have been made by Cesare Balbo at Turin and Carlo Troya at Naples. The first—two volumes of whose *Storia d’Italia* appeared in 1830, but of which we understand the continuation proceeds, though at long intervals, owing to the author’s various literary pursuits*—has given a very satisfactory account of the dominion of Goths and Lombards in Italy, down

* He published a ‘Life of Dante,’ in two volumes, early in 1839.

to the extinction of the dynasty of Alboin and the descent of Charlemagne. The history of Italy in the middle ages by Troya is conceived with more vast and daring views. He plunges deeply into the great labyrinth of the origin of the barbaric nations that colonized or invaded Italy before and after the Roman æra, gives elaborate dissertations on the derivations, migrations, institutions and manners of the Celtic, Gothic and Slavonic races, and, if we understand him right, refers Pelasgians, Etruscans, Vandals and Lombards to a common source, and establishes ties of consanguinity among them all. We say, if we understand him right, because we must confess that we have often felt bewildered and lost among that astonishing mass of erudition, and have laid down his book almost in despair.

For it must be observed, that, due allowance being made for the natural buoyancy and restlessness of a southern people, the Italian scholars are scarcely less apt to indulge in unprofitable speculations than their more grave neighbours of Germany; their political discontents and their consequent retirement from public life have engendered a taste for abstraction and seclusion which unfits them for what ought to be the main object of all liberal studies—the improvement and progress of human society.

The two first volumes of Troya's works, printed in 1839, only came down to the taking of Rome by Alaric, by which he has hardly reached the epoch he intended to describe; the third volume, already announced in Naples, has not yet reached us. This history, however, is not calculated to supersede the more popular productions by Giuseppe Micali, *L'Italia avanti il dominio dei Romani* and *Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani*; the first published at Florence in 1810, the second in 1832.

Choosing his own way in the midst of jarring opinions and interminable doubts, by the aid of an enlightened criticism, stating and ordering facts with an admirable perspicuity, without attempting to give his subject more unity than it would naturally admit of, Micali endeavoured to collect the records of each individual race of the primitive inhabitants of Italy, one after another, in an easy succession, according to the chronological traditions of their earliest origin and the

influence they exerted over the land, and traced their history down to that single point of coincidence to which they all naturally tend—the epoch in which their name was effaced from the list of nations and their fate involved in the destinies of Rome. The ideas of this author concerning the derivation of the ancient Italian races seem to be quite at the antipodes of Troya's far-fetched genealogy; for Micali opines that it would be difficult to give a satisfactory demonstration of any foreign nation having permanently settled in Italy previous to the ruin of Troy.

No less interest has been evinced in Italy in favour of two recent publications, having likewise a national scope, the *Municipi d' Italia*, by Carlo Morbio, and the *Famiglie celebri Italiane*, by Count Litta. We have seen only four volumes of the first of these works, containing a rapid yet circumstantial essay on the histories of Ferrara, Pavia, Novara, Faenza, Piacenza, Milan and Florence, illustrated by unpublished documents of the greatest antiquity, some of the Milanese papers going back to the year A.D. 827.

The object of this work was evidently to condense into a single collection the numberless municipal histories, of some of which the title has been announced above. We hope, if the author carries on his design, he will be enabled at the end to discourse on his subject with comprehensive views, and afford new materials for a more sober and unimpassioned sketch of the Italian republics than the glowing but fanciful picture we had from Sismondi.

Count Litta has published, from 1820 to 1839, the history of seventy Italian families, amounting already to a considerable number of volumes in quarto, and is pursuing his vast enterprise with rare perseverance. The work consists of an accurate exposition of the lineage of each of those aristocratic houses from their earliest record, with short but animated biographical sketches of those members of the family who shed a lustre on it by their deeds, and whose names are already, or deserve to be, known in history.

This noble performance, although commendable for the most candid impartiality, is yet evidently the work of a man of high aristocratic feelings. This might be expected from the nature of its subject and the rank of its author; nor is

it easy for the most indifferent reader to withdraw his sympathy from the heartfelt melancholy with which the author sets about his task, and which gives to the whole work the tone of a funeral oration. Of those celebrated families by far the greatest number are extinguished, and the rest, in consequence of the abolition of the rights of primogeniture, are rapidly waning in abjection and poverty, while only a few contrive to preserve a precarious lustre from the reflection of court favour.

The traveller, who for a few *scudi* rents the proud, half-tottering mansions of Rome, Venice and Pisa—who sees the finest suits of armour dragged ignobly on the dust and offered for sale at the door of Schneider's hotel in Florence, to become the property of some English curiosity-dealer—who hears of the last heiress of the noble house of Colonna being betrothed to a son of the banker-duke Torlonia—must be a sanguine radical indeed if he can exult in such a state of things, and unconcernedly anticipate the day in which the last of the Doria or Dandolo shall be compelled by want to sell the ashes, as he does now the arms and portraits, of his forefathers.

It is, meanwhile, for us a matter of agreeable surprise to see so many Italian nobles engaged in literary, and especially in historical pursuits. Among others, we with pleasure notice the most vast of all these Italian historical conceptions, recently announced in Naples under the following title: *Italia Memorie Poligrafie Iconografiche tratte da varie opere di grido e da Monumenti più insigni, per cura di Gherardo Bevilacqua Aldobrandini.*

This nobleman, after having, as he informs us, visited since 1810 every town and village in Italy, collecting and examining every chronicle, every classical and historical memorial, transcribing with his own hand the most important documents of antiquity or art, opening a widespread correspondence with every scholar and artist in the country, has written a gigantic history of Italy from the aborigines down to his own contemporaries. We have seen only a prospectus of this work printed in Naples last year, and containing a very rational plan of the work, which is to be divided into two parts, ancient and modern Italy,

each part to be subdivided into fifteen epochs. It will be published in sixty volumes in quarto, and illustrated with six thousand engravings!

We hear that the Marquis Bevilacqua has lately come to a resolution (the success of which we doubt), to offer his vast performance to one of our English publishers, dreading the difficulties to be apprehended on the part of the Italian police—a fear far from being unfounded or exaggerated, if we remember that even Leoni's translation of so innoxious a book as Hallam's 'Middle Ages' was only permitted to be printed at Lugano.

Professor Cesar Cantù, a young author of fair reputation, in 1837 announced a work of scarcely less colossal dimensions but of a still wider importance, under the title of *Enciclopedia storica*, or *Storia universale comparata e documentata*, to be published by Pomba at Turin, of which four volumes have been given out in the course of two years. We have examined only the introduction, which appears a masterpiece of historical eloquence, though in the religious and moral tendencies of the author's mind is traceable something of what is called in Italy the "Manzonian spirit"—an exuberance of Catholic zeal and devotion, which, in the general state of apathy and scepticism prevailing in that country, is likely to impede rather than to advance the interests of true religion. We see too with regret, in his criticism of ancient and modern historians, a *tranchant* tone, perhaps imputable to a juvenile confidence and presumption; but we have good reason to expect from this ardent spirit deeds not inferior to his words, and are willing to allow the young and the brave to exult in the consciousness of their own powers, and in their buoyancy and elasticity of spirit.

The Italian periodicals have all joined in encouraging the efforts of this young historian, who is a favourite in his country, and whose former performances as a poet and a romance-writer have placed him by the side of his friend and master Manzoni. Thus are men of the most eminent literary capacities all employed in forwarding the interests of history. Nicolini, a tragic author of great celebrity, is now bringing to a close his 'History of the House of Swabia,' a work embracing the most splendid period of Italian his-

tory in the middle ages—the long struggles of the Lombard cities for their emancipation. The first thought, as was the case with Schiller's 'Thirty Years' War,' was suggested to him while employed in his erudite researches on the subject of his tragedy *Giovanni da Procida*.

The Marquis Capponi is likewise completing his History of the Times of Peter Leopold, intended to give an idea of the slow but rational improvement that Italy was undergoing towards the close of the last century, before the country was involved in the disorders of the French revolution. The work has been continued by the author in the midst of a variety of engagements, and under the severe affliction of an ophthalmic disease.

Professor Rosini of Pisa, once a poet and a novelist, "having now," as he informs us, "reached that age in which the fancies of youth must yield to more grave and mature pursuits, wished no longer to defer the publication of a work which has been for many years the continual object of his meditation and researches. Having met at Paris Count Leopoldo Cicognara, who was there engaged in printing the first volume of his *Storia della Scultura*, he determined to do for painting what the Count had done for sculpture, hoping he might thus render the fine arts good service and deserve well of his country."

The first two volumes of Rosini's *Storia della Pittura Italiana* have seen the light this year, and contain only a part of the first epoch, which is to embrace the period from Giunta da Pisa and Guido da Siena, (1200-1250), down to Masaccio and his contemporaries. To the engravings with which these volumes are embellished is annexed an atlas of beautiful plates, which are calculated to give us a more favourable idea than is generally entertained in this country of the merit of modern Tuscan engravers.

This work, and the *I. e. R. Galleria Pitti illustrata per cura di Luigi Bardi*, and the *Uffizj Gallery*, also to be illustrated by a society of eminent artists, added to what has been previously done at Rome, Milan, and Bologna, will have the effect, if not of supplying the want of a complete history of art, at least of giving it order and unity, and rendering it a study of more easy access. In all the works above-enumerated, and

in others of an analogous nature, it is not, we believe, difficult to perceive the symptoms of that "*animus immoderatus, nimis alta petens*" inherited by the Italians from their Roman forefathers; but which, while it admirably besecemed the rulers of the world, in their present state of division and dependence speaks rather in favour of their magnificence and disinterestedness than of their prudence and rationality. "*Fare il passo secondo la gamba*" is however a phrase of their own. But the state of seclusion in which they are kept by that kind of literary quarantine established by the mean-spirited jealousy of their governments, hardly allows them to consider themselves as members of the great European family; so that of the headlong march of intellect so wonderfully changing the state of civilized societies, only a faint sound is heard on the sunny side of the Alps. Consequently, there is in Italy more daring of conception than power of execution; more energy of life, more want of exertion, than can be turned to profitable objects; more impatience and restlessness than real strength and serenity of mind. The Italian thinker sinks into despondency, as he sees the result at which he arrived, late and weary, after years of solitary efforts, thrown into utter insignificance by the wide and rapid attainments to which a wise distribution of labour has led the numerous scientific associations abroad. Southern peoples, since the spirit of chivalrous adventure spread among them a distaste for gregarious undertakings, have not yet learned thoroughly to understand the utter helplessness of individuals, and the consequent necessity of relying on the combined efficiency of masses. There is a jealousy, a self-sufficiency, a mutual disdainfulness and indocility, which have contributed to oppose literary good understanding in Italy scarcely less than the forbidding frowns of Austrian suspicion.

We hope therefore, more than we can positively assert, that the numerous works which we have announced as in course of publication, will be persisted in and brought to an end with as fervent a zeal as that in which they originated. We hope the pride generally felt among the most enlightened Italians for their country's name, will be no less powerful an incentive to the accomplishment of noble undertakings, than court patronage, or even popular encouragement.

Such efforts, even if they prove failures, will in the end lead to great results. Inaction and lethargy alone can be symptoms of the hopeless decay of a nation. The Italians have before them glorious examples to teach them perseverance. St. Peter's engrossed the thoughts of a whole age, from Julius II. to Sixtus V., and the cathedral of Florence was the work of two centuries. And truly it would seem that the Italians apply themselves to the compilation of their history as ancient artists raised their architectural monuments for the amazement of posterity. Muratori, like Bramante or Arnolfo di Lapo, gave the first model, and planned the foundation of a mighty edifice; each successive generation added its tribute of important materials; ambitious artists brought forward their abortive designs; summers and winters revolved upon the unroofed aisles, but the day is yet to come when the work shall feel the impulse of the hand of a Brunelleschi or a Michael Angelo; when it shall be said, as of the Roman and Florentine domes, "Time has done, but time shall not undo."

ARTICLE VIII.

1. *Convention concluded between the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia, on the one part, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte on the other, for the Pacification of the Levant, signed at London the 15th of July, 1840.*
2. *Papers presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty, 1839, "relating to the arrangement between Mehemet Ali and the Porte in 1833, and communications with Mehemet Ali, 1838."*

THIRTEEN years have elapsed since the three greatest of the great powers of Europe, "animated with the desire of putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and of preventing

“the evils of every kind which the continuance of such a state of affairs may produce, resolved to combine their efforts for the object of re-establishing peace between the contending parties” in the East, “by means of an arrangement called for,” as they expressed themselves, “no less by sentiments of humanity, than by interest for the tranquillity of Europe.”

The result of the benevolent aspirations of England, France and Russia, was the treaty of London of July the 6th, 1827, framed, as stated in the first article, “with the view of effecting a reconciliation between the Ottoman Porte and the Greeks,” but evidently intended by the cabinet of Great Britain to prevent the separate and exclusive interference of Russia alone, or of Russia in the name of the four continental monarchies, in the internal affairs of the Ottoman empire, in furtherance of the system they had previously pursued, in destroying the independence of the Italian states and of Spain by the arms of the Holy Alliance, under the pretence of putting down the military revolts of Piedmont, Naples and the Isle of Leon.

The principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states had been previously held sacred by the statesmen of every political party in England, from the general adjustment at the Congress of 1815 to 1827; and Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Canning, had separately and successively protested against every endeavour of the cabinet of St. Petersburg to obtain the concurrence of Great Britain in its departure from this recognized axiom of international justice. On referring to the official documents of that period, we find Lord Castlereagh, in May 1820, impugning the doctrine of “charging any ostensible conference with commission to deliberate on the affairs of another country,” and maintaining “that the alliance of England with the continental states was never intended as an union for the government of the world, or for the superintendence of the internal affairs of other states. That it would be a breach of faith were the ministers of the Crown to acquiesce in such a construction of it, or were to suffer themselves to be betrayed into a course of measures inconsistent

“ with the principles which they assumed at the time, and “ which they had since maintained both at home and abroad.” On the death of Lord Castlereagh and the accession of Mr. Canning to the administration of our foreign relations, the principle laid down by Lord Castlereagh was adhered to by his successor, and every effort of Russia, Austria, Prussia and France was forthwith directed to the overthrow of a minister whose power was founded on the preservation of England from the contaminating influences of foreign diplomacy.

Every successive refusal of Mr. Canning to unite with the four continental monarchies in their unhallowed interposition in the concerns of other countries, had conferred on England an accession of influence and respect, and millions of allies. Her isolation from the “ Union of Crowns,” in the affairs of Spain, gained her the affections of every community in Northern, Central and Southern America,—of every friend of civil and religious liberty throughout the world. Her refusal to be a party to the conferences of St. Petersburg in 1825, when the Emperor Alexander had inveigled Austria, Prussia and France into a joint proposition to the Sultan, to admit of their armed interference to put down the insurrection of his revolted subjects in Greece, secured to England the affections of both the contending parties in the East, of the co-religionaries of the Emperor and of the followers of Islam; and every independent state revered in Great Britain the protectress of national independence, and the only impartial umpire to whom sovereigns or their injured subjects could appeal. It was only when the ascendancy of England through the maintenance of a neutral position became profoundly felt and feared, that Russia, perceiving in its stability the withering of her power, offered to Mr. Canning the renunciation of the Holy Alliance on condition of a concert of action between England and herself in the affairs of the East, and contrived, by this master-stroke of diplomacy, to draw England within the meshes of that very alliance which Prince Lieven had made her first statesman believe he had scattered to the winds.

From the moment of the signature of the protocol of St. Petersburg of April 4, 1826, establishing the union of England and Russia, the power of Great Britain ceased to be at

her own disposal, and commenced to be a mere appendage of a foreign and hostile state; nor has there been one single measure in the external history of England during the last sixteen years to which Russia has been directly or indirectly a party, which has not been the carrying of her designs into successful execution. That such a consummation was not only not the intention of Mr. Canning and of the Duke of Wellington, but, on the contrary, the special object of their policy to prevent, is clear from the very condition imposed on Russia in the protocol of St. Petersburg, and on Russia and France in the treaty of July 1827, that "the contracting parties will not seek in these arrangements any increase of territory, any exclusive influence or any commercial advantages for their subjects, which those of every other nation may not equally obtain;" and the additional article prohibited "either of the powers from taking any part in the hostilities between the contending parties."

The subsequent violation by Russia and France of these important stipulations, affords presumptive evidence that to England exclusively belongs the honour of having laid down the following principles:

The guaranteeing of the territorial and administrative independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire.

The restriction of each European state within the limits adjusted at the Congress of Vienna.

Reconciliation between the followers of the Crescent and the Cross, who had been brought into mortal conflict through the incitement by Russia of a civil and religious war throughout the Ottoman dominions.

England, however, has failed in the attainment of every one of the objects which she contemplated; and not only have "the evils of every kind" which she endeavoured to prevent been fearfully realized, but each succeeding year has extended the sphere of devastation, the incitements of war, and the interruption of commerce, and contributed to stamp the present age with the indelible characters of ignorance, cruelty and crime. "Peace on earth, good-will towards men" was the motto which England proclaimed; and now, after ten years of worse than Vandal warfare on the part of her allies against the unoffending populations of Asia and Africa, she takes her own share

in the work of devastation, and spreads the flames of war throughout a third region of that devoted empire whose union and power, whose administrative principles and freedom of commerce she has devoted ten years of unceasing effort to undermine.

In examining the causes of this deplorable result, we are compelled to acknowledge the main source of such continuous evils to reside in the absence throughout the entire British people of the elements of administrative education, and the consequent insensibility of the national mind and feelings to those obligations which the law of nations renders imperative on every individual member of a state, not only in reference to his relations abroad, but to his duties at home. The consequence of this incompetency in the public guardians of the state, is their complete and necessary dependence on the international and legal acquirements and information of the representatives of foreign powers at the British court, who, through the permanent character of the diplomatic service, become the hereditary depositaries of the opinions of the various members of every successive administration, and are thus enabled, by a knowledge beyond that which any British functionary can acquire, to exercise an ascendancy over the mind of the acting secretary of state for foreign affairs superior to that of his own colleagues, and the more alarming to the safety of the state from its being incapable of detection until its effects have been fully realized.

The very basis of the diplomatic action of England in the East has thus been the reports, not of British, but of Russian agents. On referring to the political life of Mr. Canning, by his private secretary, Mr. Stapleton, we find the origin of the separation of the "two horns of the Crescent," as the Empress Catherine was pleased to designate Greece and Egypt, to have been an intrigue of the Russian ambassador in London. It was in October 1825, that Prince Lieven informed Mr. Canning, that "before Ibrahim Pacha's army was put in motion, an agreement was entered into by the Porte with the Pacha of Egypt, that whatever part of Greece Ibrahim might conquer should be at his disposal, and that the Pacha's plan for disposing of his conquest was (and was stated to the Porte to be, and had been approved by the Porte) to remove the

“ whole Greek population, carrying them off into slavery in
 “ Egypt or elsewhere, and to re-people the country with Egyp-
 “ tians, and others of the Mahometan religion.”

The very reception of such a communication from the ambassador of the power most interested in inventing it, when England had agents of her own at Constantinople, Alexandria, in Greece and the Ionian Islands, shows the fatal influence which formed the opinions of Mr. Canning; but instead of ascertaining in the first instance, from the servants of the Crown, whether the statement was true, or applying directly to the Porte to ascertain the fact, the British government “ sent orders to His Majesty’s naval forces in the Mediterranean, “ to select an officer to proceed to the port in the Morea from “ which it might be most convenient to have personal commu- “ nication with Ibrahim Pacha, and to represent to him that “ His Majesty could not permit the execution of such a design; “ and to give the Pacha distinctly to understand, that unless he “ should in a written document explicitly disavow, or if ever “ entertained, formally renounce, the intention of converting “ the Morea into a Barbary state, by transporting the popu- “ lation, particularly women and children, to Asia or Africa, “ and replacing them by the population of those countries, “ effectual means would be taken to impede, by the intervention “ of His Majesty’s naval forces, the accomplishment of so un- “ warrantable a project.” The only reply that Ibrahim Pacha, as an officer of the Sultan, could return, and which he did return, was, “ that he was but a servant of the Porte, and that “ to the Porte application must be made, if Great Britain “ wished for information.” On a subsequent application from the British ambassador to the Divan, “ the Reis Effendi re- “ fused to give any reply to the remonstrance, on the plea “ that England had no right to interfere; but in conversation “ he distinctly denied the existence of any such barbarous “ project as had been imputed to his government.”

The next departure from the law of nations, in endeavouring to separate Egypt from Turkey, is to be found in the instructions to the admirals commanding the squadrons of the three allied powers:

“ The admiral to whom the task of watching the port of
 “ Navarin shall be allotted, by mutual agreement between

“ himself and his colleagues, should be instructed to hold out, in concert with them, *every inducement to the Pacha of Egypt, and to his son*, to withdraw the Egyptian ships and land-forces altogether from Greece, and to assure them that every facility and protection will be given for their safe return to Alexandria ; but he is on no account to enter into any stipulation for allowing the ships to return to Alexandria without the troops.”

Not satisfied with these indirect incitements to Mehemet Ali to disobey his sovereign, Lords Dudley and Palmerston dispatched Colonel Cradock to Alexandria for the express purpose of securing the neutrality of the Pacha, and France united with England to effect this object. On the 18th of Sept. 1827, we find Admiral de Rigny thus addressing the French ambassador at Constantinople :

“ I fear also (supposing that the step proposed to Mr. Cradock *by Mehemet Ali* was a proper one) that it cannot now be effected *with the mystery which, in the eyes of the Pacha, would render its result possible and efficacious.*” The French admiral had already written to M. de Venancourt, commander of ‘ *La Magicienne*,’ from Milo, on the 28th of August :

“ I wish you may meet the Egyptian fleet, which you cannot fail to do ; eight days ago it was on the coast of Caramania.

“ As soon as you perceive it you will sail towards it ; you will recognize the frigate ‘ *Guerrière*,’ having on board Muharem Bey, the son-in-law of Mehemet Ali ; it is he who commands the Egyptian fleet. You will go on board, after having saluted him with seventeen guns. You will tell him that twelve sail of the line and twelve frigates are united in the Archipelago, and that you know from me that the dispatches which you convey will doubtless change the orders which the Pacha will give to his fleet ; and that I have ordered you, in the event of your meeting Muharem Bey, to give him this information.”

At the time when these communications took place between the French authorities, Admiral Codrington wrote to Mr. Stratford Canning :

“ Sept. 25, 1827.

“ It has been agreed upon that the Turco-Egyptian fleet shall remain in the port of Navarin, and shall suspend hostilities there, until the Pacha can receive orders from Constantinople and Alexandria, in reply to his report of the communications which we have made to him.”

On the following day Admiral de Rigny writes to Count Guilleminot:

“‘*Sirène*,’ Navarin, Sept. 26, 1827.

“ I anchored at Navarin on the 22nd, and I immediately sent to Ibrahim the letter agreed upon, demanding an interview, which was fixed for the next day, at whatever hour I preferred; at eight o’clock I was in his tent, he was alone there with Tahir Pacha, commanding one of the divisions of the Constantinople fleet. *When Ibrahim, who doubtless wished a private interview, made a sign to Tahir Pacha to retire, the latter made him repeat it, and evinced considerable displeasure; his distrust was evident.*

“ I told him, that I could assure him in my own name, *as well as in that of Admiral Codrington*, that any direction that his fleet might take, *except that of Alexandria*, would be interdicted by us.

“ ‘The Grand Seignior,’ said Ibrahim ‘will never consent to give up the fortresses to the Greeks; he will prefer burying himself under the ruins of Constantinople.’ ‘That is not the question,’ I replied, ‘that will be settled afterwards; what we want now is an armistice, either by good-will or by force, which may decide the Porte to negotiate. You, by establishing it in reality, may perhaps save the Ottoman empire; you will save at least your father and *your inheritance*. Your father is old, very restless, very much oppressed with cares. Think of this. Rich Egypt is worth more than the Morea, of which you are making a desert.’

“ It is certain that Ibrahim would wish to retreat from the difficult path in which he finds himself engaged. A word from his father would decide him; but *in presence of the Turkish fleet and its chiefs* he is in a state of mistrust, which has increased since the conference with the officer sent by the English admiral; that officer, following his written instructions, which he held in hand, had dilated on Egypt, on the desire which was felt to favour his father, &c. &c., details which, although suppressed or softened by his dragoman, had nevertheless been understood by one of those who were present (Tahir Pacha), and interpreted and disseminated as the result of *an understanding between him and us*. A circumstance has just given to this distrust a more serious character: Tahir Pacha, irritated at what took place yesterday, has withdrawn on board his ship, and says that he will not quit it again. Ibrahim has sent me his confidential dragoman to apprise me of this circumstance, which appears to engage his whole attention.

“ On the 24th I sailed from Navarin, to meet Admiral Codrington; and the same evening, and simultaneously with the Turkish division which re-entered, we cast anchor at Navarin, with the view of making personally a public declaration to Ibrahim, surrounded by the chiefs of his fleet, *reserving for himself alone, and having in view the personal position of his father, communications of a confidential character.*

“ I shall not enter into a detail of the objections and arguments which Ibrahim added, when after having given his word of honour the conference ceased to be official; but I cannot help remarking, that every word that escaped from the lips of Ibrahim announces a mind and intelligence far

above mediocrity and the education he may have received. He especially wished to refute all that the journals publish of his pretended cruelties ; and I cannot but state for ourselves, witnesses as we are of his conduct on the spot, that exaggeration has not been less busy here than elsewhere.

* * * * *

" Very confidential communications of Ibrahim give me every reason to hope, that he will even secretly apprise us of the moment when he must come out ; and I think I may affirm beforehand, that a simple demonstration will suffice to reconduct to *Egypt and to the Dardanelles* this formidable expedition.

" I must not omit to mention here that, with the consent of Mr. Cradock, I informed Ibrahim of what had been concerted at Cairo with his father ; and that the letter of Mehemet Ali, of which I was the bearer after my voyage to Egypt, in which I had gone over with that Pacha all the suppositions which have since been realized ; this letter, I say, addressed to his son, has persuaded the latter to take the steps which I announce *that he will take.*"

The ultimate refusal of Ibrahim Pacha to accede to the demands of the admiral, and the destruction of the Turkish and Egyptian squadrons in the harbour of Navarin, proved how vain had been the expectations of England and France, and might have awakened the attention of both countries to the dangerous career in which they had embarked, had a spark of intelligence animated their councils.

The face of affairs became entirely changed in the following spring, when Russia, mistress of the Euxine through the annihilation of the navies of her rival, marched into the principalities and declared war against the Sultan. The object of England and France, provided they had been sincere in their first endeavours to heal the wounds and unite the dismembered portions of the Ottoman empire, ought now to have been directed to strengthen the military defences of Roumelia, and to enable the armies of Egypt to join the troops of the Sultan in defending the Danube and the Balkan. The evil genius of England, however, again interposed ; and the commander-in-chief of the British squadron, taunted by his colleagues with having neglected to follow up the victory of Navarin, proceeded in their name to Alexandria, and without any instructions from his own government, entered into a convention, whereby Mehemet Ali was compelled to withdraw his troops from the Morea, with the express stipulation that they were not to be placed at the Sultan's disposal. The

following extracts of the conference between Sir Edward Codrington and Mehemet Ali, on the 6th of August 1828, describe the reluctance of the Pacha to consent to his demands :

" The Admiral stated that the *allies* were firmly resolved to carry the treaty into effect ; and that the anxiety to do so by pacific measures, and the consideration in which the Pacha was held by the British government, had been shown *by the several missions of Sir Frederick Adam and Colonel Cradock*. The Pacha answered, ' Ah ! but there are now only *two allied powers*.' The admiral immediately said, that there could not be a plainer proof of the union of the *three powers*, than the measure which was now in discussion having been adopted *by their admirals in concert* ; and that the voluntary restriction of those belligerent rights which the Russians could exercise towards His Highness's fleet, was a sufficient earnest of the cordiality of the allied courts in carrying into effect the execution of the treaty of the 6th of July.

" The Admiral said, that his having come to Alexandria *without express orders*, must convince His Highness of his wish to terminate the business satisfactorily.

" The Pacha answered, that the difficulties of the Admiral's situation were light compared to his, for that he had more to lose by having more at stake.

" The Admiral said, that while he was certain that a treaty entered into with His Highness for the evacuation of the Morea, would be ratified by the ambassadors and their governments, still his conduct might be disapproved of, *and he himself hanged for it on his return to England*.

" At this the Pacha laughed heartily, and said there was no fear of that ; but he again repeated, that a due regard must be paid to his honour and the difficulties of his situation, which were great.

" The Admiral then dwelt on the necessity, for the sake of his own interest as well as his own honour, and even his son's existence, that His Highness should employ, without delay, all the means he could obtain, in withdrawing his troops from the Morea.

* * * * *

" The Pacha said it was impossible that he could so sacrifice his honour as to give up those places which had been delivered into his charge, and that he would rather that his army should be destroyed, than that the Sultan should have reason to charge him with such a breach of faith. Having been at the cost of conquering the Moreote fortresses for the Porte, his giving them up, and withdrawing his garrison, would be held a wilful sacrifice to his own convenience, and a betrayal of the trust reposed in him by the Sultan.

" The Pacha again referred to what took place at Constantinople, as a proof of the acquiescence of the ambassadors, and repeated his resolution that he could not give the Sultan cause to charge him with such a breach of his honour."

The following are amongst the most important provisions of the agreement entered into on the 6th of August 1828:

II. "His Highness Mehemet Ali Pacha promises to dispatch, with the shortest possible delay, all the vessels of war and transports of which he can dispose, to proceed to Navarin, and receive on board all the Egyptian troops. These troops must evacuate the Morea entirely, within the shortest possible delay.

III. "The vessels of war or transports shall be escorted by the English and French vessels which shall accompany them, and which shall not enter with them into the port of Navarin, or any other ports of the Morea, for the above-mentioned objects.

IV. "The same vessels, on quitting Navarin, shall equally be escorted to within sight of Alexandria."

Thus did Russia contrive, without even appearing to take a part in these transactions, to make the English and French admirals withdraw from his allegiance the most important defender of the Sultan's throne; and *England acknowledged, in the Convention of Alexandria, the de facto independence of the Pacha of Egypt.*

But the most remarkable display of the diplomatic genius of Russia remains to be told:

In consequence of the difficulty felt by England and France of naval cooperation with Russia in the Mediterranean whilst the latter was engaged in a separate war with the Porte, the Russian plenipotentiary had placed upon the protocol of the conference of the 15th of June 1828, a declaration by order of his government, that "Notwithstanding the state of war in which the Emperor, his august master, found himself with the Porte, His Imperial Majesty had laid down his character of belligerent in the Mediterranean, and that all instructions given to the admiral commanding the Russian squadron, in consequence of the state of war, were recalled." The cooperation of the Alliance had scarcely, however, been reestablished, when Lord Heytesbury, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, communicated the approaching departure of a second Russian squadron from Cronstadt to the Mediterranean, and the intention of the Emperor to blockade the Dardanelles. In the instructions of the Russian government to the admiral, he was directed to consider the Emperor's engagement "to lay aside the character of belligerent in the Mediterranean," as subject to the following modifications:

1. "He is not to suffer any Turkish vessel to take advantage—engagement—to place itself in a menacing position with respect to ships under his command, nor to consider himself as restraining force by force, in case of an attack.

2. "Upon the arrival of the expected ships from the Baltic, he is not to consider himself as debarred from detaching a part of his fleet to the Dardanelles, for the purpose of forming a blockade, and preventing the introduction, whether of corn or military stores, into Constantinople.

The Russian admiral now entered into direct negotiations with Mehemet Ali, and gave to the world a striking illustration of the power of diplomacy of effecting results which even the triumph of arms could not have accomplished*. The following copy of Count Heyden's letter to "*His Highness Mehemet Ali*," will amply repay the most attentive attention :

"Asoff, off Ægina, February 11

"Highness,

"Long before the departure of the Egyptian troops from the Morea, I had the opportunity of making known to Your Highness, as well by my language as by my position, how favourably disposed my august master the Emperor was to the Egyptian Government, and to what extent I was redoubling my efforts to reconcile the duties of a diplomatist with the respect due to the station and to the character of Your Highness.

"I consider it unnecessary here to note the series of facts which have given rise to these sentiments, and the actions of which they have been the result.

"I shall simply confine myself to reminding Your Highness of the anxiety and satisfaction with which I some months since granted, in conformity with your request, a safe conduct to the Egyptian ships of war intended to pass to the Adriatic.

"This circumstance cannot fail to be appreciated by Your Highness, as well as to you the generosity of the views of my master the Emperor, as well as the moderation with which His Majesty exercises the rights of war.

"To these testimonies of unequivocal good-will the Emperor subsequently added that of permitting two Beys, relations of Your Highness, after the taking of Alexandria to return to Egypt, not without their having moreover experienced the effects of his munificence.

"This forbearance, so natural to my august master, I say it with grief, does not appear to have been considered by Your Highness in its real point of view. It proves this, is the dismissal of the councillor of state Pezzoni from Alexandria, in spite of the formal authorization which he had obtained from Your Highness to prolong his stay there. This hostile measure was accompanied, moreover, by the concurrence of circumstances still more hostile to Russia.

"Considerable warlike preparations were making against her with great haste at Alexandria, from which it became impossible for me to remain a mere spectator of operations evidently directed against the forces of my master the Emperor.

* See Restoration of the Russian Fleet captured in the last war with England.

"In this situation my duty compelled me to provide against events of which the responsibility would have fallen wholly upon me, if, notwithstanding the circumstantial information I had received as to the real object of the military preparations of Your Highness, I had continued to remain in a state of security, which would have been inexcusable from the moment it might have become injurious to the sea- and land-forces of Russia.

"All these circumstances obliged me to order the naval force under my command to seize the Egyptian ships of war which had either come out, or should attempt to come out, of Alexandria.

"I feel sincere regret at being obliged to announce to Your Highness that, in pursuance of these orders, an Egyptian corvette and brig have fallen into my hands.

"In spite of this event, which I deplore, and which must be considered as only a simple measure of precaution on my part, it would be difficult for me to offer a more manifest pledge of my conciliatory dispositions, than that of leaving the vessels which have been brought to me in the state in which they now are, and of assuring Your Highness that they shall remain in trust with me, till I shall have received instructions from my august master the Emperor.

"In now soliciting them from His Imperial Majesty, I feel persuaded beforehand, that I shall be enjoined to restore these captures to Your Highness the very moment that I shall be relieved, by your conduct and by the suspension of your military preparations, from the disquietude which they necessarily occasion.

"In the opposite case, Your Highness must yourself feel that the first duty of states is to look to their own preservation, and that I should but ill reward the confidence with which the Emperor, my august master, is pleased to honour me, if I did not, under existing circumstances, adopt all the measures which the safety of my squadron and the dignity of the imperial flag render imperative."

In transmitting to Count Nesselrode a copy of this letter, the Russo-Dutch admiral makes use of the following remarks :

"I have had no other object than that of bringing back the Pacha to sentiments more conformable to his character, and to warn him of all the dangers to which he will expose himself, in the most gratuitous manner, from the moment when he should persist in *obeying the orders of the Porte, and resuming in the Mediterranean the character of belligerent.*

"If it be true that the Viceroy of Egypt obeys with reluctance the Sultan's injunctions, and that he only demands a motive or a pretext to suspend his armaments, and to direct his whole attention to his internal administration, Mehemet Ali will find in my attitude and in the tenor of my letter the means of justifying his inaction for the future, and of preserving that pacific character which has for some time simplified my relations with him.

"A convention, which would be placed under the formal guarantee of the allied courts, and whose object should be to defend the position of the Viceroy of Egypt and to limit his action, in order that it may not call for the employment of force on my part, would appear to me to calm every anxiety and satisfy every interest."

Thus have we traced to England and France in the first instance separately and successively, and then to the three

powers conjointly, and finally to Russia, the project of erecting Egypt into a separate state, acting independently of the Porte, and capable of entering into diplomatic stipulations in defiance of the Sultan, at that time simultaneously attacked by the Russians on the Danube, and by the troops of France and the squadron of England acting in the name of Russia in the Morea. We have here also the foundation of the treaty of July the 15th, 1840, carrying her measures into effect; not, however, until she had previously obtained the aid of the Viceroy of Egypt and the secret services of England, in placing Sultan Mahmoud himself under the exclusive protection of her fleet and army within the Bosphorus. Russia had thus accomplished, through England and France, the separation of the two horns of the crescent. In the treaty of Adrianople of the 14th of Sept. 1829, she extorted from Turkey a title to the virtual dominion over the principalities and Circassia. *But the whole of these triumphs would have been frustrated through the reunion of the dismembered fragments of the Ottoman power, and more especially by the junction of the naval forces and disciplined troops of Egypt with those of Constantinople.*

It was in the autumn of 1831 that Mehemet Ali, having quarrelled with Abdoullah, the Pacha of Acre, refused to submit to the supreme authority and interposition of the Sultan, and had recourse to arms. On the 3rd of December he commenced the siege of Acre, which fell in May 1832, when Ibrahim Pacha advanced to Damascus, reached the Taurus in July, and in January 1833, after conquering Syria and routing the Sultan's army at Koniah, penetrated into the heart of Anatolia, and encamped at Kiutayah, within only five days' march of Constantinople. During this interval of fifteen months, England silently acquiesced in the downfall of the Sultan's power, notwithstanding the accurate knowledge possessed by the Foreign Office of the importance of Syria to the defence of Constantinople from any repetition of an invasion on the side of Asia Minor, like that of Marshal Paskewitch Erivanski, whose march from the Transcaucasian provinces had decided the fate of Turkey in 1829. No one was more intimately acquainted with the danger resulting to the Sultan, whether from the ambition of Mehemet Ali, the

occupation by Russia of Constantinople, or the establishment of an armed *status quo* between the rival supporters of Islam, than Lord Palmerston himself. In his own declaration to the courts of Europe of the 31st of August last, he says—

“Her Majesty’s government has all along declared the opinion that it would be impossible to maintain the integrity of the Turkish empire, and to uphold the independence of the Sultan’s throne, if Mehemet Ali were to be left in the occupation of Syria. Her Majesty’s government has stated that it considers Syria to be the key of Asiatic Turkey; and that if Mehemet Ali were to continue to occupy that province, in addition to Egypt, he would be able at all times to menace Bagdad to the south, Diarbekir and Erzeroum to the east, and Koniah and Brussa and Constantinople to the north; that the same spirit of ambition which had led Mehemet Ali on former occasions to revolt against his sovereign, would soon prompt him again to take up arms for further encroachment, and that for this purpose he would always keep a large army on foot; that the Sultan, on the other hand, must see the danger by which he would constantly be threatened, and must be obliged also to remain armed; that thus the Sultan and Mehemet Ali would continue to maintain large armies to watch each other; that collision must inevitably arise out of mutual suspicion and alarm, even if there were no intentional aggression on either side; that any such collision would necessarily lead to foreign interference in the interior of the Turkish empire; and that such interference so occasioned would produce the most serious differences between the powers of Europe.”

On comparing this statement with His Lordship’s words in the House of Commons on the 17th of March, 1834, we find him avowing—

“That the communications made by the British government to the Pacha of Egypt, and to Ibrahim Pacha, commanding in Asia Minor, did materially contribute to bring about that arrangement between the Sultan and the Pacha by which the war was terminated.”

But the necessity of the arrangement arose out of the refusal of Lord Palmerston, when appealed to in the preceding November by the Sultan, to afford him that succour which the Porte declared that it must seek from Russia if it could not count upon the friendship of England. Of the object of Lord Palmerston in refusing that succour not a shadow of doubt can remain, after his own declaration to Parliament respecting the treaties of Unkiar Skelessi and St. Petersburg:

“Sir,” he said, “we never complained of Russia showing that assistance. I stated in my place in this house, on a former occasion, when I

was interrogated on that point, that we did not complain of the ~~unhappy~~ which Russia had afforded to Turkey, but that, on the contrary, we were glad that Turkey had been able to obtain effectual relief."

The intimate concert thus prevailing between England and Russia, this enthronement of Russian supremacy over Turkey, in defiance of the remonstrances of Sir Robert Peel, (who emphatically declared, that the fact of Russia having occupied Constantinople, even for the purpose of saving it, was as decisive a blow to Turkish independence as if the flag of Russia now waved on the seraglio, and that the treaties subsequently concluded were the mere outward indications of an influence, on the part of Russia, naturally and necessarily predominant,) rendered France incapable of counteracting the ambition of Russia in the East, whilst England's subserviency enabled Count Nesselrode to expose the French government to the ridicule of the world. The following are the documents which established the exclusion of French influence from the affairs of Turkey, and riveted the chains of the Sultan :

"The undersigned chargé d'affaires of His Majesty the king of the French, has received orders to express to the cabinet of St. Petersburg the profound affliction felt by the French government on learning the conclusion of the treaty of the 8th of July last, between His Majesty the Emperor of Russia and the Grand Seignior. In the opinion of the king's government, this treaty assigns to the mutual relations existing between the Ottoman empire and Russia a new character, against which the powers of Europe have a right to protest."

To this Count Nesselrode replied—

"St. Petersburg, Oct. 1831.

"It is true that this act changes the nature of the relations between Russia and the Porte; for, in the room of long-continued hostilities, it substitutes that friendship and that confidence in which the Turkish government will henceforth find a guarantee for its stability and necessary means of defence, calculated to insure its preservation. In this conviction, and guided by the purest and most disinterested intentions, His Majesty the Emperor is resolved, in case of necessity, to discharge faithfully the obligations imposed on him by the treaty of July the 8th; thus acting as if the declaration contained in the note of Monsieur La Grenée had no existence."

This isolated step on the part of France proves that no union whatever existed between England and France at this

period, and that the assurance of Lord Palmerston to the liberal party, that the relations of the "two countries were never more intimate, more confidential and more friendly," was a deliberate deception.

During the five years which elapsed from the settlement of Kiutayah, which invested Mehemet Ali and his son Ibrahim with the administration of Adana, Tripoli, Syria, Egypt and Arabia, until 1838, no traces exist of the relations of any of the three powers with Mehemet Ali; but in 1839 two short documents were presented to Parliament, entitled 'Papers relating to the arrangement made between the Porte and Mehemet Ali in 1833,' and 'Communications with Mehemet Ali, 1838.' The latter of these documents contains five instructions from Lord Palmerston to Colonel Campbell, Her Majesty's agent in Egypt, dated respectively February 6th, March 16th, March 29th, June 9th, and July 7th, 1838, and extracts of five dispatches from Colonel Campbell to His Lordship, dated Alexandria, May 25th, July 9th, July 12th, and July 17th, 1838.

The purport of Lord Palmerston's instructions is to

"warn the Pacha of the evil consequences which will result to himself, if he recommence an attack upon any part of the Sultan's dominions. 'With reference,' says His Lordship, 'to your dispatch of the 7th of Feb., reporting the assurances given to you by Mehemet Ali, *that he had not the remotest view of conquest on any part of the Sultan's territory beyond the limits of his own government*, I have to instruct you to state to Mehemet Ali, that you have been ordered by your government seriously to warn him of the consequences to himself which will follow any attempt on his part to extend his authority, by force of arms, in any direction.'"

So far from there appearing in these papers any evidence of the intention of the Pacha to attack the Sultan, there are the most positive assurances of the determination of the Pacha to remain faithful to the Sultan, although he was determined to declare his independence of the Porte.

Colonel Campbell thus reports his interview:—

"On the 25th of May, 1838, the Pacha said, he had requested me to call on him in order to communicate to me his fixed resolve, and from which nothing should divert him, to declare his independence of the Porte. That he was between two swords—*his family and the great powers*; that the interests of his children and family imperiously called upon him to fix their future state; that it was with tears in his eyes and an oppressed heart

that he had taken his present resolution, from which he would not swerve, but that the interests of his family demanded it ; and that he was now an old man of seventy years of age, and as he might soon be carried off by death, he could not any longer delay the settlement of the question."

In reply to Colonel Campbell's request, that the Pacha

"would not take any steps in the affair, or attempt to pass his frontiers, or commit any hostile act of any nature ; and also, that he would pay the tribute due,"

he replied in the affirmative, and gave the strongest assurances that he

"would neither pass his frontiers nor commit any act of hostility of any sort ; and that he meant very shortly to send to Constantinople all the money due for arrears of tribute."

On the 11th of July the Pacha stated to Colonel Campbell,

"That the British government did not appear to understand his position ; and how impossible it was for him, after the sacrifices which he had made, and the ameliorations which he had introduced in the country, to go to the grave with the stain on his memory of having left his family without any provision, or any settled state, and exposed to every persecution.

"The circumstances of his uncertain position had forced him to keep up a force rather disproportionate to his means, and had consequently obliged him to keep up heavy imposts ; but that was, in some measure, the fault of the great powers, who had placed him and kept him in so difficult and unpleasant a position, and for which he did not see any remedy other than the step which he had communicated his intention to take."

On the 16th of July the Pacha told Colonel Campbell that

"he believed the Capitan Pacha was coming to Alexandria from Constantinople, and he had reason to believe that he would be the bearer of some propositions from the Porte, and which, he hoped, would arrange the whole difficulty."

At a subsequent interview, which appears to have been in August, the Pacha mentioned to Colonel Campbell

"his expectation of the arrival of the Capitan Pacha shortly at Alexandria, as his last news from Constantinople stated that he might be expected with a mission from the Sultan. He added, that when the Capitan Pacha should arrive, he hoped to arrange everything amicably with him *without the necessity of cooperation by the great powers* ; and that if the Capitan Pacha came to negotiate, he (Mehemet Ali) *would content himself with the succession (hérédité) in his family.*

" 'I have always told you,' he added, 'and I repeat it again, that my desire shall always be to avoid war, whenever my natural defence does not

force me to it ; but this desire shall not make me abandon my endeavour to ensure, during my life, the future fate of my family, as well as of those persons who are attached to me.' ”

Now in the dispatch of Mr. Mandeville to Viscount Palmerston, of March 31, 1833 (inserted in the first set of papers presented to Parliament), he says, describing an interview with the Reis Effendi,—

“ Before I expressed an opinion (as to the course the Porte should pursue respecting the threatened advance of Ibrahim Pacha) I wished to have it clearly explained to me whether Mehemet Ali sought to obtain possession of these governments in perpetuity, or upon the same terms as is held the commands of the different provinces in Turkey by the governors named to them by the Sultan. The answer was, upon the same conditions as those granted to other Pachas.”

From the whole of these documents it is perfectly clear, that the sole object of Mehemet Ali was the natural and laudable desire to prevent the anarchy which would ensue at his death, from leaving the dominion which he held, in a state which could not fail to entail the ruin, persecution and punishment of the guiltless instruments of his own ascendancy, who had been uniformly encouraged by at least three of the mightiest of the great powers of Christendom in opposition to the Sultan. But more than this : there was the prospect of an arrangement, which would have made Mehemet Ali the most devoted supporter of the Sultan, by his receiving a pledge of the future employment and security of his family, and his companions in arms during his gallant and persevering defence of the southern provinces of Roumelia against the Greeks, supported by the patrons of legitimacy in rebellion against their lawful prince.

An impartial investigation of the assurances of Lord Palmerston in Parliament and of the note of M. Thiers, establishes the proof of that which Lord Palmerston denies, viz. that Ibrahim Pacha was not the aggressor in the events which subsequently led to the battle of Nezgib. The disastrous issue of that engagement, the treasonable betrayal of the Sultan's fleet, and the death of the heroic sovereign of Turkey, gave to Mehemet Ali the immediate power of restoring the nationality of Turkey, *and of appearing at Constantinople with a Mussulman force which might have instantly*

emancipated the Black Sea from the thralldom of Russia, and avenged the insults and afflictions with which the Emperor has, during the last twenty years, convulsed every portion of the East.

In this auspicious position of affairs, the five great powers interpose their collective intervention to arrest the possibility of any direct arrangement between the young monarch and Mehemet Ali, and transmit to the Porte the following note :

“ Constantinople, July 27, 1839.

“ The undersigned have this morning received instructions from their respective governments, in virtue of which they have the honour to inform the Sublime Porte, that agreement between the five powers upon the Eastern question is insured, and to invite the Porte to suspend *any final determination without their concurrence*, awaiting the result of the interest which those powers feel for the Porte.”

All possibility of direct reconciliation and reunion between these portions of the Ottoman empire being thus put an end to, Lord Palmerston proceeded to sign the document drawn up by the conclave in London, under instructions and full powers from their respective courts.

The object of Russia in this convention was the entire realization of her system of state policy throughout the world.

1. She arrayed the Sultan and Mehemet Ali in hostility, whereas they were at peace, thus lighting the flames of war and convulsion in Candia, Adana, Syria, Arabia and Egypt.

2. She leagued England with the partitioners of Poland, to the exclusion of France from all influence or participation in European affairs, whilst dismembering the empire she pretended to support.

3. She made England the enemy of the southern half of the Ottoman empire, France the foe of the northern half.

4. She made England violate a series of treaties with France, which secured to France a coequal share of influence with England.

5. She produced animosity between England and France.

6. She arrayed France against Austria, and Austria against France.

7. Prussia against France, and France against Prussia*.

* Why are six hundred thousand men at this moment under arms in Germany ?

8. She depressed the national credit of England and France, to the elevation of her own*.

9. She secured to herself the arbitrement of the affairs of the world from a position of guaranteed security to herself, resulting from these combinations in their aggregate and fractional characters, which can occasion her neither the sacrifice of a rouble nor the loss of a man, whilst entailing a waste of treasure and of blood on those she dreads.

Finally, the sole excuse which can be alleged by the minister of England for this treaty, is the dread of the advance of the Egyptian army and navy towards Constantinople, because it would entail on Turkey the exclusive protectorate of Russia, which he admits would be "*mortal*," and which he nevertheless lends the power of England to Russia to secure by the guarantee and support of three *disinterested* allies.

We have thus far traced the origin and progress of the intervention of England in the internal affairs of an empire which, twenty years ago, offered, from the shores of Circassia to Oran on the one side, and from the Pruth along the Euxine, the sea of Marmora, the Ægean and the Adriatic, on the other, the spectacle of peace, loyalty, commercial freedom and municipal rights, under the ægis of one patriotic monarch, whose life was consecrated to the welfare of his people, and the reform of abuses which equally weighed down the prosperity of his Mussulman and Christian subjects.

Our opinions have been formed on a purely logical analysis of the documents before us, without any reference to the lamentable exposure of the mental anarchy of France, the necessary consequence of the false policy of her ally, or to the events which have thus far attended the operations of the war, distinguished as those events have been by the science, heroism and enterprize of Her Majesty's forces. Blood, however, has been shed. Hostilities have been carried on for months. Town after town has been destroyed by British cannon, and thousands of the gallant defenders of their country have fallen by British arms.

* See the fall in the funds of England and France, and the terms of the forthcoming new Russian loan of four per cent.

The Convention of July the 15th, 1840, so far from warranting hostilities, did not even contemplate them. The "prevention of the effusion of blood" was the very object professed by the alliance in the preamble of the convention drawn up "In the name of the all-merciful God."

Fortunately for the repose of the world, for the interests of peace, which have never yet been so fearfully perilled, England is not yet a party to these acts. The treaty is unknown to the British Parliament, from whom it was concealed. The people of England have voted no supplies for its execution. Its successful issue is rendered impracticable by the very terms in which it is drawn up, and on the shoulders of one man alone, whom we state, on certain authority, to have enforced the rupture with France single-handed against every one of his colleagues, rests the exclusive responsibility of acts alike subversive of the prerogatives of the crown, the practice of the constitution, the faith of existing treaties, and the rights of war and peace.

Postscript.—Dec. 27, 1840.

The view which we have thus far taken of the Treaty of July is singularly confirmed by the correspondence from Alexandria, and the Convention between Mehemet Ali and the British Commodore of the 27th ult., published in the Morning Herald of Dec. 14th.

In reply to Commodore Napier, the Minister of the Viceroy says,—

"It has already come to our knowledge that it was the intention of the great powers to leave to His Highness the hereditary government of Egypt. On this important point His Highness *waits still for official communications*. His Highness is no less grateful for the proposition contained in your letter, seeing in it a personal manifestation of your amicable and conciliatory disposition. *In no case has His Highness sought to put himself in opposition with the wishes of the European cabinets*. You are not ignorant, Commodore, that he had already submitted to the propositions of the treaty which conceded to him the hereditary administration of Egypt. His Highness had only refused to solicit from the Sublime Porte the faculty to join to that first concession the life-government of Syria, and that, because the Viceroy had the conviction *that Syria in his hands might still offer great resources to the empire*. *Instead of replying to this request hostilities were resorted to*. You will impartially judge, Commodore, if the wrongs have been on the side of the Viceroy. His Highness is persuaded to the con-

trary, and is convinced that the great powers will render him justice in that respect.

"I will now reply to what concerns the restoration of the Ottoman squadron and the evacuation of Syria. It has never been the intention of His Highness to retain the fleet of his sovereign; he has never ceased to express himself in this sense, even on the day that circumstances brought the squadron of the Grand Seignior to Alexandria. Furthermore, when Sami Bey was sent on a mission to the Sublime Porte, he offered, in the name of His Highness, the restitution of the fleet, which was on the point of setting sail to return to Constantinople *when the hostilities commencing in Syria occurred*, adjourning the execution of the orders of the Viceroy. *In respect to the evacuation of Syria, His Highness had believed it to be his right to wait for fresh orders from the Sublime Porte.* You know, Commodore, how the demand of the Viceroy was answered, who from that time thought it expedient to have recourse to the officious (*officieuse*) mediation of France; thus manifesting his intention to enter into conciliatory ways, and his desire to see an end put to a state of things which His Highness is conscious not to have provoked."

"CONVENTION WITH MEHEMET ALI.

"*Copy of the Convention between Commodore Napier, commanding the naval forces of Her Britannic Majesty before Alexandria, on the one side, and His Excellency Boghos Youssouf Bey, Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Highness the Viceroy of Egypt, authorized specially by His Highness, on the other; done and signed at Alexandria, dated Nov. 27.*

"Art. 1. Commodore Napier, in his above-named quality, having communicated to His Highness Mehemet Ali that the allied powers had recommended the Sublime Porte to reinstate him in the hereditary government of Egypt, and His Highness seeing in this communication a favourable circumstance to put an end to the calamities of war, His Highness engages himself to order his son Ibrahim Pacha to proceed to the immediate evacuation of Syria; His Highness engages himself besides to restore the Ottoman fleet as soon as he shall have received the official notification that the Sublime Porte grants to him the hereditary government of Egypt, which concession is and remains guaranteed by the powers.

"Art. 2. Commodore Napier will place at the disposition of the Egyptian government a steamer to conduct to Syria the officer designated by His Highness to bear to the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army the order to evacuate Syria; the commander-in-chief of the Britannic force, Sir Robert Stopford, will, on his side, name an officer to watch the execution of this measure.

"Art. 3. In consideration of what precedes, Commodore Napier engages himself to suspend, on the part of the Britannic forces, hostilities against Alexandria, or any other port of the Egyptian country. He will authorize,

at the same time, the free navigation of the vessels destined for the transport of the wounded, of the sick, or from every other portion of the Egyptian army which the government of Egypt might desire to have to return to this country by sea.

" Art. 4. It is well understood that the Egyptian army shall have the facility to retire from Syria with its artillery, arms, horses, munitions, baggage, and especially with all that constitutes the *matériel* of the army."

The same arrival which brings the intelligence of this "settlement of the Eastern question" from Alexandria, brings the news of the renewed deposition of Mehemet Ali by the Sultan, in virtue of the rights secured to him by at least one of his protectors in the 7th section of the treaty, which says that

" if Mehemet Ali shall not accept the hereditary Pachalick of Egypt at the expiration of twenty days after the communication to him of the treaty, the Sultan will be at liberty to withdraw that offer, and to follow whatever course *his interests* and the counsels of his allies may suggest to him."

Subsequently to these transactions we find the British admiral declining to abide by the Napier Convention, and addressing an *official demand* to the Pacha in the name of the four powers, *without the authority of the Sultan*; setting aside, therefore, the supreme chief of the Ottoman empire, to whom his own subject directly appeals.

Again, the communication of Admiral Stopford to His Highness the Pacha is in contradiction with the letter of Viscount Palmerston to the Lords of the Admiralty, proving an amount of estrangement in the British cabinet almost equal to that which Her Majesty's Secretary of State has contrived to produce amongst the naval, military and diplomatic functionaries of England, and of every other power in the Levant.

Whilst fixing our regard on the immediate theatre of transactions pregnant with interminable confusion in the East, we cannot but consider the bonds whereby England has been drawn into being the instrument of the northern alliance, as fraught with evils of greater magnitude than any that have hitherto affected the peace, prosperity and liberties of mankind; and we cannot but reflect with astonishment at the departure, on the part of a liberal cabinet, in its

present course of policy, from the very principles which brought them into office in 1830, and which were emphatically proclaimed in the House of Commons so early as the 1st of June, 1829, by the very man to whom they have confided the guardianship of their honour, in the following words:—

“ The ground upon which my Right Honourable friend, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, has defended the doing of all that has been done, and the not doing of all that has been omitted, is the principle of non-interference ; that is to say, the principle that every nation has a right to manage its own internal affairs as it pleases, so long as it injures not its neighbours ; and that one nation has no right to control by force of arms the will of another nation, in the choice of its government or ruler. To this principle I most cordially assent. It is sound—it ought to be sacred ; and I trust that England will never be found to set the example of its violation.”—*Speech of Lord Palmerston, June 1, 1829.—Mirror of Parliament.*

POSTSCRIPT.

THE delay which has taken place in the production of this Number has arisen solely from the necessity of watching the almost daily changes of what has been called the Syrian Question. From the signature of the quadruple treaty in July to the cancelling of Napier's Convention by Sir R. Stopford, almost every day has given rise to some fresh occurrence, or brought to light some new fact, which might be of importance in forming a judgment respecting the whole course and bearing of the subject. That, after all, the case has not been much altered by the disclosures that have been made, and the events that have occurred, signifies little : the necessary result of blunders, committed twelve years ago, was not to be much modified by the personal character of the actors in the dénouement. Still the exhibition of character and motives which has been made is highly instructive, however melancholy, and fraught with cause for alarm, as respects the future tranquillity and peaceful progress of Europe.

The mere settlement of the relations between Egypt and Turkey, however important in itself that question might be, sinks into nothing in comparison with the awful consequences which may flow from the temporary estrangement of France and England. Different as are the forms of their institutions and the characters of their people, they are the two "exemplar states" of constitutional freedom. To them the multitudes throughout Europe looked as the assured champions of law and progressive improvement: and resting in security and hope upon their union, which formed the best guarantee that the constitutional principle should not be trampled under foot, millions of Germans, Slavonians, and Hungarians, were contented patiently to "bide their time," and await the slow progress of national development. In almost every number of this journal we are compelled to reiterate the mortifying fact, that in England nothing is known of Germany, of the habits, wants, and wishes—the position and prospects—even the commercial and manufacturing tendencies of that vast body of our fellow-men. Yet these men are closely connected with us by historical remembrances—by a resemblance of feeling, and not unfrequently institutions—and above all, by a community of moral and material interests. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the distant population of countries, whose civilization bears no resemblance to our own, should be utterly unknown to us. Nevertheless these populations, comprising several interesting branches of the great European family, are peculiarly exposed to dangers, the slightest appearance of which in nearer countries justly suffices to cause a restless alarm among our trading communities. In some the ties of race, in others the obligations of religion, in all the confusion of inconsistent political duties, have been made use of to increase the power of one grasping empire, and to scatter the seeds of disaffection and distrust amongst all whose union would defy her efforts.

But all these populations are engaged in the great struggle which divides Europe: all are arrayed on one side or other of the great question of absolutism or self-government, and all are affected as the one scale or the other preponderates.

There is not one of them which does not immediately detect the slightest advance of the principle which we know as the

basis of the holy alliance; not one through which does not vibrate electrically the slightest triumph of the liberal principle. To proclaim to these populations (many of which are strong in the possession of national languages, institutions and recollections, and rich in great natural resources,) that their nationality shall be respected, that no conspiracy of kings against the law shall be permitted to expunge them from the map of free states, is to furnish them with a basis of hope for the future, and a strong argument for the maintenance of peace at present: and we know the state of these populations well enough to say, that without such hope, the peace of Europe could not be maintained for six months together. All the nations we allude to are neither so philosophical as the Hanoverians (whose legal and passive resistance to their tyrant is one of the most remarkable events in the modern history of Germany,) nor bound in such heavy recognizances to keep the peace, by Prussia and Austria.

Now it is well known to all who have entered at all into the real spirit of German life, though probably to very few of the ministers, *chargé d'affaires*, and so forth, who are sent by the Foreign Office of this country to mix with the classes in which the real spirit of that life is rarely seen—that England and France are looked upon as representatives of that important and peace-preserving principle, and their good understanding as the only guarantee of its stability in Europe. It is this which renders the firm and cordial alliance of those two powers, the pivot on which really turns the advance, both moral and material, of the remaining European states; and makes it absolutely necessary that, despite of the frantic follies of our susceptible neighbours, it should be reknit, if Europe is to have peace, prosperity, or power. There is not, from one end of England to the other, a man who can more deeply deplore the estrangement between these two countries than we do; or who, seeing the grave errors which both France and England have committed, can more earnestly wish to see the means of reconciliation afforded, and a new path opened to the exercise of powers, which, united, are as irresistible for good, as, separated, they are mighty for evil.

We deplore the insane outbursts of the war-party in France, and despise as profoundly as any one can the mischief-

making, selfish, cunning intriguer, who, to force himself on a prince that abhors him, would have plunged all Europe into misery: we regret that France should not only have been made ridiculous in the eyes of the whole world, but that she should be placed at this moment in a situation of real peril, happily depending upon the proverbial patience and good temper of Germany, for a respite which her clamorous *gamins* really hardly deserve; nor can we watch without profound alarm the gathering of six hundred thousand men upon the frontiers of Germany. But we do by no means despair of the cooperation of the saner order of French citizens, in rescuing France herself from her false position. It was evident from the courageous attitude assumed by the French Chambers, and their honourable support of M. Guizot, that a powerful resistance would be opposed to the revolutionary antics of the noisy, unprincipled minority, who arrogated to themselves the title of the "French Nation:" and now that France has every thing to lose and nothing to gain by a continuance of her absurd tone of hostility to the other powers, we hope that the influence of those whose well-being depends upon the maintenance of peace, will be allowed to prevail.

The historical deduction of the Eastern Question, as we have given it in the preceding article, proves clearly the faults which have been committed both by France and England; though it does not exonerate Lord Palmerston, or excuse him for sacrificing the vast interests of European civilization, it shows the trammels which both France and England forged for their own necks, by once departing from the great principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. But it also suggests, that as both nations have sinned alike in assisting to produce the present complications, both nations may yet, by mutual concession, coalesce for the re-establishment of a sounder policy. The treaty of the fifteenth of July, 1840, has yet to be discussed in the British Parliament: in the country it has been largely canvassed, and we now doubt very much whether there would be any difference of opinion respecting it, but for the absurd tone assumed by the least respectable portion of French society on the occasion of its execution.

That any section of the liberal party should be prepared to

support the minister for foreign affairs in the approaching discussions in parliament,—is a supposition so monstrous, that we are unwilling to give it a moment's credence. If it be true that it is intended, it can only be from the profound ignorance with which questions of foreign policy in this country are approached, or from that wretched spirit of partizanship which degrades the most vital subjects into mere weapons of party attack and defence. On the heads of those who, while they loudly declare that their object is civil and religious liberty throughout the world, will thus be lending their aid to the maintenance of a system which pledges this great country to the hateful principles of the "holy alliance," which unites us with the partitioners of Poland, and would make us the partitioners of Turkey, rests an awful responsibility. Yet it is not without great fear that we look forward to the approaching discussion of the question. The want of skill to trace long and intricate involutions of diplomatic manœuvring, and to seek the causes of the present complications in distant acts, gives both an opportunity for evasion and an interest in adopting it: plausible representations may always be reckoned upon when it is likely that they will be backed by popular prejudices; and however quietly the *gasconnades* of our French neighbours may, as yet, have been received in this country, it is to be feared that there is still sufficient spirit of hostility amongst our uninstructed masses, to make opposition to France bear no very deep stain of criminality in general opinion. We protest against any such suicidal act on the part of the liberals of England, in the name and for the sake of the liberal party throughout the world. And, even now, we would call their attention to the very significant fact of Lord Palmerston's policy having received extensive and almost unqualified approbation from those among us, who certainly were never yet suspected of desiring to advance the interests of the liberal party either here or abroad. It is notorious that some leading diplomatists of the Tory party have expressed their acquiescence in the acts, which all the friends of constitutional freedom throughout the world see so much cause to deplore; and this is the more remarkable, because that very party has hitherto strenuously and rightly refused to join the spoilers of Europe in their unhallowed work. Let then the

liberal ranks in the House of Commons bear in mind what the real question for their deliberation is, and hasten to restore that amity which has been so miserably disturbed between the two nations, which had both the inclination and the power to keep the peace in Europe.

To Lord Palmerston himself we would fain point out a great and honourable course. The vigour of our acts has in some degree atoned for the error of our conceptions: it is, indeed, lamentable, that we should have been the instruments of so much evil as has been effected, but the daring and decision which we have shown in its execution has placed us in a favourable position for withdrawing, and secured to us an honourable retreat. The shells and shot of Acre have been heard of on the banks of the Danube and the Dniester, and as the star of England culminated the strength of Russia dwindled. Though France was neglected, Europe has been taught that Russia was not needed; and if he knows how to improve his position, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs may yet speak out the commands of England in a voice not to be misunderstood or contemned. The Germanic Confederation has been aroused and excited; the marching of troops and cannon has been heard, accompanied by songs breathing (and creating) national hatred, and six hundred thousand men are now burning to revenge on France the horrors of the Revolution and the empire. Who doubts that the first cannon fired on the Rhine may spring a mine whose echoes our sons' sons may yet live to hear and tremble at? This it is still possible for England to prevent, if she will honestly and earnestly ally herself to the only cause that brings a blessing with it,—the cause of free institutions and national development, the cause of peace and commercial freedom, in one word, the cause of the PEOPLE throughout the world.

We should leave this subject here, but that we are bound to say a few words in behalf of one of the best men this country possessed; who has been snatched from us at a moment when a clear head and upright heart were never more needed, and over whose tomb, hardly yet cold, the obscene raven-croakings of calumny have sounded. It is for entertaining views similar to those which we assert to be the unshaken conviction of the true patriots in all European states,

that the late Lord Holland has been made the object of restless posthumous hostility. We feel no surprise at the attack: it was worthy of the quarter from which it came: but we do feel indignation and shame that the attack should not at once have been rebutted by those organs which not only profess to be the mouthpiece of the liberal party, but even to be in communication more or less strict with members of the liberal cabinet. Could not even a pretended, a superficial answer, have been ventured, if not for the sake of truth, at least with the prudential object of concealing hostilities whose existence threatened the stability of the government: or had death fought the battle of party well enough, and left the survivors scornfully and fearlessly to divide the spoil? To this an answer is yet to be given upon the floor of the House of Commons, and we wait for it.

That Lord Holland took a deep interest in the settlement of the Eastern question, was well known to his personal friends, although he had enjoyed no opportunity of giving his public support to the side which he had adopted. He saw, and saw clearly, what the objects of the principal actors on the scene were, and considered the affairs of Egypt as of minor importance when compared with the vast interests now in jeopardy, however important a portion they might be of the whole stake played for. He did, as every honest Englishman ought, earnestly desire that the good understanding of France and England should not be disturbed; on the maintenance of that good understanding he knew the hopes of the liberal party throughout Europe to depend; the destruction of that good understanding he well knew to be the anxious, the never-forgotten object of Russian intrigue, to gain which she was even ready to sacrifice her exclusive protectorate of Turkey, and allow the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (a nominal rather than a real advantage) to be cancelled. France and England, once brought into a position of hostility, she could at any moment assert, and make good claims which yet were, at best, but insolent pretensions; and knowing, what is not even suspected in England, the secret of the weakness of Austria and Prussia, she has nothing to fear from them. It was therefore Lord Holland's duty as an Englishman, as a peer of the country which is the example, and ought to be

the best support of the constitutional party on the continent, to oppose every measure which tended to the destruction of that friendship which alone could keep Russia in check. He did so, and so far M. Thiers was speaking only the truth when he asserted that Lord Holland was with France.

But M. Thiers did not speak the truth when he insinuated that, because Lord Holland was with France, he was with France such as M. Thiers was labouring to make it, or with M. Thiers himself. He was not speaking the truth, nor have the party organs of this country spoken the truth, in charging a member of the British cabinet with intriguing against his colleagues, and adopting a separate line of action for himself in opposition to them. We believe the respectable members of the Tory party to look with as much horror as we do ourselves upon the dastardly accusation of *perjury*, the perfectly gratuitous assertion that a minister revealed to the enemy of his country those private acts of the cabinet which his oath of office bound him to conceal! Would, however, for the honour of English gentry, that some Tory gentleman had come forward for himself and for his party solemnly to repudiate the hateful calumny!

POSTSCRIPT TO ARTICLE IV.

WE avail ourselves of the accidental delay which has taken place in the publication of the present number, to continue the relation of facts, regarding the Prussian Customs League, down to the present moment.

While these pages were yet under the press, a meeting of delegates from each state has been held at Berlin, for the purpose of deciding whether the League should be continued after the expiration of the first period for which it was concluded; that is to say, in 1843. Such of our readers as have adopted the current opinion, that the League represented in its original state the embodied desire of unity felt by the German States, will be surprised to hear that the question of

its renewal depended upon the concession of a point of no small importance to Prussia, *without the grant of which that power would not have renewed it.* According to the original treaty, the Customs receipts were divided amongst the States in the proportion of their respective populations, and an enumeration has been made every three years for the purpose of regulating this division. By this arrangement, the states of Southern Germany, in which, owing to the habit which prevails, of drinking the wine and beer of their own produce, the consumption of tea and coffee, and consequently of sugar, is much less than in Prussia, received a proportionately greater share of the revenue than they deserved. Of this Prussia, fairly enough, complained; and as the compensation demanded is said not to be heavy (rumour fixed it at 500,000 dollars per annum), the claim, it is understood, has been allowed.

Another, and even more knotty point, had to be discussed by the delegates. The treaty concluded by Prussia in the name of the League last year with Holland, was universally unpopular in Germany. It admitted the Dutch half-refined sugar (lumps) at a reduced duty, without exacting any return from Holland for the concession. The natural inference drawn from these facts in Germany was, that the government preferred to sacrifice the interests of the beet-root sugar manufacturer to imposing a tax upon this article of home produce. Such a tax, if at all equivalent to the import duty upon the foreign article, would of course have caused great discontent; and the minister was in the dilemma between such a duty and a serious defalcation in the revenue. He preferred the tax on foreign produce; thus affording a clear proof, that whatever principles may be put forth respecting the desire to protect internal industry, yet that in practice this industry can be unscrupulously sacrificed as soon as it appears to clash with the financial resources of the state.

The Dutch government, on its part, made no secret of a desire to render Germany totally dependent upon the supplies of sugar which it should furnish; and not contented with the ruin of German sugar manufacturers, devised a plan of ruining the German refiner also. The drawback allowed in Holland on the exportation of refined sugar, exceeds the

duty paid on the importation of raw sugar by about the reduced duty now taken on lumps when imported into the States of the League. The German refiner being consequently deprived of the protection which he hitherto enjoyed, finds it impossible to compete with his more alert neighbour; and in the course of the present year refined sugar has been sent in great quantities from the South to Prussia, whereas formerly the Prussian refineries supplied the greater part of Southern Germany. These consequences were so easy to calculate, from the nature of the treaty, that the sacrifice made by Holland, in the first instance, in the shape of this drawback, led to the natural inference, that the remuneration looked forward to could neither be far distant, nor would it be a trifling one. On the other hand, the conduct of Prussia in hastily concluding a treaty so prejudicial to vested interests, excited no small degree of ill-will amongst the parties immediately concerned, which found vent in odious reports, no doubt unfounded, and in which even the name of an influential lady of the court was not spared.

As this treaty, and its extension to Bremen and Hamburg, were concluded almost in the presence of our representatives at Berlin, so the reported resolution of allowing it to drop as soon as the three years for which it is concluded shall expire, has been taken without the interference of European diplomacy, with the exception, perhaps, of a remonstrance from France. The Americans have been more alert.

The efforts of the American commissioner, Mr. Wheatstone, are to be strengthened, we hear, by the experience of Mr. Dodge, formerly American consul in Bremen, and well acquainted with the commercial interests of Germany. The arrival of this gentleman (who, we believe, came over in the last packet,) at the critical moment of the sittings of the delegates at Berlin, leads to the natural inference, that he is furnished with power to accede to the demands made by the government of the League respecting the terms on which German manufactured goods are to be admitted into the United States, in return for a diminution of the duties in Germany upon American tobacco, rice and other produce. The growing of tobacco is very extensive within the League, especially in the midland and southern states; but this de-

scription of produce is, like corn, only taxed through the land-tax. Here again the profits of the producer must be sacrificed to those of the revenue, if the measure be adopted.

These separate negotiations, which were eagerly entertained at the same moment that the principle of reciprocity was unsuccessfully advanced by Great Britain, make it sufficiently evident, that the footing upon which an approximation of the interests of the Germans to our own could be effected, was not convincingly, if at all, pointed out. They deprive, it is true, our suggestion, of treating separately with various states, of the merit of originality; but they assuredly place the practicability—nay, the necessity of our doing so, in the strongest possible light.

If this be the lesson taught us by the diplomatic proceedings of the States of the League, the warning which they hold out to their own manufacturers is not less striking and worthy of attention on their parts. If the agricultural interests, and (as in the case of the refiners) even natural manufacturing investments, can in this manner, without warning, be sacrificed to the improvement of the revenue, manufacturers ought to be very cautious how they embark large sums in forced undertakings, whose success is altogether dependent on the artificial support of prohibitive duties. The first emergency, the first political conjuncture which demands a greater outlay on the part of the state, must shake the feeble bulwark on which they depended, and, in its fall, the loss of prosperity to whole provinces, and of happiness to thousands, may have to be lamented.

During the same interval, the delegates from Hanover, Oldenburg and Brunswick, have also met to debate on the policy of renewing the North-western German League; and *it has been renewed*, in spite of the unceasing efforts of Prussia, without the interference, and consequently without the aid, of foreign diplomacy. But one member seceded to the Prussian league, the Prince of Schaumburg Lippe, whose influence, personal as well as territorial, is far too diminutive to make it worth while for any but his subjects to inquire what were the inducements held out to him.

Do not these facts, which have all occurred since the preceding pages were written, confirm, in the strongest manner,

the view we have taken of the subject? Do we not see those parts of Germany, in which the nature of trade is best understood, clinging with unrelaxing grasp to the principle of freedom from restrictions as the only safe rule of the merchant? Nay, more. Has not Prussia herself shown that she is accessible to negotiation on points even hostile to her general principles? and that these points have been studied and turned to advantage by Holland and the Hanse towns, while America and France are at this moment pursuing the same course, the former at least, with every prospect of success? Shall we not then be justified in attributing the failure of our negotiations to other reasons than our ill-luck?—in short, to want of sufficient information, and to want of tact in the employment of that which we possessed?

Note.—The extension of the concessions granted to Holland and the Hanse towns amounted to a virtual admission of our colonial produce on the same footing with that of Java and the Havannah. We are indebted for this to the zeal and cleverness of the governments of Hamburg and Bremen. Would it not be fair to present the burgomasters of those two cities with the order of the Bath, and a service of plate, to be defrayed by subscription on the part of the West India landowners, merchants and shipowners?

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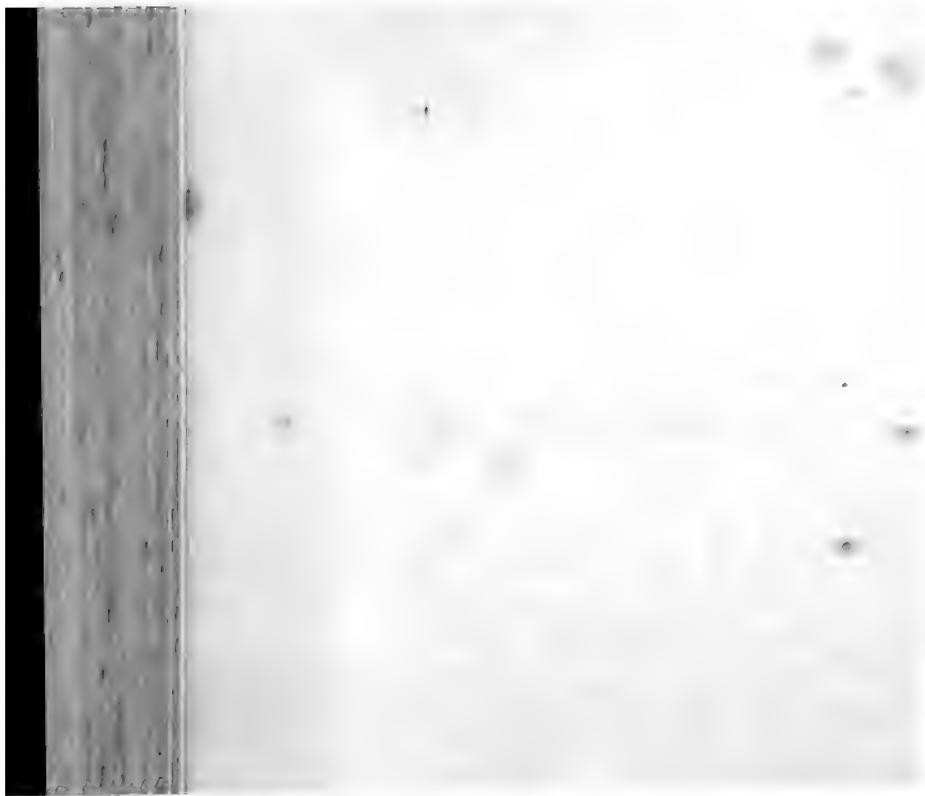
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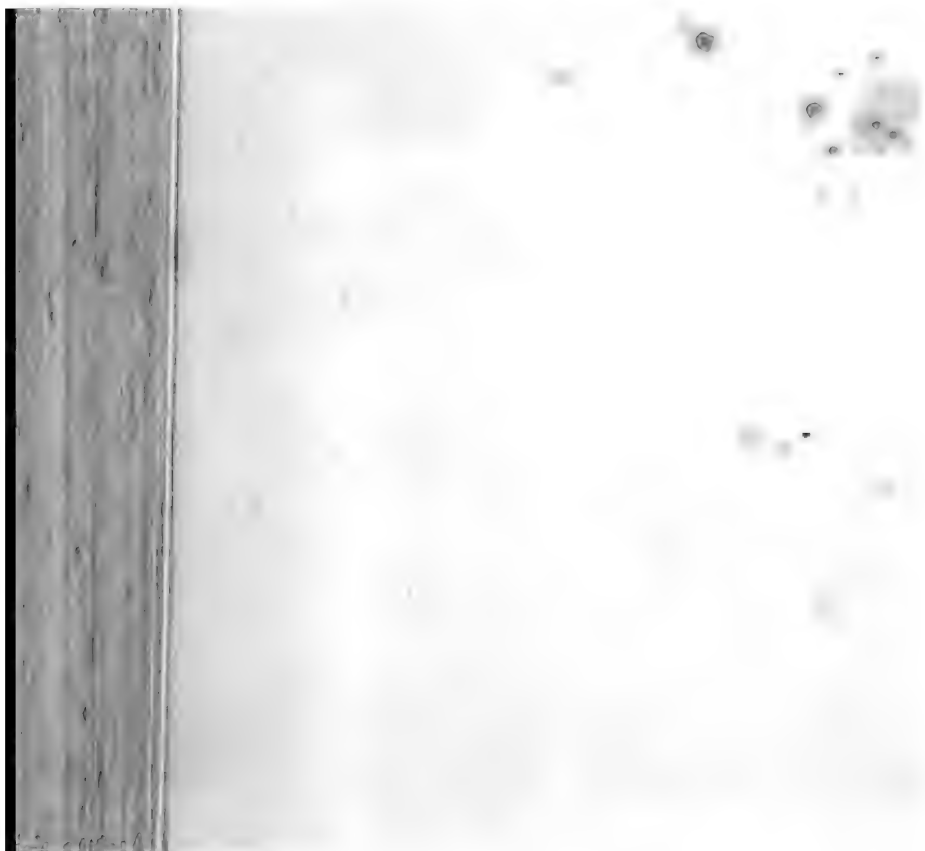
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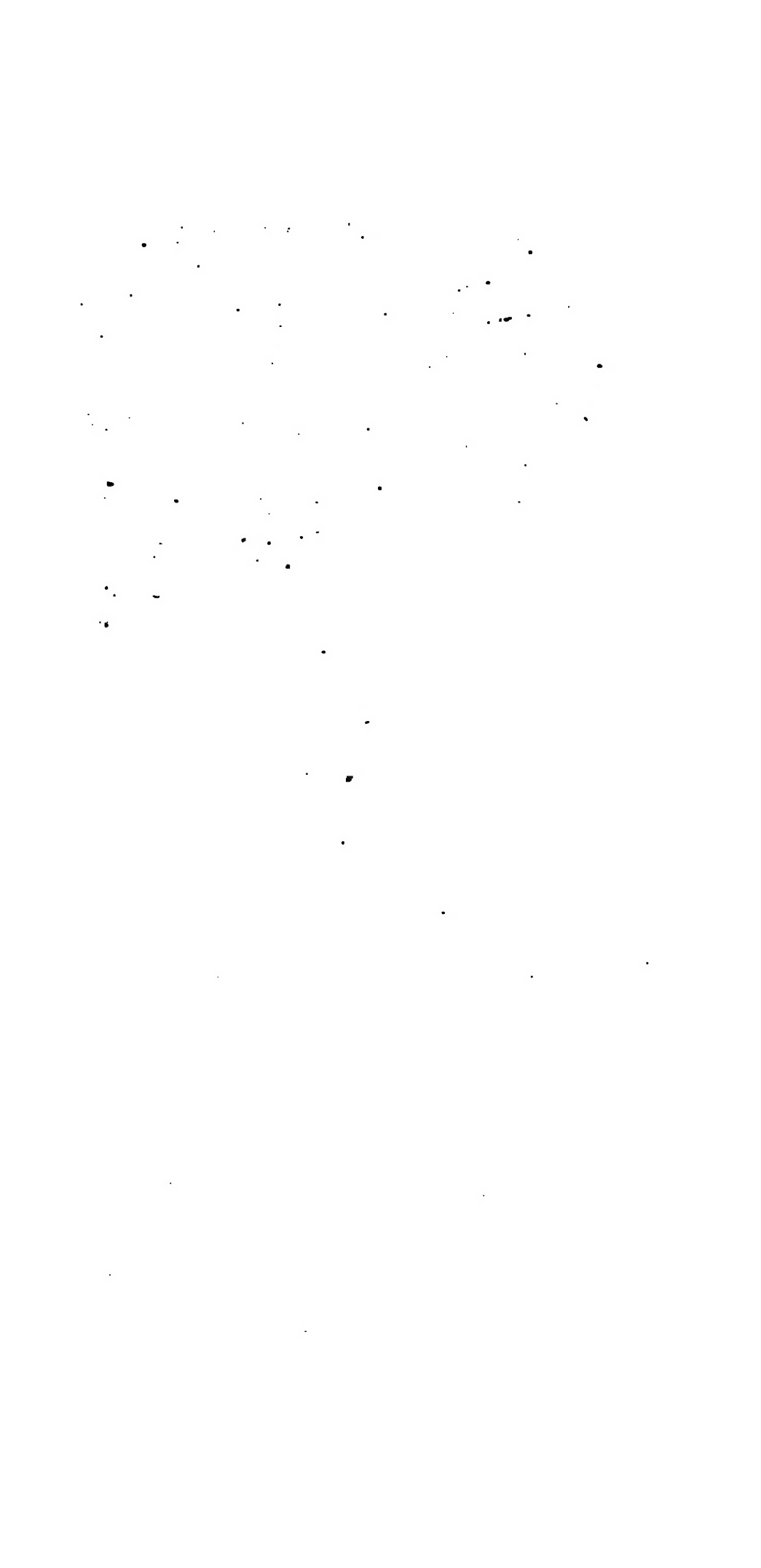
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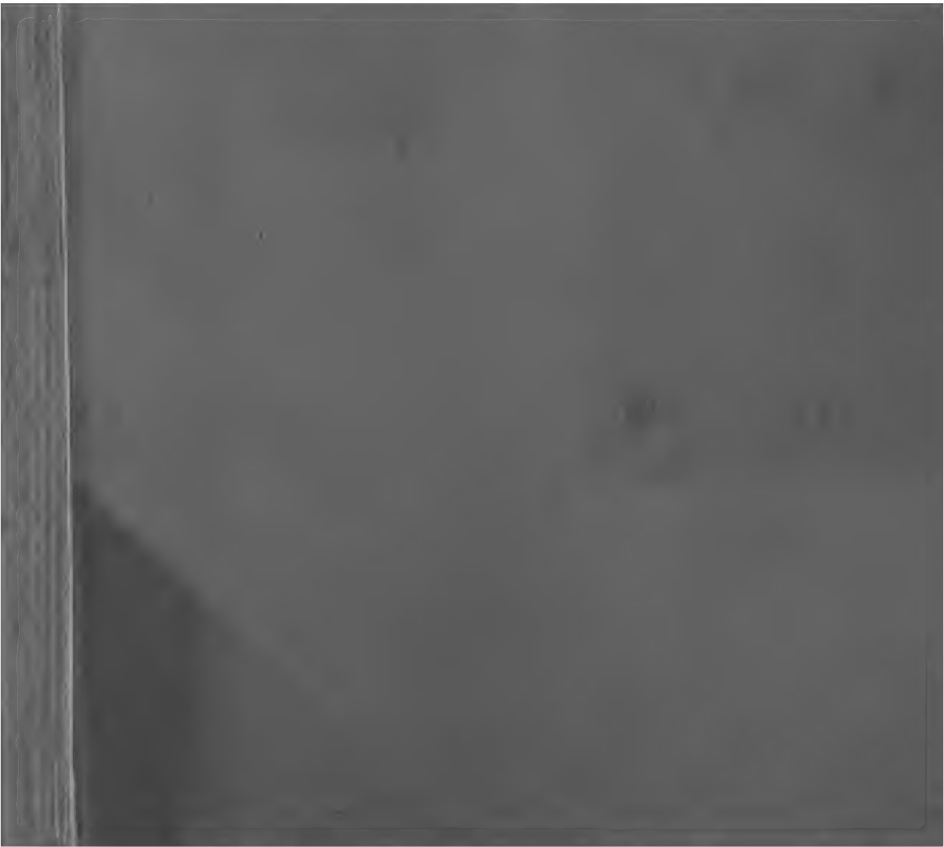
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